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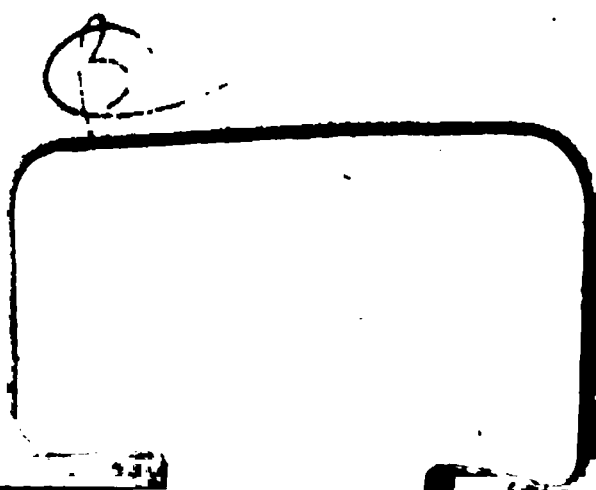
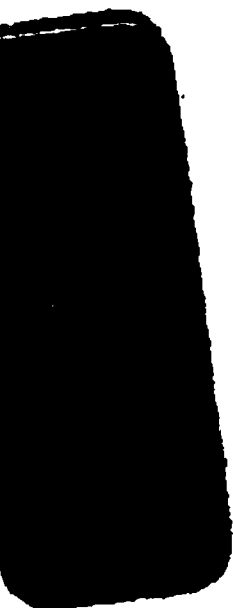
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HISTORY OF EUROPE

FROM THE

FALL OF NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCXV

TO THE

ACCESSION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON

IN MDCCCLII

NEW YORK

PUBLIC

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON, BART., D.C.L.

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WAR IN HUNGARY—ITS FINAL TERMINATION BY THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN AUGUST, 1849.

Proclamation by the new Emperor.—New Constitution of Austria.—Cold Reception of the Constitution in Hungary and Austria.—Description of Hungary in a military point of view.—Forces of the Austrians, and their Plan of Operations.—Advance of the Austrians.—Advance of the Austrians to Komorn and Pesth.—Brilliant Retreat and Movements of Georgey.—War of Bem in Transylvania.—Able Movements of Georgey in the North of Hungary.—Extreme Difficulties of his March to Kaschau.—Efforts of Kossuth and the Government to reorganize the Army behind the Theiss.—Arrest and Execution of Count Bathiany.—Inactivity of Windischgratz at Pesth.—Advance of Windischgratz toward Debreczin.—Battle of Kapolna.—Victory of the Austrians.—Inactivity of the Austrians after the Victory.—Discord in the Magyar Ranks, and Dembinski

displaced.—Successes of Bem in Transylvania, and first Intervention of the Russians.—Successes and Disasters of Pückner.—Renewed Advance of the Magyars toward Pesth.—It is resolved to fight for Pesth.—Movements on both Sides before the Battle.—Battle of Tapio-Biske, and Defeat of the Hungarian Right.—Battle of Isaszeg.—Victory of the Hungarians.—Great Results of the Battle.—Able Movement of Georgey round the Austrian Left.—Storming of Waitzen.—Consternation in Vienna, and Appointment of Baron Welden to the Command of the Army.—Speech of Kossuth against Georgey on the Future of Hungary.—Georgey's Reply.—Declaration of Hungarian Independence.—Vast Preparations of the Hungarians, and the Government declared revolutionary.—Deplorable Condition of Austria, which resolves to invoke the Aid of Russia.—Reasons which induced the Emperor Nicholas to give the requested Succor.—Raising of the Siege of Komorn, and continued Disasters of the Austrians.—Evacuation of Pesth by the Austrians.—Divided Opinions on what Course should be pursued after Pesth was taken.—Siege and Storm of Buda.—Successes of the Hungarians on their Right, on the Danube.—Successes of the Hungarians on the South.—Plan of Operations of the combined Russians and Austrians.—Forces and Chances of the Magyars.—Biography and Character of Haynau.—Biography and Character of Paskewitch.—Forces of the Austrians and Russians.—Forces of the Hungarians.—Causes of the Delay in the Commencement of the Campaign.—Battle of Pered.—Paskewitch invades Hungary, and taking of Debreczin.—Farther Operations on the Waag.—Advance of the Austrians toward Waitzen, and Battle of Acz.—Battle of Komorn.—Issue of the Conflict.—Results of the Battle, and Advance of the Austrians to Pesth.—Battle of Waitzen.—Desperate cavalry Action at Tzombor.—Desperate State of Hungarian Affairs, and Proposals of Capitulation.—Georgey is dismissed and restored to the Command.—Results of the first Part of the Campaign.—Ability and Consequences of Georgey's mountain March, and Combat at Poroszlo.—Combat in front of Debreczin.—Defeat of the Hungarians.—Disasters of the Insurgents in Transylvania.—Defeat of Bem at Segesvar.—Final Defeat of Bem at Hermanstadt.—Advance of the Austrians to Szegedin.—Battle of Szegedin.—The Advance on Temesvar.—Battle of Temesvar.—Relief of Temesvar.—Defeat of the Austrians before Komorn.—Eccentric Retreat of Dembinski and Bem to the south.—Resignation of Kossuth, and Georgey declared Dictator.—Interview of Georgey and Bem.—Georgey's Letter to Rudiger, offering surrender.—The Hungarians lay down their Arms.—Mournful Ceremony which then occurred.—Surrender of the remaining Corps and Fortresses, and Termination of the War.—Paskewitch intervenes in vain in behalf of the Hungarian Leaders.—Executions of Hungarian Leaders.—Mutual Jealousy of Austrians and Russians after the War.—Deep Interest of the Hungarian War.—The Hungarian Insurrection was unjustifiable.—And disastrous to Freedom, if successful.

CHAPTER LVI.

GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IRISH REVOLT IN 1848 TO THE FALL OF LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY IN 1852.

Free Trade, when once introduced into a Country, must be extended to every thing.—Great political Importance of the Period from 1848 to 1852.—Increased loyal and docile Temper of the People.—Real Suffering of the Country during this Period.—Prices of Grain during the period, and Effects of the Fall.—Outcry for Repeal of the Navigation Laws.—Argument of the Free-trad-

ers for the Repeal of the Navigation Laws.—Answer of the Protectionists.—The Bill is passed in both Houses.—Its Results.—Mr. Disraeli's Motion for Relief to the Agriculturists.—Change of Circumstances which weakened the Protectionists' Cause.—Rise in the Price of foreign Grain from the Repeal of the Corn-Laws.—Great Improvements in Agriculture, especially Draining.—Great Effect on Agriculture of the Completion of the Railway System.—Effect of the Railway System on the Balance of political Parties in the State.—Violent Outcry among the agricultural Classes.—Attitude of the Free-traders on the Question.—Argument of the Free-traders in Parliament in favor of their System.—Answer of the Protectionists.—Result of the Debate.—Reflections on this Decision.—Finances of the Empire from 1849 to 1852.—Population Census of 1851.—Mortality of Town and country Districts.—Remarkable Increase in Crimes of Violence in Great Britain during the last forty Years.—Relinquishment of the transportation System, and its injurious Effects.—Causes which led to this.—What Government should have done.—Course pursued, and its ruinous Effects, and Abandonment of Transportation.—Ruinous Consequences of the Change.—What Government did in the Circumstances, and its Effects.—Concession of Right of Self-government to the Colonies.—Difficulties of a direct Representation of the Colonies in Parliament.—Colonial Discontent produced by the Reform Bill, and its Results.—New and true colonial System.—Affairs of the Cape, Discontent there, and its Causes.—Caffre War, its early Disasters.—Progress of the War.—Progress and Termination of the War.—Subsequent Transactions.—Renewed predial Outrages in Ireland.—Sir Robert Peel's Encumbered Estates Bill.—Working of the Plan, and its great Effects.—Its beneficial Effects in the end.—Difference with Russia in regard to the Hungarian Refugees.—Origin of the Quarrel with the Greek Government.—France is on the Verge of War with England in consequence.—Proceedings in Parliament on this subject.—Military and naval Armaments of the Empire at this Period.—Death of Sir R. Peel.—Bill lowering the Franchise in Ireland.—Circumstances which led to Lord Palmerston's Removal from Office.—Defeat of the Ministry on the Militia Bill.—Lord Derby as an Orator.—His Cabinet.—Embodying of the Militia, and Increase of the military Force of the Country.—Lord Hardinge's Measures to increase the Artillery.—Dissolution of the House of Commons.—The Budget, upon which Lord Derby is defeated, and he resigns, and the Whigs return to Office.—Loss of the Amazon and Birkenhead Steamers.—The gold Discoveries in California and Australia in 1850 and 1851.—Their vast Effects.—Especially in the British Empire.—Universal Excitement on Wellington's Funeral.—Preparations for the Ceremony of the Interment.—The Procession.—Chief Persons who attended in it.—Ceremony in St. Paul's.

CHAPTER LVII.

FRANCE FROM THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT, IN DECEMBER, 1848, TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE, IN 1852.

State of Government after the Election of the President.—Formation of the Army of the Alps under

Bugeaud.—Early Divisions and Changes in the Cabinet.—Appointment of a Vice-President.—Disastrous State of the Finances; Debate on the salt Duties.—Increased Duty on Successions.—Comparative financial State of France in 1848 and 1849.—Laws regarding prison Labor.—Measures on the question of primary Education and the Council of State.—General Reaction against the Revolution and the Assembly.—Proposition of M. Râteau.—Preparations for a Conspiracy.—Conspiracy of January 29.—The general Election of May, 1849.—Meeting of the Legislative Assembly.—Preparations for the Insurrection of June 13.—Insurrection, and its Defeat.—Flight of Ledru-Rollin and the Mountain; Measures of Repression in Paris.—Revolt in Lyons.—Entire Change of Ministers.—Impression made by this Step in Paris and the Provinces.—First Measures of Louis Napoleon as an independent Magistrate.—Election of March 10, 1850, in Paris.—Effects of this Election on public Opinion.—Meeting of Louis Napoleon with the Electors.—Law of the 31st May, on the electoral Rights.—Effect of this Law on public Opinion and the President.—Hostile Spirit evinced in the Assembly in the Vote on the Mayors, on the civil List, and on the permanent Commission.—President's Tour in the Provinces.—Parliamentary Coalition against the President.—Rupture between the President and General Changarnier.—Opening of the new Session of the Assembly.—Commencement of the Rupture with the Assembly.—Violent Proceedings in the Assembly.—Hostile Vote of the Assembly against the President.—Change of Ministry, and Exhaustion of Parties.—New Ministry.—Revision of the Constitution.—Napoleon and Cavaignac on the Revision of the Constitution.—Vote against the Revision of the Constitution; Prorogation of the Assembly.—State of Parties during the Recess; Preparations of the President, and Change of Ministry.—Opening of the Session.—Motion of the Quæstors.—Rejection of the Proposal of the Quæstors.—Views of the Leaders of Parties at this time.—Military Meeting at General Magan's.—Conspiracy in the Assembly.—Preparations for the *Coup-d'état*.—The President's Proclamation to the People.—Dispersion of the National Assembly.—Combat in Paris.—Great Majority over France for Louis Napoleon.—Conclusion of the Author's Work.—Results of the Strife, so far as the Cause of Freedom is concerned.—What have been the Additions made to the Cause of Freedom.—Effects of the European Revolutions on the Civilization of the World.—What is necessary to make an ancient Nation emigrate.—The Love of Power does this.—Which ends in Stoppage of Increase of the People, and great Emigration.—Effect of the Growth of Wealth in raising Prices.—Which induces the Cry for Free Trade.—Influence of monetary Measures and Manufactures for the export Sale in arresting Population.—Growth in old Societies of the Causes which retard and stop their Increase.—Which was the Change going on in Europe during the period embraced in this History.—Co-operating Effect of steam Navigation, Railroads, the electric Telegraph, and gold Discoveries.—Democracy is a Means, not an End, and it has answered its Purpose.—This arises from an Overestimate of the average Capacity of human Nature.—Corresponding Error in the Estimate of the Capacity of Nations for Freedom or true Religion.

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER XLI.

ENGLAND FROM THE ACCESSION OF SIR R. PEEL TO POWER IN NOVEMBER, 1841, TO THE PASSING OF THE BANK CHARTER ACT IN JUNE, 1844.

SIR ROBERT PEEL, who was now, by a concurrence of parties, and the experienced weakness of former governments, again elevated by a decisive majority to power, was one of those men who have been so variously painted by their contemporaries, and so differently mirrored by their actions, that their real character will forever remain a perplexing enigma to future ages. All public men, whose deeds have left a permanent impress on the surface of public affairs, are of course represented in opposite colors by party writers of opposite principles; and it is generally from a comparison of both, as from the conflicting evidence in a criminal trial, that the verdict of posterity is formed. But in Sir R. Peel's case this ordinary difficulty is enhanced by the singular circumstance that he has been variously represented, not only by writers of different parties, but by writers of the same party at different times. In the early period of his career he was the chosen champion of the Church and High Tory principles, and in a similar degree the object of obloquy to the Whigs; in his late years he was a still greater object of laudation to the Liberals and vituperation to the Conservatives. It is difficult to say whether, prior to 1829, the "bigot Peel" was more vehemently denounced by the Irish Catholics and English Liberals than the "apostate Peel" was, after 1846, by his early friends and supporters; while the blame of this latter party has been since that time almost drowned in the loud and impassioned applause of the ruling Liberal majority in the State.

No one need be told to what this singular and almost unprecedented change of opinion in both the parties which divide the country has been owing. Sir R. Peel, at different times of his life, was not only actuated by opposite principles, but he was a different man. The steady, uncompromising opponent of Catholic claims became their most decided and successful supporter; the resolute enemy of free trade in corn turned into its unqualified advocate; and on both occasions he exerted the powers with which he had been intrusted by those hostile to the alteration to insure its unqualified adoption. Changes so prodigious occurring in one so highly gifted, and wielding, in a manner, the whole political power in the State, excited more than the ordinary amount of political enmity and an-

tagonism; they engendered a feeling of disappointed expectation, and awakened the pangs of betrayed affection. Confidence not only in him, but in all public men of the age, was shaken by so flagrant a deviation from declared principles; and all parties—even those most benefited by the sudden and unexpected conversion—concurred in the melancholy conclusion that the time was past when consistency of political conduct was to be expected in public men; that frequency of change had produced its usual effect in destroying fixity of purpose; and that we had fallen into such days as those when a Marlborough was elevated to the height of greatness by betraying one sovereign, and Ney suffered the death of a traitor for attempting to betray another.

It is not surprising, when the circumstances of these two memorable conversions are considered, that feelings of this warm and impassioned kind should have arisen in the party which, twice over, saw their most cherished system of policy overturned by their chosen champion; but a calm consideration of the case must, in justice to Sir R. Peel, very materially modify these opinions. The analogy seems, at first sight, just between a political chief altering his policy in government and a general betraying his sovereign in the field of battle; but in reality it is not so. There is no parallelism between the situation of a soldier and a statesman. Fidelity to king and country will admit of no equivocation; but adherence, under changing circumstances, to preconceived opinions, so far from being always a political virtue, may often be the greatest political fault, for it may lead to public ruin. Prince Polignac was quite consistent through life, and, as such, he must command the respect of every honorable mind; but what did his consistency lead to? A great general is not he who always takes the same position, but he who, in all circumstances, takes the position most likely to be attended at the time with success. In this world of change, and in an age pre-eminently distinguished by it, undeviating adherence to expressed thought is impossible in a statesman; for his power being built on opinion, he must go with that opinion, or it will be immediately shattered. Consistency of opinion may be expected in an author who treats of past events, or a philosopher who discourses on their tendencies, for they address

3.
Injustice of these extreme opinions on both sides.

themselves to future ages, when the immutable laws of nature will be seen to have been unceasingly acting in the mighty maze; but a statesman, who must act on the present, can only wield power by means of the multitude, and to do so with effect he must often share their versatility. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Burke themselves changed: the former was at first a parliamentary reformer; the latter, in early life, a strenuous supporter of revolution in America. The real reproach against Sir R. Peel is, not that he changed his views, but that he made use of power conferred by one party to carry through the objects of their opponents; a course which, however it may be attended with success, it will be no easy matter for his warmest panegyrists to defend.

It is commonly said, in explanation of this tendency to change, which formed so remarkable a feature in his character, that Sir R. Peel, though personally brave, was politically timid; that he entertained a nervous dread of revolution, and that the moment he saw a course of policy was likely to be attended with danger, he relinquished it, and passed over, with all his forces, to the victorious side. There can be no doubt that at first sight this seems a very plausible theory to explain the phenomenon. But a closer examination of his political career will show that it too is erroneous, and that a want of moral courage can by no means be justly imputed as a failing to Sir R. Peel. On the contrary, he frequently exhibited firmness and resolution in the very highest degree, both in external and internal affairs. Witness his noble conduct on learning the Afghanistan disaster in 1841, which, after a calamity unparalleled since the destruction of the legions of Varus, again chained victory to the British standards in India; and his intrepid self-sacrifice to what he deemed the good of his country in the emancipation of the Catholics in 1829. Even his crowning act of self-immolation, when he repealed the Corn Laws, in opposition to the tenor of an entire lifetime, in 1846, was any thing but an indication of political weakness. To a man of his sensitive temperament and so passionately desirous of preserving the lead of the noble party he had so long headed in the House of Commons, the averted eye, the unreturned pressure of the hand, were more terrible than the most signal political defeat; and the ambition of a lifetime was more thoroughly sacrificed by a change which necessarily alienated the warmest friends, than if he had been consigned, like Strafford, to the dungeon and the scaffold. But he felt, doubtless, a yet nobler ambition than that of leading a party or ruling an empire. His feeling was

"Th' applause of list'ning senates to command,
The threats of pain and ruin to despise,
To scatter plenty o'er a smiling land,
And read his hist'ry in a nation's eyes."

Sir Robert Peel was not a man of original genius or inventive thought: there is not a singular *idée mère* can be traced to him through his whole career. "Register, register, register," was not his own; he borrowed it from a celebrated political journal, generally in opposition to himself, where it is to be found

years before he ever gave utterance to the counsel.* His mind was adoptive, not creative: he was the mirror of the age, not its director: his leading ideas and principles were taken from others. In monetary affairs he only elaborated the ideas of Mr. Horner and Mr. Ricardo, first enunciated in the Bullion Report. In supporting the Corn Laws he adopted the arguments of Lord Liverpool and Lord Castlereagh; in assailing them, those of Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden. It was the same with Catholic Emancipation: his arguments, admirable on both sides, were alternately adopted from those of Lord Liverpool and Mr. Perceval, of Mr. Canning and Mr. Plunkett. It was this which suggested to Mr. Disraeli the felicitous expression that his mind was a "huge appropriation clause"—a phrase which so perfectly expressed the truth that it became a household word in every part of Great Britain. But this very absence of a creative mind, or original thought, only rendered him more powerful and successful as a statesman, whose influence and success in a constitutional monarchy must always be built upon his measures falling in with the opinions of the majority. These opinions are generally formed upon the great of a former generation, not the present; and therefore nothing is, in a popular community, so fatal to the present power of a statesman, whatever it may be to his future fame, as conceiving or acting upon original ideas. But though not gifted with a creative mind, he was second to none in the readiness with which he embraced, the force with which he worked out, and the ability with which he enforced, the arguments of others. His industry was indefatigable, his powers of research vast, and his faculty of bringing an immense mass of facts to bear upon a particular view, unrivaled even in the days of Huskisson. He had a prodigious acquaintance with all the principal branches of our trade and manufactures, and was often able to correct the statements or inform the ignorance of the very persons practically engaged in them. Like all men of a capacious and powerful mind, he was gifted with a singularly retentive memory, and could bring out at will figures and details on subjects which for long had not been under discussion, to the no small annoyance of his opponents, who were rarely endowed with the same power of commanding details, and bringing them forth on the proper occasion. Hansard's Debates were familiar to him, and great was the success with which he often turned against his opponents that provoking record of the past. These, if not the

* "A considerable proportion of the present voters are, from their occupations and habits, democratical, and will ever continue so. They must be *outvoted*, or the constitution is lost. The mode in which this must be done is obvious; and it is here that the persevering efforts of property can best overcome the prodigious ascendancy which the Reform Bill, in the outset, gave to the reckless and destitute classes of the community. IT IS IN THE REGISTRATION COURTS THAT THE BATTLE OF THE CONSTITUTION IS TO BE FOUGHT AND WON. It is by a continued, persevering, and skillful exertion there that education, worth, and property may regain their ascendancy over anarchy, vice, and democracy. By a proper organization in this way it is astonishing what may be done. It is thus, and thus only, that the balance of society can be restored in these islands."—*Blackwood's Magazine*, 1st May, 1835, vol. xxxvii. p. 818. The capitals are in the original. Sir R. Peel's speeches to the same effect were in 1837 and 1838.

highest qualities in a debater, were perhaps the most serviceable in the reformed House of Commons, composed for the most part of practical men who had worked their way to the lead in the large constituencies, and who were less liable to be influenced by bursts of eloquence or the flowers of rhetoric than by a simple business-like statement of facts connected with, or material to, the leading interests which their constituencies expected them to support.

His style of eloquence was of a high, but not of the highest kind. His speeches were always full of matter, his command of figures immense, and the correctness of his statements of facts such that his most inveterate-opponent was never able to detect him in an error. He was more successful, however, in stating his own case than in refuting that of his opponents: he seldom met an argument fairly: he rarely tried to refute, often to ridicule his opponent. It was well said of him by an accomplished parliamentary antagonist, that he drove an excellent pair, but rarely put on four horses. He was an accomplished scholar, and was first brought into notice by taking the highest degrees at Oxford both in classics and mathematics. But though he retained through life a strong partiality for the studies of his youth, and often made a happy use of classical allusions and quotations in Parliament, his mind was not sufficiently ardent, his genius not sufficiently glowing, to inspire him with the vehement feelings which are the soul of the highest style of eloquence. "Thoughts that breathe and words that burn" seldom occurred to his calm and practical mind. He was an admirable debater; and, from his thorough command of every subject to which he applied his powers, he never failed to rouse the attention of his hearers, and acquired at length the command, to an extraordinary extent, of the House of Commons. But though always sagacious and weighty in the arguments he adduced, he had none of the earnestness which springs from strong internal conviction, and still less of that, the highest of all, which flows from originality or fire of conception.

His name is so indissolubly connected with the two great changes which he was mainly instrumental in effecting, that his merits in an inferior department of the public service are in a great measure forgotten. But in the domestic administration of the empire his merits were of the very highest kind. As Home Secretary, during the many years he held that important office, his conduct was in the truest sense upright and meritorious. Patient and laborious, conscientious in the conception of duty, and unwearied in its discharge, he was always at his post, and devoted the powers of an active and vigorous mind to the investigation of the numerous matters of public and private interest which were then submitted to his consideration. He took upon himself the duty of both counsel and judge in the melancholy cases then unhappily so frequent, when the life of a criminal was referred to the mercy of the Crown and the decision of the Home Secretary. The improvements he introduced into the Irish police were so great that he may be said to have been its founder; and it was under his direction that it became what it now is, one of the finest bodies of men,

and beyond all question the finest civil force that exists in the world. The metropolis owes to him the admirable mounted and foot police to which its tranquillity and safety in recent times have been so much indebted. Nor were his exertions confined merely to administrative ameliorations. In the modification of our criminal code he eagerly adopted, and judiciously carried into practice, the views of Romilly and Mackintosh; and it is owing to his efforts, in a great degree, that the severity of the penal law has been so much modified that, for above ten years, no man has been executed in Great Britain save for willful and cold-blooded murder. Happy would it have been if his sagacious and practical mind had been turned with equal earnestness to the great questions of secondary punishments, and the removal of the difficulties with which the practical operation of the only effectual one—transportation—has come to be surrounded!

One great and lasting benefit has been conferred by Sir Robert Peel on his country, which even the strongest of his opponents will, at this distance of time, be willing to admit. This was the glorious stand he made against the flood of revolution when the Reform Bill was under discussion, and during the years which immediately followed its adoption. That the Whig leaders were then as much alarmed as the Conservatives at the strength of the passion which they had evoked in the country, is evident from Lord Brougham's words, that, in dissolving Parliament in April, 1831, they felt as if they were spanning a fiery gulf on a rib of steel, and the undoubted fact that Earl Grey was precipitated from power in 1834, because, after the bill was passed, he set himself to oppose the ulterior designs of his extreme supporters. But had it not been for the steadiness, courage, and ability with which, during those critical years, Sir Robert Peel conducted the Opposition, it is more than probable that all Earl Grey's efforts to moderate the storm would have been unavailing, and that 1832 would have been to England what 1789 had been to France. It was owing to the extreme wisdom and ability of his conduct on that occasion that the most precious of all objects in withstanding a movement—time—was gained, and that, before irrevocable changes had been made, the nation had in some degree recovered from its delusions, and the passion for organic change had been sobered down into the safer desire for practical ameliorations. And though he failed in retaining power when it was conferred upon him in 1835, yet his administration, short as it was, was attended with the most important effects; for it increased the Opposition in the House of Commons from 100 to 300, again raised the House of Lords from the dust to its legitimate functions, and, after a rude shock, restored the constitution in some degree to its former equilibrium.

The anomalies in Sir Robert Peel's political career have been so extraordinary, that many have sought an explanation of them in the supposition that he was throughout life actuated by an excessive ambition, nourished early in life by his father, who laid

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Ambition
was not the
cause of his
versatility
of principle.

out for him from the first the situation of prime minister, and increased subsequently by his extraordinary and long-continued sway in the House of Commons. This it was, it is said, which led to his change of principle: he could not endure the monotony of a private station, and when no other means of grasping or retaining power remained, he sought to effect it by a sacrifice of consistency. An attentive consideration of his career, however, must convince every impartial person that this is by no means the true solution of the difficulty. On the contrary, had he been actuated by personal feelings or political ambition, his conduct on the most important occasions of his life would have been the reverse of what it actually was. Had he chosen to bid for popularity, instead of sacrificing it by opposing Reform, he would have been carried forward to power on the shoulders of the people, and attained a position, in 1833, as commanding as the great commoner who, in the middle of the preceding century, supplanted the effete Whig aristocracy. His matchless skill in discerning the signs of the times, and observing the tendencies of the House of Commons, told him, from the first, that he was not paving but barring the road to power, by his unexpected conversions in 1829 and 1846. He said, with truth, in his posthumous memoirs, that if he had been actuated by the love of power, not the love of his country, he would have either retained the permanent lead of one party, by steadily adhering to its principles, or acquired the direction of the other, by frankly adopting its views, and not sacrificed both by a conduct which secured to him the confidence of neither.

The truth appears to be, that he was throughout, and in all his changes, actuated by a sincere and disinterested desire for the good of his country; but that one unhappy mistake, into which he had been led, in the outset of his career, by his adoption of the views of others, rendered him, on the most momentous occasions, either blind to what that good really was, or timorous in asserting his own views regarding it. Without the advantages of ancient descent or aristocratic connections, and the son of one who had been the architect of his own fortune, he was naturally inclined to regard with favor that mercantile interest to which his greatness had been owing. It would be going too far to assert, as Gibbon did of Mr. Fox, that "his inmost soul was tinged with democracy;" for no man was inspired from principle with a more profound respect for the civil institutions of his country. But this was the conviction of reason, it was not the bent of inclination. It is certain that from early youth he was inclined to Liberal opinions, and that it was a knowledge of that which induced his father, who was a stanch Tory of the old school, to throw him so early into public life, in hopes that, when in harness, he would wax warm in the contest on his own side.*

* "Une anecdote que je tiens de bonne source donnerait lieu de penser qu'il était, depuis longtemps et par nature, placé sur la pente à laquelle il céda, quand de conservateur obstiné il devint ardent réformateur. On dit qu'en 1809, lorsqu'il entra dans la Chambre des Communes, son père, le vieux Sir R. Peel, alla trouver Lord Liverpool, et lui dit: 'Mon fils est, soyez-en sûr, un jeune homme doué de talents rares, et qui jouera un rôle important. Mais je le connais bien; au fond, ses pen-

This tendency, unavoidable in one situated as he was, was unfortunately greatly increased by his early connection with the rising school of the political economists, whose opinions on the all-important matter of monetary policy had been recorded in the memorable Bullion Report of 1810. The leaders of this school, Mr. Horner and Mr. Ricardo, obtained on these subjects the entire direction of his mind; and it is to their influence that the parts of his career which otherwise would seem inexplicable are chiefly to be ascribed. For good or for evil, they stamped their impress upon his mind; and his subsequent career bore indelible marks of their influence.

He had been nominated chairman of the Bullion Committee of 1819 by Lord 11. Liverpool, to form a check upon His views on the extreme views of Mr. Ricardo the Currency. and the Economists; but he soon was either convinced by their arguments, or fell a prey to their seductions. He disdained lucre for himself or his relations, but he worshiped it with devout devotion for his country. He thought the country never could be in danger when its monetary state was sound, and that that depended entirely on the retention of gold by the Bank of England. He measured the public strength by the number of sovereigns in its vaults; private influence, in a great degree, by the magnitude of balances with bankers. In gold he saw the only solid and imperishable condensation of wealth, in realized capital the only secure foundation for future progress or accumulation. He never could believe that the nation was other than prosperous if the Bank had fifteen millions' worth of gold in its coffers. He deemed every attempt to create or augment wealth hazardous and delusive which was not based upon the interest of its moneyed capital, every measure expedient which went to augment the solid metallic treasures of the nation. To that unhappy conviction the most fatal errors of his career may be distinctly traced. He lived in the perpetual dread of the nation being broken down, and public ruin induced, either by the draining away the gold, which would starve industry, or by the issue of assignats to supply their place, which would extinguish capital. The memory of 1825, when the bullion in the Bank was reduced to a million, and public bankruptcy was avoided only by the issue of two millions of old notes; of the dreary years from 1838 to 1842, when suffering met him on every side, and the memory of which, he himself said, "would never be erased from his mind," were perpetually present to his recollection. The cry "To stop the Duke, go for gold," continually resounded in his ears.

When once this key to his political conduct is seized, it affords a satisfactory ex- 12. planation of his whole political career. He was truly and sincerely thus afforded patriotic, and actuated on every occasion by nothing but a regard for al career. what he deemed the public good; but he,

chants sont Whigs; si nous ne l'engageons pas promptement dans nos rangs, il nous échappera. Mettez-le dans les affaires; il vous servira bien; mais il faut sans tarder vous emparer de lui.' Lord Liverpool observa le fils, reconnu son mérite, et suivit le conseil du père."—Gizot, Sir R. Peel, p. 342.

nevertheless, acted on many in direct opposition to it, from the unhappy delusion under which he labored in regard to guarding the treasures of the Bank of England. He was courageous, both personally and politically, for himself, but timorous for his country. It is no wonder he was so; for he had placed it on the unstable equilibrium, and any considerable concussion might overturn at once the whole fabric. His practical sagacity led him clearly to see that any serious internal convulsion, and even the most inconsiderable foreign war, would lead to such a run on the Bank as would, in all probability, prove fatal to that establishment, and with it entirely unhinge public credit, and render destitute millions of starving workmen. It was to avert this catastrophe that all his measures were directed. For this it was that he emancipated the Catholics in 1829, to postpone rebellion in Ireland, and surrendered Maine, by the Ashburton capitulation, in 1842, to avoid a rupture with America, and abandoned the Corn Laws, in 1846, to render England the great emporium of corn throughout the world, and thereby prevent the drain which so nearly proved fatal to the Bank in 1839. His monetary bill of 1844 was intended to lay speculation in irons, and so prevent the drain upon the metallic treasures of the nation, which indulgence in it to excess never failed to occasion. That his apprehensions were well founded the event has decisively proved; the only thing to be wondered at is that he did not perceive that the danger was entirely of his own creation, by having rendered public credit dependent on the retention of gold, and that the measures he intended to avert were the greatest possible aggravation of the evil.

In private life Sir Robert's character was altogether unexceptionable. Inheriting from his father, the first baronet, who made the fortune, immense wealth, he made a noble use of it. Simple and unostentatious in his habits, his tastes were refined, and he expended largely in the encouragement of the arts which elevate the mind and purify the taste. A kind and affectionate husband, a liberal father, he never deviated from correctness either in conduct or decorum, and his bitterest political enemies (and no man laterally had more) were unable to find one blot in his escutcheon, so far as domestic relations were concerned. He was by nature afflicted with a most violent temper, and his fits of anger, when a young man, were so violent that he used, when they came on, to shut himself up alone till the dark fit was over. By degrees, however, he obtained the mastery of this infirmity, and this at length so effectually that he passed with the world, at a distance, as a man of a singularly cold and phlegmatic temperament. He had all the contempt for rank, merely as such, which so often accompanies strong intellectual powers; and he showed this not only through his entire life, but in his injunctions to his family after his death. He declined a seat in the House of Peers in 1835, when offered by William IV.; he respectfully refused the Garter when tendered to him, in 1846, by Queen Victoria; and in his testament he solemnly enjoined his family never to accept honors for his services to his country, whatever

they might do for their own. Faithful to his injunctions, Lady Peel, after his death, declined a peerage in her own right, pressed upon her by the Queen. Reserved in his nature, and uncommunicative in his habits, he did not seek to shine in general society, and perhaps was not so well qualified as many inferior men for such displays; but in a select circle of a few, with whom he was intimate, the conversation of no one was more charming. There was a certain *retenue*, however, maintained with those for whom he had the greatest regard; he did not, like Mr. Canning, unbosom himself in the most unguarded moments; like Mr. Pitt, ¹ Guizot, he had many followers, but few Sir R. Peel, friends.* 850, 851.

The resignation of Ministers had been so long foreseen that Sir R. Peel's arrangements were complete before it took place, and the new Cabinet was announced in a few days. It presented a formidable array of talent, as, in addition to nearly all the members of the Duke of Wellington's Ministry, Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham, who had receded from the ranks of the Whigs, were included in it. Sir R. Peel, of course, was First Lord of the Treasury; the Duke of Wellington had, at his desire, a seat in the Cabinet without any office, save that of Commander-in-Chief, attached to it. Lord Lyndhurst resumed his seat on the Woolsack. Mr. Goulburn was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir James Graham was Home Secretary; the Earl of Aberdeen, Foreign; and Lord Stanley, Colonial. Lord Haddington was First Lord of the Admiralty; and Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control. The Cabinet exhibited, upon the whole, a splendid array of talent, and, what was of more importance to the country, an adequate intermixture of business habits and practical acquaintance with affairs; although many doubted whether each was in his proper place, and whether a transposition might not be made with benefit to the public service. In particular, Mr. Goulburn seemed hardly adequate to the arduous duties of Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord Stanley,

* The following charming picture of Sir R. Peel in his family circle at Drayton Manor is from the hand of no common man, and no ordinary observer: "Dans l'autome de 1848," says M. Guizot, "je vis Sir Robert Peel au sein de sa famille, et au milieu de la population de ses terres. Lady Peel, encore belle, passionnément et modestement dévouée à son mari; une fille charmante, mariée depuis à un fils de Lord Camoys; trois des fils de Sir Robert, l'un capitaine de vaisseau, déjà renommé par le plus brillant courage; l'autre qui venait de débiter avec succès dans la Chambre des Communes; le troisième encore livré à ses études. Sur les domaines, de nombreux et heureux fermiers, parmi lesquels un des frères de Sir Robert, que avait préféré la vie agricole à toute autre carrière; de grands travaux d'amélioration rurale, surtout de drainage, que Sir Robert suivait de près, et nous démontrait avec une connaissance précise des détails. Belle existence domestique, grande, simple, bien ordonnée avec largeur; dans l'intérieur de la maison une gravité affectueuse, moins animée, moins expansive, moins douce que ne le désirent et ne le comportent nos mœurs; les souvenirs politiques consacrés par une galerie des portraits, la plupart contemporains, soit les collègues de Sir Robert dans le Gouvernement, soit les hommes distingués avec lesquels il avait eu des relations. Hors de la maison, entre le propriétaire et la population environnante, une grande distance, marquée dans les manières, mais comblée par des rapports fréquents, pleins d'équité et de bienveillance de la part de supérieur, sans apparence d'envie ni de servilité chez les inférieurs."—Guizot, *Sir R. Peel*, p. 317-318.

notwithstanding his great abilities, was not peculiarly versed in colonial affairs; but so great was the ascendancy of Sir R. Peel over his colleagues, that it was trusted his master mind would pervade every department. No difficulty was now experienced with the Ladies of the Household. The Queen, yielding to her own matured sense and the necessities of a constitutional monarchy, parted in silence and sorrow from her old and confidential friends; and the appointment of the Duchess of Buccleuch as Mistress of the Robes led to the pleasing hope that they might be succeeded by others not less trustworthy and acceptable to her Majesty. The new

Ministers, especially the Duke of Wellington and Sir R. Peel, were loudly cheered when they drove up to the palace to kiss hands on their appointment to their respective offices.^{1*}

If the new Ministry were strong in their talents, their aristocratic connections, and the popular favor they enjoyed, they had need of all their advantages; for never did men adventure upon a more difficult undertaking, nor a more arduous task await any

* CABINET AND OTHER APPOINTMENTS.

Cabinet.

Duke of Wellington.
First Lord of the Treasury Sir R. Peel.
Lord Chancellor Lord Lyndhurst.
Chancellor of the Exchequer.... Mr. Goulburn.
President of the Council..... Lord Wharncliffe.
Privy Seal..... Duke of Buckingham.
Home Secretary Sir James Graham.
Foreign Secretary..... Earl of Aberdeen.
Colonial Secretary Lord Stanley.
First Lord of the Admiralty Lord Haddington.
President of the Board of Control Lord Ellenborough.
President of the Board of Trade. Earl of Ripon.
Secretary at War Sir H. Hardinge.
Treasurer of the Navy..... Sir E. Knatchbull.

Not in the Cabinet.

Postmaster-General Lord Lowther.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster Lord G. Somerset.
Woods and Forests Earl of Lincoln.
Master-General of the Ordnance. Sir G. Murray.
Master of the Mint..... W. E. Gladstone.
Secretary to the Admiralty Hon. Sidney Herbert.
Joint Secretaries of the Treasury { Sir G. Clark.
..... { Sir T. Freemantle.
Secretaries of the Board of Control..... { Hon. W. Baring.
..... { J. E. Tennant.
Home Under-Secretary C. M. Sutton.
Foreign Under-Secretary Lord Canning.
Colonial Under-Secretary G. W. Hope.
Lords of the Treasury..... { Alexander Pringle.
..... { H. Baring.
..... { J. Young.
..... { J. Milnes Gaskell.
Lords of the Admiralty { Sir W. Gage.
..... { Sir G. Seymour.
..... { Hon. Captain Gordon.
..... { Hon. H. L. Corry.
Store-Keeper of the Ordnance... J. R. Bonham.
Clerk of the Ordnance..... Captain Boldero.
Surveyor-General of the Ordnance Colonel Jonathan Peel.
Attorney-General Sir F. Pollock.
Solicitor-General..... Sir W. Follett.
Judge-Advocate..... Dr. Nichol.
Governor-General of Canada... Sir C. Bagot.
Lord Advocate for Scotland.... Sir W. Rae.
Solicitor-General..... D. McNeill.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland Earl De Grey.
Lord-Chancellor Sir E. Sugden.
Chief-Secretary Lord Elliot.
Attorney-General Mr. Blackburn.
Solicitor-General..... Mr. Sergeant Jackson.

—Ann. Reg., 1841, p. 199, 200.

government. It was difficult to say whether without or within the prospects of the country were most gloomy—whether foreign or domestic affairs called most loudly for immediate attention. The aspect of the continent of Europe was threatening in the extreme. Russia, which by the treaty of 13th March, 1841, had acquired the absolute command of Turkey, by the ships of all other nations being excluded from the Black Sea, had come to the very verge of a war with Great Britain, in consequence of the siege of Herat and the struggle for the central mountains of Afghanistan. France, whose alliance with England had for the last ten years mainly contributed to the peace of Europe, had been alienated beyond redemption by the settlement of the Eastern Question without her intervention, and the defiance to her arms by the bombardment of Beyrout and Acre. Upon Spain, distracted by a savage and relentless civil war but recently extinguished, no reliance whatever could be placed; and the Liberal government of Portugal was only upheld by the constant presence of a British fleet in the Tagus. Austria, though united with England on the Eastern Question, and a party to the attack on Acre, was too nervous about the popular tendencies of the British government, and the frightful civil war it had kept alive in the Peninsula, not to keep aloof on questions of general politics. The rebellion in Canada had been only recently suppressed, and a large force was still required to restrain its angry spirits; the West India colonies, steeped in ruin from the effects of negro emancipation, were only restrained by absolute impotence from breaking into open revolt; the Cape of Good Hope was threatened by the ceaseless hostility of the Caffres, and almost stripped of the doubtful support of the Boors; and India, involved in a perilous distant warfare in the mountains of Afghanistan, was on the verge of the greatest military disaster recorded in British annals. To complete the whole, England had got involved in a serious war with the Chinese Empire, carried on at an immense distance and at an enormous expense, in which ultimate success was doubtful and present cost certain, and which, in the most favorable view, promised no successful results but at a vast expenditure of blood and treasure.

Fearfully as the horizon was overcast in every direction in external relations, the prospect was still more alarming still dark in internal affairs; and in truth it was the national weakness at home which rendered so formidable the dangers which threatened the State abroad. Five bad seasons in succession had nearly doubled the price of food, and augmented immensely the annual importation from abroad. The price of wheat during the whole year had been above 62s., in September it was 72s., the quarter; and this high rate had been maintained for five years—a woeful change for the working classes from 39s. to 40s., at which it had stood before the commencement of this disastrous epoch. The pressure of high prices was not alleviated to the manufacturing classes by proportionally high wages; on the contrary, this period of distress had this peculiar and unprecedented feature, that high prices of provisions of all sorts were accompanied by ruinously low

wages, especially in every branch of manufacturing industry. Power-loom weavers and coomers, who ten years before had been making 18s. a week, could now only make 6s., and that by the most exhausting and incessant toil. Colliers and iron-miners, who four years before had earned 5s. a day, were now at 2s. 6d., while wheat was nearly doubled in price; and weavers by the hand-loom could with difficulty make 3d. a day. A hopeless paralysis seemed to have fallen upon the enterprise and activity of the country; the depression was universal and extreme, and continued without abatement during the whole of 1842 and the first half of 1843. The winters 1841-2 and 1842-3 were the most melancholy ever known in English history; and the only comforting feature in the case was the noble patience and resignation with which their sufferings were borne by the poor. Yet such was their intensity that the only surprising thing is how a great proportion of them contrived to prolong existence at all during such a terrible and protracted period of suffering. The distress was so universal that it had ceased to be matter of dispute; the deplorable fact was felt and lamented in silence. In proroguing Parliament, after a short session of a few weeks, subsequent to Sir R. Peel's accession to power, the Royal Commission said: "Her Majesty has commanded us to express her deep concern for the distress which has prevailed for a considerable period in some of the principal manufacturing districts, and to assure you that you may rely upon her cordial concurrence in all measures which, after mature consideration, may be taken to prevent the recurrence of that distress."

This universal commercial and manufacturing suffering produced the results that might have been expected on the details proving the distress. revenue, trade, and resources of the country. The national income sunk £1,200,000 from 1841 to 1842; while the current expenses were simultaneously increased by a similar amount, leaving a deficiency of £2,500,000, which had to be made up by loan.* The exports and imports of the nation exhibited a similar and still more alarming change:† the former had sunk from £58,000,000 in 1839 to £47,000,000 in 1842; the latter increased from £62,000,000 in 1839 to £70,000,000 in 1843; the large balance, of course, having to be paid in gold or silver, to the entire destruction, under the existing monetary system, of all credit and commercial industry in the country.

* INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

Years.	Income.	Expenditure besides Public Debt.	Interest of Debt.
1840	£47,567,565	£19,779,818	£29,381,718
1841	43,084,360	20,735,584	29,490,145
1842	40,965,631	21,517,549	29,428,120

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 475, 3d edit.

† EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Years.	Exports. Declared Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Difference.
1839	£53,233,580	£62,004,000	£8,770,420
1840	51,406,430	67,432,864	16,026,534
1841	51,684,623	64,377,962	13,743,339
1842	47,351,623	65,204,729	17,813,706
1843	52,278,449	70,033,353	17,811,904

—PORTER, 356, 3d edit.

It was easy to see to what this large and increasing balance of imports over exports was owing. It arose from the great importation of grain during these years, in consequence of the continued unfavorable harvests and high prices, which had swelled from nothing at all in 1835 and 1836 to 3,000,000 quarters in 1842. This great import of grain cost the nation, almost all in gold and silver—wheat being on an average at 64s.—no less than £10,000,000 sterling in one year.* This state of things was sufficiently calamitous in itself; but when its effect upon the currency, and through it on the whole credit and industry of the country, is taken into view, the effect became beyond measure disastrous. The gold and silver held by the Bank of England, which in 1838 had been above £10,000,000, had sunk on 15th October, 1839, to £2,545,000, and even in February, 1842, had only risen to £5,600,000; as a necessary consequence of which, the notes of the Bank in circulation, which in 1818 had been £27,771,000, with a population little more than half, and transactions not a third of the present, and in 1835 and 1836 had been £19,147,000 and £18,154,000 respectively, had sunk at the first period to £16,732,000, and at the second to £17,500,000. Whoever will consider these figures with attention will at once perceive what was the cause of the universal distress, and how, under the existing monetary system, five bad seasons in succession had come to tell with decisive and ruinous effect upon the whole commercial and manufacturing interests of the country. Nor will it appear surprising that, in England and Wales alone, the paupers had risen in the latter year to 1,427,000, of whom 85,000 were able-bodied, being about one eleventh of the entire population.†

* IMPORTS OF WHEAT INTO GREAT BRITAIN FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Years.	Quarters.	Price per Quarter.	Years.	Quarters.	Price per Quarter.
		s. d.			s. d.
1834	64,653	89 8	1839	2,590,734	70 6
1835	28,483	35 3	1840	2,350,732	65 4
1836	24,526	57 9	1841	2,619,702	64 4
1837	244,087	55 10	1842	2,977,302	57 3
1838	1,654,452	64 7			

—PORTER, 140; TOOKE *On Prices*, ii. 390, and iii. 413.

† PAUPERS RELIEVED IN ENGLAND AND WALES.

Years.	Paupers.	Of whom Able-bodied.
1840	1,199,529	....
1841	1,299,048	....
1842	1,427,187	85,171
1843	1,539,490	99,196

—PORTER, p. 94.

The following official table exhibits a melancholy picture of the effect of this long-continued distress upon the duration and chances of life, especially in manufacturing and mining districts, where the chances of life are, under the most favorable circumstances, so precarious:

DIED OUT OF 10,000 PERSONS BORN IN—

	Died under 5.	Died under 20.	Died under 40.	Lived above 40.
Rutlandshire ...	2685	3756	5081	4969
London	8805	4580	6111	3869
Bradford	4687	5896	7061	2939
Macclesfield	4462	5899	7300	2700
Wigan	4790	5911	7117	2883
Preston	4947	6083	7462	2538
Bury	4864	6017	7319	2601
Stockport	4879	6005	7367	2633
Bolton	4989	6113	7459	2541
Leeds	5286	6213	7441	2559
Holbeck	5090	6133	7387	2633

When such was the state of the country, it was next to impossible to see where an increase of revenue was to be looked for, or even the existing annual deficit of £2,500,000 to be filled up. Yet was it absolutely necessary to make a great effort in finance, and that without delay, for this deficit, large as it was, promised to be doubled in the ensuing year by the enormous expenses of the Afghanistan expedition, which had already cost £10,000,000, and left a deficit of £2,500,000 on the Indian revenue, which could only be made up from the exchequer of Great Britain. Add to this, that not only had France been irritated in the highest degree by the course pursued by England in the Levant, but a new cause of discord, to be immediately noticed, had sprung up about Otaheite and its sable queen, Pomare, which threatened still farther to embroil the two nations. Incessant demands were daily made on the government for additional troops, both from the colonies and the manufacturing districts of Great Britain; but yet the national forces were only 92,000, exclusive of India, of whom more than one half were absorbed by the colonies. And as the disturbed state of Ireland required more than one half of the 45,000 left in the British Islands to be permanently stationed in that country, the force in England was so much reduced that we have the authority of the late Lord Hardinge for the assertion that, when he came into office in 1841, if an invasion from France had taken place, he could not have collected, after garrisoning the sea fortresses, more than 10,000 men and 42 guns to defend London, and the greater part of the latter were so crazy that, if taken into a wet clay field, they would have gone to pieces.* At this period Louis Philippe had 300,000 regular soldiers disposable in France; and while England had only ten ships of the line afloat in the Mediterranean, France had seventeen.

As might naturally have been expected, this long-continued and poignant suffering produced at length serious disturbances, which broke out in the manufacturing districts. Indeed, the amount of distress ascertained to exist by the Committee of Inquiry appointed by the Ministry in the autumn of 1841 was such, that the only surprising thing was how a universal disruption of society did not take place. In Carlisle one fourth of the inhabitants were found to be in a state bordering on starvation. In Stockport above half the master-spinners had failed, 3000 houses were shut up and uninhabited, and 5000 persons were walking the streets in a state of idleness. At Leeds the heap of stones broken by the paupers had swelled to 150,000 tons, when all the workmen employed on it were taken into the work-house. In Manchester the sale of new clothes for the poorer

The immense proportion of deaths in the manufacturing districts under five years of age, being from 47 to 51 per cent. in them all, and about double of those in the rural under the same age, is particularly remarkable, and apparently points to some fixed law of nature.—See the Table in *Parl. Deb.*, lix. 687, Sept. 28, 1841; and *Doubleday*, li. 330.

* The Author had this from Lord Hardinge's own lips, and he made the same statement afterward in Parliament.

classes had almost entirely ceased; nothing could find a market among them but shirts, and patches to mend the old garments. The condition of the shop-keepers, especially of the humbler class, was scarcely less distressing, while poor-rates were daily increasing beyond all precedent; their trade had sunk to a third, often not more than a tenth, of what it had been five years before. In Dorsetshire the wages of an able-bodied laborer were only 4s. a week, and the best could not earn more than 6s., and this with wheat at 70s. the quarter. In a word, the condition of the laboring poor in all the manufacturing districts was such that it could not by possibility become worse without multitudes being swept by absolute famine into an untimely grave.¹

With all the magnanimous patience and long-suffering of the working-classes, it could not be expected that this universal distress in the manufacturing districts could continue for any great length of time without producing acts of insubordination and violence; and, owing to the small military force in the country, they were of such a kind as to excite the most serious apprehension in the government. The pitmen in the coal districts, and the miners in the iron, were particularly riotous; for their wages, though much reduced, were *not so low as to preclude effort*, and they fell under the guidance of delegates and itinerant orators, who arrayed them in trades-unions, the usual sad termination at this period of general distress, in order, by force and violence, to arrest the fall of wages. At Dudley, Stourbridge, Merthyr-Tydvil, and several other places in South Wales, there were serious riots, requiring the interposition of the military. In the Potteries a body of six thousand men collected together, and kept Staffordshire in a continual state of anxiety and alarm. In Manchester and its vicinity the influx of rioters became so great in August, 1842, that it evidently proceeded from some common design; and the whole troops which London could spare, including a regiment of the Guards, were dispatched, at two hours' notice, by railway to the scene of danger. Even after their arrival, the forces of the insurgents were so large that it appeared at one time as if the whole of Lancashire was in their possession. Mills were stopped, machinery destroyed, windows smashed, and threatening letters sent in every direction. Three rioters were shot dead by the military at Barslem, and several wounded. Lady Peel received an anonymous letter which intimated that on a certain night Sir Robert's splendid seat, Drayton Manor, would be burned down. She had the courage to remain after procuring a guard, and the threatened attack was not made. It was fully ascertained that these violent acts were organized and directed by the Chartist leaders; and a sense of this, joined to the presence of a large military force collected from all quarters in the district, at length restored a forced tranquility.²

In Scotland matters assumed a still more formidable aspect; for the people there, slow to

¹ Spectator, 1842, 27, 52, 337, 630, 637; Mart. ii. 520, 521.

² Serious riots in England in autumn, 1842.

² Morning Post, Aug. 1842; Spectator, 1842, 800; Mart. ii. 522, 523; Morning Chron. 1842.

move, and not readily excited, are tenacious of purpose, and, when once fairly roused, are capable of the most desperate acts. There is a certain amount of distress which so paralyzes the mind as to render disturbance impossible; there is another which inflames it. Paisley, in Renfrewshire, in August, 1842, had attained the former stage; for there were seventeen thousand persons out of employment, or working for 2½d. a day; and so sunk were their spirits, that they remained quiet, and even recruiting for the army had ceased. In Lanarkshire the case was different; the colliers' and iron-miners' wages had sunk from 5s. to 2s. 9d. or 2s. 6d. a day; but even the reduced sum was capable not only of supporting life, but maintaining vigor. The consequence was, that a great strike took place of the colliers and iron-miners in that county, in the first week of August, 1842, for an advance of wages, which soon came to embrace fifteen thousand persons. The men on strike openly declared that they were not going to starve when the land was covered with food; that there were potatoes enough in the fields, and corn in the barn-yards; and that they would help themselves. They were as good as their word. Dividing themselves into detachments of a hundred or a hundred and fifty each, armed with muskets and clubs, they entered at night into all the most tempting fields of potatoes or barn-yards of corn, and forcibly carried off the produce before the eyes of the trembling proprietors. So general did this species of depredation become, that every field or yard where provisions were to be found, in the mineral districts of the country, required to be guarded at night by armed men, as is the case in the worst-ordered parts of the East; and the whole night long a continued roll of fire-arms was to be heard in these districts, proceeding either from the guards firing to intimidate the depredators, or the latter to enforce their iniquitous designs. To complete the public danger, the only regular regiment in the country was drawn away, at the very worst of the disturbance, to form an escort for the Queen in her progress from Dundee to Blair-Atholl, where her Majesty was to pass the autumn; and the barracks in Glasgow, containing a considerable dépôt of arms, were left under the charge of a dismounted body of eighteen invalid troopers, of whom only five were fit for duty.¹

The great thing, in the first instance, was to prevent this extraordinary state of things from coming to the knowledge of the insurgents in the mining districts, who would instantly have taken advantage of it. For this purpose orders were given to have the barrack-gates open, and to parade the few invalids in an ostentatious manner during the day in the yard, but to have every thing ready to repel an assault at night. By these means the absence of the main body was never discovered till after they had returned; but even when they had done so, and a few troops of horse and companies of infantry were stationed in the disturbed mineral districts, it was no easy matter to know how to make head against the systematic depredation which, over a space of fifteen miles square, was going for-

ward. So perfect was the system of espionage established, that wherever the military went with any of the county magistrates during the night every thing was quiet, and not a vestige of disorder was to be seen; but meanwhile the distant report of fire-arms, which lasted as long as it was dark, proved that it had commenced or was apprehended in other quarters where there were no means of resistance; and reports of half a dozen burglaries or forcible invasion of fields were received next morning. At length it was stopped in a very singular way. The sheriff of Lanarkshire issued a proclamation, recommending no resistance to the bodies of armed men which invaded the farmers' premises, but enjoining the people to watch the retiring body at a distance, and send information to him of the place they had gone to with their spoil; and next night he surrounded the village with a troop of yeomanry, who turned out with the greatest alacrity on the occasion, searched every house, and carried off all the men of those houses in which suspected articles were found, for judicial examination.¹

This system, vigorously applied in several instances, let the insurgents see they might lose more than they gained by their nocturnal depredations, and they generally ceased. But the colliers continued the strike with dogged resolution the whole winter, and it terminated only in March, 1843, from sheer exhaustion, and when the men were compelled to accept lower wages than their employers had originally offered. This strike lasted seven months, kept at least fifty thousand persons all that time in a state of privation of the severest kind, doubled, while it lasted, the price of coal, and cost the nation at least £600,000. Such was the exasperation of the miners during its continuance, that on one occasion, when the military had been imprudently withdrawn from Airdrie, the centre of the mining district, by the authorities, a mob of three thousand persons got up in an hour, shut up the police, twenty in number, in a house, and set fire to the building; and it was only from the accidental circumstance of the hay ignited and thrust in to the aid of the conflagration being damp, from the first shower which had fallen for two months, that the whole police, with five prisoners whom they had in custody, were not burned alive.²

This universal distress in the manufacturing and mining districts complicated in a very serious degree Sir R. Peel's position, and may be regarded as one of the chief causes of the split in his party which so soon after took place. The Anti-Corn-Law League made a skillful use of the general suffering, and turned it to admirable account in their assault on the ancient protective system of the country. They constantly held it forth as having arisen entirely from the monopoly of agricultural produce which the landlords enjoyed, which prevented other nations from being enriched by the sale to us of their grain, and thereby disabled them from

* The Author, suddenly sent for in the night, arrived with the military at two in the morning, and arrested the delinquent leaders, who were transported at the next Assizes.

purchasing in return any considerable amount of our manufactures. In proof of this, they triumphantly referred to the opposite condition of the manufacturing and commercial interests in the country, the former of which was involved in universal and deep distress, while the latter was enjoying comparative affluence, with prod-
 1 Mart. II. uce of all kinds at nearly double the
 529, 530; price they had brought some years be-
 Ann. Reg. fore.¹ It must be confessed that the
 1843, 3, 4 argument and reference were plausi-
 ble in the highest degree, insomuch that not only the ignorant multitude, who were actuated merely by a sense of suffering, but many sensible and thoughtful persons, began to embrace the opinion that the real cause of the long-continued commercial distress had at last been discovered, and that there was no chance of its being removed until an entire freedom in the commerce of grain was established.

The anti-Corn-Law orators used arguments
 25. directly opposite to each other, ac-
 Opposite ar- cording as they addressed agricul-
 guments ad- tural or manufacturing assemblages;
 duced by the and yet, strange to say, they were
 Anti-Corn- readily listened to by both those op-
 Law League, posite parties. To the master man-
 and real posite parties. To the master man-
 causes of the ufacturers they held forth that the
 distress. reduction which Free Trade would
 immediately make in the price of grain would necessarily draw after it a corresponding fall in the wages of labor, and thus enable them to regain the foreign markets which had of late been visibly slipping from their hands. The master manufacturers all believed this, and it was this conviction which rendered them such strenuous supporters of the anti-Corn-Law agitation. To the operative workmen they affirmed that the stimulus the change would give to trade would be such as to cause their wages to rise instead of falling with the decline in the price of provisions, and that by supporting the League they would realize what had been promised them by the Reform Bill, but never yet obtained—namely, a duplication of wages and halving of the cost of food. To the landlords and farmers they held out the prospect of such a reduction in the price of manufactured articles of all sorts, and such an increased consumption of grain from the universal prosperity, as would more than compensate the fall in its price. Strange to say, these opposite and contradictory views were alike embraced by the respective audiences to which they were addressed; the wish, in every instance, being the father to the thought, and preparing a willing reception of such arguments as promised a relief by the change to the suffering under which they almost all labored. And yet was that suffering in reality owing to entirely different causes from what either party imagined, and certain to be dreadfully aggravated, instead of being removed, by the remedies proposed for its alleviation. It arose from five bad seasons in succession acting upon a monetary system rendered entirely dependent on the retention of gold, which the great importation of grain paid for in specie rendered it impossible to retain; coupled with the great diminution of the export trade to America, which, in consequence of General Jackson's democratic crusade against the banks in the United States in 1837, had sunk from

twelve to three millions and a half.* As such, the promised free trade in grain, and consequent increase of the export drain of gold in adverse seasons, could not fail to be the greatest possible aggravation of the danger to the mercantile classes, and so the nation was too fatally taught in the years 1847 and 1848. But no one then anticipated these dangers; and meanwhile the great influence on public opinion which the Anti-Corn-Law League had obtained augmented seriously the difficulties of Sir R. Peel's position, for he could not by possibility please both sections of his supporters, nor secure the support of the urban without alienating the county constituencies.

Parliament adjourned, after a short session, on 7th October, 1841. The only step
 26. of importance taken during its Short ses-
 continuance was the addition of sion of 1841.
 £3,000,000 to the National Debt, in the form of a loan to meet the deficiency of the year, and the certain deficit of the next, before any new measures of finance could be adopted. Ministers claimed the leisure of the recess, which was little more than three months, to prepare their measures to meet the crisis which had arisen. It was no easy matter to do so, for they had to close a deficit which for four years had been eating like a cancer into the vitals of the State, by raising an increased revenue out of a suffering and starving people. The attempt, however, was made, and in a courageous spirit; and the remainder of this work is little more than an exposition, so far as the domestic history of England is concerned, of the consequences of the measures adopted for its furtherance. From this time down to the fall of Sebastopol, the annals of its internal legislation, instead of a confused and complicated tissue of abortive or contradictory measures which no art can render interesting, and which the historian himself has great difficulty in understanding, exhibit a steady and consistent system, which, for good or for evil, produced durable and important results, and which must forever command the attention of mankind, from the immense consequences in both hemispheres with which it was attended.

Parliament met on the 8d February, 1842; and the anxiety of the nation was
 27. wound up to the very highest pitch
 as to the remedial measures which Opening of
 were to be proposed. It was generally the Parlia-
 understood, from the character of the ment of
 1842.
 Feb. 3. Prime Minister and the great strength
 of his government, that they would be of a sweeping and decisive character; and the agricultural party had already taken the alarm in consequence of the retirement, in the middle of January, of the Duke of Buckingham from the Cabinet and office of Lord Privy Seal, who was succeeded by the Duke of Buccleuch. As he was the uncompromising friend of the landed interest, his retirement from the Cabinet was justly regarded as of ominous import to that

* BRITISH MANUFACTURES EXPORTED TO AMERICA.—DECLARED VALUE.

1835.....	£10,568,455	1840.....	£5,263,020
1836.....	12,425,605	1841.....	7,098,642
1837.....	4,695,225	1842.....	3,523,807
1838.....	7,555,710	1843.....	5,012,504
1839.....	8,830,204		

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 300, 8d edit.

portion of the community. The session was opened with unusual splendor, as well from the great concourse of members whom the importance of the measures to be submitted to their consideration had attracted, as from the presence of the King of Prussia, who had come to England to stand sponsor for the Prince of Wales, and who was present with her Majesty on the occasion. The joyous event of the birth of an heir to the throne had taken place on the 9th November preceding. The Queen's Speech noticed with deep regret the continued distress in the manufacturing districts of the country, and bore testimony to the exemplary patience and fortitude with which it had been borne, and recommended to the consideration of the House "the state of the laws which affect the importation of corn, and of other articles, the produce of foreign countries." The Address was carried in both Houses without a division; the attention of all parties, and of the whole country, being fixed on the remedial measures expected from Sir R. Peel with a degree of intensity which never had been witnessed on any former occasion.¹

The eventful debate came on on the 9th February, in a very crowded House, surrounded by a still greater multitude around the doors, which saluted the members as they passed with loud cheers or groans, according as they were understood to favor or oppose the removal of the duties on grain. Cries of "No Sliding Scale!" "Total Repeal!" "Fixed Duty!" were heard on all sides. Corn at the moment was 62s. 9d. the quarter, and they fully expected by the measures in preparation it would in a few weeks be at 45s. Below the bar were the Duke of Cambridge and numerous members of the Upper House. Six hundred anti-Corn-Law delegates marched down to the House, and, on being refused admission to the lobby, thronged the doors, and added to the general excitement. Already, since the meeting of Parliament, 994 petitions had been presented for the total repeal of the Corn-Laws. Sir R. Peel looked grave; he listened unmoved to the cries for the entire removal of the obnoxious duty. At length, amidst breathless silence, he rose and said in substance: "The distress which every one sees and laments, and which has now continued for five years, may be ascribed to the establishment of joint-stock banks, and the connection subsisting between them and our manufacturing establishments, and the consequent immigration of laborers from the agricultural to the manufacturing and mining districts; the immense building speculations which have recently been going on; the great increase of mechanical power; the reaction of the monetary crisis in the United States, and the consequent diminution of the demand for our manufactures: from thence the interruption of our commerce with China, and the apprehension, which has hardly yet subsided, of the renewal of a general war in Europe. Extend as you will your foreign commerce, you may depend upon it that it is not a necessary consequence that the means of employment for manual labor will be proportionally augmented. While I admit the existence of commercial distress,

while I deplore the suffering it has occasioned, I feel bound to declare that I can not attribute the distress to the extent to which by some it is supposed to be imputable to the Corn-Laws.¹

"The export of our manufactures has fallen off considerably in the last two years; their declared value in 1840 fell short of 1839 by £1,817,000. This has chiefly been owing to the great diminution of exports to the United States, which in 1839 were £8,939,000, and had fallen in 1840 to £5,283,000.* This is no doubt a very serious defalcation; but it is fortunate that it is in course of being compensated, and more than compensated, by the great increase in the exports to our own colonies. In 1837 they were £11,208,000; in 1840 they had risen to £15,497,000, and they are still in a course of progressive increase.† The state of our trade with the principal countries of Europe is equally decisive against the idea that the depression which exists is to be ascribed to the operation of the Corn-Laws. Our exports to Germany, Holland, and Belgium, so far from having declined when these laws were in operation, have, on the contrary, steadily increased. The exports to these three countries in 1837 were £8,742,000; in 1838, £9,606,000; in 1839, £9,660,000; in 1840, £9,704,000; so that, even with respect to those countries from whom we derive our chief supplies of grain when we stand in need of it, which are supposed to be such formidable competitors in manufactures, and from which the demand for British manufactures is said to be rapidly diminishing on account of our exclusion of their produce, it still appears that there has been, on the whole, a progressive increase in the amount of our commerce carried on with them. I can not, therefore, infer that the operation of the Corn-Laws is to be charged with the depression which is at present so severely felt in many branches of trade. I see other causes in operation which are sufficient, in a great degree, to account for the evils which no one can deny to exist.

"Those who argue against the continuance of the Corn-Laws are enabled to appeal to arguments which give them a very great advantage. They urge that they impose a tax upon bread, upon the subsistence of the people, and that this burden is imposed for the benefit of a peculiar class. It is easy to see what impression an argument of this sort is calculated to make, especially upon those who suppose they are suffering under the system complained of. A comparison is often made, also, between the price of corn in this and other countries where it is grown cheaper, and the inference is immediately drawn, that if the people of this country were put on the same footing with respect to the articles of subsistence, they would be benefited by the whole

* In 1842, the year in which Sir Robert Peel was speaking, the exports of Great Britain to the United States were only £3,500,000, while six years before they had been £12,500,000.

† EXPORTS TO OUR COLONIES. DECLARED VALUE.

1837.....	£11,208,000	1839.....	£14,563,000
1838.....	12,218,000	1840.....	15,497,000

—SIR ROBERT PEEL'S Speech, *Parl. Deb.*, lx. 207.

amount of the effected reduction in price. It appears to me that any conclusion founded upon such a position will be *altogether erroneous*. The question is, whether you will improve the condition of the laboring classes by effecting a reduction in the price of their food? No position can be more unfounded. The true question is, not what is the price of food, but what is the command which existing wages give the laboring classes over all that constitutes the enjoyments of life, whether they be necessities or luxuries? Judging by this standard, the laboring classes in Great Britain have no reason to envy those of any other country. There is no greater error than to suppose that a great reduction in the price of various articles, and particularly of food, must necessarily lead to a great increase in the comforts and enjoyments of the laboring classes in this country.

"So far from this being the case, the fact appears to be directly the reverse.

31. Continued. Generally speaking, wherever food is very low-priced, the condition of the laboring poor is miserable. I will begin with Prussia. I admit that meat is dearer in this country, that corn is dearer, that all the great articles of human sustenance are much dearer here than in Prussia. But what then? Are the people better off in Prussia than in this country? Do they enjoy and have at their command a greater share of the necessities and conveniences of life? So far from doing so, it appears from the evidence collected by Dr. Bowring, and referred to in the Report of the Committee for the Revision of the Import Duties, that while each individual in England consumes, on an average, a quarter of wheat a year, in Prussia the consumption is only a barrel, or an eighth part as much, the difference being made up of rye, a very inferior grain. Then as to sugar, the average consumption in Britain is seventeen pounds a head; in France it is only five pounds a head; in the states of the German League, four pounds; in Europe generally, two and a half pounds. It is calculated that the people of this country consume fifty pounds of meat annually, at the very lowest. Some writers say one hundred pounds; but take it at the lowest figure, it is much more than they consume in Prussia, which is only thirty-five pounds. Examples of this sort, to which many others may be added in regard to tea, coffee, tobacco, butter, and other articles of general consumption from every country in Europe, prove how fallacious the idea is, that a low price of provisions is an evidence of general prosperity and well-being. On the contrary, it is generally the reverse. A low price of provisions is an indication of a small demand for the better sorts of them, owing to a still lower price of labor.

32. Continued. "In arriving at a just and safe conclusion on this subject, it is most important to determine, if possible, whether, in ordinary years, this country is able to supply itself with the necessary amount of provisions. I am by no means prepared to admit that it is not. If, indeed, we were to form our opinion from the last four years, I should be compelled to conclude that we were dependent for a large portion of our annual supply on foreign nations, for our annual importation of foreign corn into this country during that period

has been 2,800,000 quarters. But they were all uncommonly bad seasons. If we go back for a longer period, one of twelve or thirteen years, it will be found that the whole did not amount to more than twelve or thirteen millions of quarters; for from July 5, 1828, to July 5, 1841, the whole wheat and wheaten flour imported was just 13,470,000 quarters, being somewhat less than a million of quarters a year. For six years, from 1830 to 1836, the importation of foreign wheat was almost nothing. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, that there is no ground for supposing that the country, in ordinary seasons, is not capable of supporting itself from its own resources, and that to look for any rapid or great change in the condition of the working classes from any extensive change of the Corn-Laws would subject you to great disappointment. My firm belief is—I am now speaking with reference to those who wish for an absolute repeal of those laws—that if the House of Commons should be induced to pledge itself to a total repeal, which *we on this side of the House deprecate so much*, you will, without permanently relieving the manufacturing, superadd to it the severest agricultural distress.

"With respect to those who advocate a fixed instead of a variable duty on corn, it must be recollected that ^{33. Concluded.} whatever odium attaches to the imposition of a variable duty must equally apply to a fixed. Both proceed on the principle that agriculture requires protection, and both must in the end be defended by the same arguments. If I had been of opinion that a fixed duty was preferable to a variable one, I should not have hesitated to propose a fixed duty for the adoption of this House. But I do not see how a fixed duty could either be maintained in periods of scarcity, or how, if maintained, it could be a sufficient protection for our agriculturists. You can not expect in bad seasons to be independent of foreign supply; but I retain the opinion which I expressed some time ago, that it is *of the utmost importance to the interests of this country that you should be as much as possible independent of foreign supply*. By this I do not mean that you should be in a state of absolute independence, for that perhaps is impossible, but that we should be in that state that if we resort to foreign nations for supplies, those supplies should be for the purpose of making up deficiencies, rather than as the chief sources of subsistence. I can not bring myself to the conclusion that there must be a periodical, or even an annual, importation of foreign corn, in order to provide for the wants of the people of this country. Therefore I think that a variable or sliding scale, as it is called, is required, for it alone can meet the cases alike of abundant harvests, when importation might be injurious at one time, and deficient harvests, which might render it indispensable at another. It is by this means that you are most likely to realize the great desideratum in political science—that of an abundant supply with a steady, remunerating price. I should say that for the interests of agriculture it would be desirable that the price of corn should, if possible, be made to vary between 54s. and 58s. The average of the last ten years is 56s. 11d.; and I do not think that

1 Parl. Deb. xlix. 202, 213, 227; Ann. Reg. 1842, 16, 23.

it is for the interests of agriculture that it should be higher, nor do I see any lasting advantage to manufactures from its being lower."

The Ministerial plan consisted in the adoption of a new sliding-scale, considerably lower than the former, but still calculated to afford a considerable protection to agriculture. At 50s., and under 51s., the duty on wheat was to be 20s., and from that point it was to fall 1s. with every 1s. the price rose till it reached 78s., when it was to be 1s. only, and remain fixed at that amount above that point. On barley, the duty at 25s. the quarter was to be 11s., falling with every 1s. rise in the price to 87s., when it was to be 1s. only. On oats at 18s. the quarter the duty was to be 8s., falling with every 1s. rise in the price till it reached 27s., when it was to be 1s. only. It was part of Sir R. Peel's plan that this reduction on the duties levied on foreign grain should go hand in hand with a proportional reduction in the duties on nearly all other articles of import—in particular, live animals, meat, and almost all kinds of manufactured articles; but

¹ Ann. Reg. 1842, 37; Parl. Deb. ix. 235, 236. the paramount importance of the proposed alteration on the Corn-Laws led to the debate and sense of the House being taken first on them alone.

On the other hand, it was contended by Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston: ^{35.} "It is now a fixed principle of political philosophy that the best way to regulate commercial matters is not to legislate at all on the subject, but to leave the seller, or producer, and the purchaser, to adjust their respective interests as they themselves may incline. Corn is no exception to this rule. The principle of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, is not less applicable to that than to other objects of commerce. Adam Smith, it is true, states, as an exception to this principle, the case of a number of persons having been long engaged in a particular branch of manufacture, in which case humanity may require that the freedom of trade should only be restored by slow gradations. Mr. Malthus, too, another great authority, admits that corn is an exception, as you ought, as far as possible, to render the country independent of foreign states for its food. But there seems to be no solid foundation for the latter exception. We are not, we can not be independent of foreign nations, any more than they can of us. It is admitted that, for the last four years, 2,800,000 quarters of foreign corn have been imported; that is to say, two millions of our people have been dependent on foreign countries for their daily food. At least five millions of our people are dependent on the supplies of cotton from America, of foreign wool, or foreign silk. Independence of other countries, therefore, is a chimera which it is in vain for a great commercial nation to pursue; and even were it reached, it would be attended with no visible benefit. It is impossible that the time should ever arise when you might not find some part of the world from which you might derive your supplies. The true independence of a great commercial nation is to be found, not in raising all the produce it requires within its own bounds, but in attaining such a pre-

eminence in commerce that the time can never arise when other nations will not be compelled, for their own sakes, to minister to its wants.

"The duties proposed to be levied by the new scale are in the highest degree prohibitory: 20s. are to be levied on wheat when the price is 51s. Now ^{36.} Continued. it appears from the consular returns, that the usual price of wheat free on board at Dantzic is 40s., to which, if 10s. 6d. be added for the price of the transit, we have 50s. 6d. as the price at which Dantzic wheat can be sold in this country. If to this you add 20s. duty, you raise the price of imported wheat at once to 70s., a price at which it never can be imported with profit, unless prices have reached famine levels. Indeed, the new scale will exclude all importation till prices are above 61s.; and when it does begin, owing to the prices having risen, and the harbors being practically opened, the result will be, a great import of foreign grain, a great consequent drain on the Bank for gold to pay for it, an immediate contraction of issues, and wide-spread commercial distress. Many millions must be paid, and you have no means of doing so by sending out goods, because you have no regular trade.

"There is nothing of such importance to this country as to extend its commercial relations with the United States of ^{37.} Continued. America. There are to be found nations rapidly increasing in population and resources, which could furnish you to any extent with the means of subsistence, and take in return any conceivable amount of your manufactures. Around the great inland seas, formed in its progress to the ocean by the St. Lawrence, is a cluster of five nations arising, extending from the Lakes on the north to the Ohio on the south. The territory they inhabit is twice as large as France, and six times as large as England. It contains 180,000,000 of acres, a large portion of which is of surpassing fertility. The population of this cluster of states already exceeds 800,000: if the same rate of progress shall be maintained for the next twelve years, it will contain 12,000,000. Yet are they at such a distance from this country that they can never be formidable competitors to our farmers; for even without a duty, wheat can never be sent from thence to Britain for less than 43s. to 47s. They would be glad to receive your manufactures in exchange for the food which they send you; but how can they do so if you refuse to receive their grain, or do what is the same thing, load it with such duties as make it not worth their while to send it? Were it otherwise—were a free commercial intercourse established with them, there is no saying how long you might continue to furnish them with manufactured goods, or how extensive and lucrative might be the commerce you might carry on with them. However rising may be the manufactures of the United States, there is not enough of that species of industry, and probably there will not be for a very long time, to furnish with clothes and other articles of rude comfort this great population.

"If a moderate fixed duty were established, you would have a complete change effected in the corn trade. Instead ^{38.} Continued. of gambling transactions, which the

system of taking the average prices in the great towns has a direct tendency to foster, you would establish a sound and advantageous trade; and instead of the merchant hurrying at every rise in price to the foreign market on the Continent, and thus needlessly enhancing the price of corn, you would establish a steady and well-regulated barter, which would at the same time supply your wants and establish new fields for the consumption of the produce of your manufacturing industry. Under such a system the merchant would make his arrangements for buying a supply of corn in those places where it was cheapest, and would bring it home at a period when he thought it would be best disposed of both to the country and himself. Above all, by such a system you would extend greatly your commercial relations both of export and import with the United States. Were this system once thoroughly established and acted upon, England would become the great corn emporium of the world, and a supply of food would be secured for its inhabitants both at the cheapest and the most equitable rates.

“Why is the earth on which we live divided into different zones and climates? Why do different countries yield different productions to people experiencing similar wants? Why are they intersected with mighty rivers, the natural highways of nations? Why are lands the most distant brought into contact by that very ocean which seems to separate them? Why, Sir, it is that man may be made dependent on man. It is that the exchange of commodities may be accompanied by the extension and diffusion of knowledge, by the interchange of mutual benefits engendering mutual kind feelings, multiplying and confirming friendly relations. It is that Commerce may freely go forth, leading Civilization with one hand and Peace with the other, to render mankind happier, wiser, better. This is, the dispensation of Providence, this is the decree of that Power which created and disposed the universe. But in the face of it, with arrogant, presumptuous folly, the dealers in restrictive duties fly, fettering the inborn energies of man, and setting up their miserable legislation instead of the great standing laws of nature.”¹

The House divided upon this debate, when there appeared for Lord John Russell's amendment 226, against it 349—majority for Sir R. Peel, 123. This division was of course decisive of the fate of the measure in the Lower House: the second reading passed by a majority of 284 to 176. An amendment, proposed by Mr. Christopher, and supported by the whole strength of the Protectionists, with the object of raising the scale of duties, was rejected by a majority of 306 to 104; a majority which was justly regarded as ominous of the fate of the whole Corn-Laws at no distant period. A resolution proposed by Mr. Cobden on the third reading, to the effect of abrogating the duties altogether, was in like manner rejected by 236 to 86.

¹ The concluding striking paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Lord Palmerston's splendid peroration.—*Parl. Deb.*, xlix. 619.

Thus, so far as could be gathered from the votes of the House, it was resolved to support the middle course, stand by the Minister, and to avoid the extremes on either side. In the House of Lords the bill was, upon the whole, favorably received, although the Duke of Buckingham expressed the greatest alarm at the measure. It was supported, however, by Lord Winchilsea and a number of the ultra-Tories, as well as the whole Ministerialists. The second reading passed without opposition; but Lord Melbourne afterward moved the substitution of a fixed duty for the sliding-scale, and Lord Brougham the total abolition of all duties, both of which were rejected, the former by a majority of 117 to 49, the latter by 87 to 6. The bill then passed and became law without any farther opposition.¹

During the progress of the measure, the nation, as might have been expected on a question of so much importance, and so interesting to large bodies of men on both sides, was seriously agitated on the subject. At first great dissatisfaction was expressed in the manufacturing towns, and in some of them Sir R. Peel was even burned in effigy for having proposed the retention of any duty at all on foreign grain. The landed proprietors also, and farmers in several places—especially those districts where wheat was largely grown—though not so noisy in the expression of their disapprobation, were not less the prey of serious apprehension as to the ability of British agriculture, oppressed as it was with so many burdens, to maintain its ground against foreign competition. By degrees, however, these feelings were softened down on both sides, and the nation generally acquiesced in the change, regarding it, though for different reasons, as if not the best that either could have desired, at least the best which, under existing circumstances, could be obtained.²

The alteration of the duties on grain, though not the least important, was but a part of the comprehensive plan of the Prime Minister. In addition to the loud cry for the repeal of the Corn-Laws, he had to face a difficulty of a still more pressing kind, arising from the deficiency of the revenue, amounting already to £2,500,000, and which, with the necessary expenses falling on this country from the Afghanistan expedition, could not be estimated at less than £4,700,000. How to meet this with the resources of an impoverished realm, and a people who, so far from being disposed to acquiesce in an increase, were loudly clamoring for a reduction of taxation, appeared almost an impossibility; and yet the attempt absolutely required to be made, if England would avoid descending at once from her high position in the scale of nations. Sir Robert Peel attempted it with a courage and manliness worthy of the highest admiration; and the speech with which he ushered in his important measures was one of the most remarkable of his long and brilliant career.³ It was on the 11th March that, in a very crowded House, and

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1842, 41, 79; *Parl. Deb.* lx. 620, 1082, 1167, 1211, 75, 722, 804.

² Reception of the measure in the country.

³ *Ann. Reg.* 1842, 53; *Mart. ii.* 532.

⁴ Financial difficulties of Sir R. Peel.

⁵ *Parl. Deb.* lxi. 423; *Ann. Reg.* 1843, 72, 73.

amidst breathless silence, he thus expressed himself:

“No one can feel more strongly than I do the importance and extent of the duty that now devolves on me, and my own inadequacy to its discharge. But I should be unworthy of the trust committed to me, I should be unworthy of my place as Minister of the British Crown, if I could feel disheartened or discouraged, if I could feel any thing but that buoyancy and contentedness of mind which ought to sustain every public man on entering on the discharge of a public duty—conscious that he is actuated by no motives that are not honorable and just, and feeling a deep and intimate conviction that, according to the best conclusion of his imperfect and fallible judgment, the measures which he intends to propose will be conducive to the welfare, I may say essential to the prosperity, of his country. We live in an important era of human affairs. There may be a natural tendency to overrate the magnitude of the crisis in which we live, or those particular events with which we are ourselves conversant; but I think it is impossible to deny that the period in which our lot and the lot of our fathers has been cast—the period which has elapsed since the first outbreak of the first French Revolution—has been one of the most memorable that the history of the world will afford. The course which England has pursued during that period will attract for ages to come the contemplation, and, I trust, the admiration of posterity. There will be a time when these countless millions that are sprung from our loins, occupying many parts of the globe, living under institutions different from ours, but speaking our language, will view with pride and admiration the example of constancy and fortitude which our fathers set during the momentous period of war. They will view with admiration our achievements by land and by sea, our determination to uphold the public credit, and all those qualities by which we were enabled ultimately to effect the deliverance of Europe. I am now addressing you after the duration of twenty-five years of peace. I am now exhibiting to you the financial difficulties and embarrassments in which you are placed, and my confident hope and belief is that, following the example of those who have preceded you, you will look those difficulties in the face, and not refuse to make similar sacrifices to those which your fathers made for the purpose of upholding public credit.

“You will bear in mind that this is no casual or occasional difficulty. You will bear in mind that there are indications among all the upper classes of increased comfort and enjoyment, of increased prosperity and wealth, and that concurrently with these indications there exists a mighty evil which has been growing up for the last seven years, and which you are now called upon to meet. You will not reconcile it to your consciences to hope for relief from diminished taxation. If you have the fortitude and constancy of which you have been set the example, you will not consent with folded arms to view the annual growth of this mighty evil. You will not adopt the miserable expedient of adding

during peace, and in the midst of those indications of wealth and increasing prosperity, to the burdens which posterity will be called upon to bear. If you do permit this evil to continue, you must expect the severe but just judgment of a reflecting and retrospective posterity. Your conduct will be contrasted with that of your fathers, under difficulties infinitely less pressing than theirs; with that of your fathers at the Mutiny at the Nore, and who, with a rebellion in Ireland and disaster abroad, submitted, with buoyant vigor and universal applause, with the Funds as low as 52, to a property-tax of 10 per cent. My confident hope and belief is, that now, when I devolve the responsibility upon you, you will prove yourselves worthy of your mission as the representatives of a mighty people; that you will not tarnish the fame which it is your duty to cherish as the most glorious inheritance; and that you will not impair the character for fortitude and good faith which, in proportion as the empire of opinion supersedes and predominates over the empire of physical force, constitutes for every people, but above all for the people of England, the main instrument by which a powerful people can repel hostile aggression and maintain extended empire.

“What, then, is to be done in this emergency, when remedies of no ordinary kind must be resorted to, if power is to be maintained or bankruptcy avoided? Indirect taxation has reached its limits, and can no longer be relied on. Last year the addition of 5 per cent. on the Customs and Excise, instead of producing £5 per cent., as was expected, produced only 10s.; while the percentage of 10 per cent. on the assessed taxes produced considerably more than was expected. Are we, then, to go back to the old taxes? Shall we restore the postage duties? At present, the new packet-service being added, *the Post-office produces no revenue at all, but is rather a charge*; but the penny postage has not been long enough in operation to justify us in proposing an alteration upon it. Are the taxes to be restored upon wool, salt, and leather? That would be adding to the burdens of the already suffering portion of the community, to the relief of that which is in affluence; and in addition, many new contracts have been entered into upon the faith of their abolition, and salt, in particular, has been applied to many new purposes. A nation's revenue may sometimes be in the end increased by reduced taxation; but, in the first instance, it is always followed by a great diminution, and a very long time is always required to restore the amount. This principle is illustrated by what has happened with respect to the reduced duties on wine, tobacco, sugar, coffee, hemp, rum, and other articles. A mere reduction of duties, therefore, will not present a resource to meet the present emergency; and my settled opinion, my deep conviction is, that it has become necessary to make a great appeal to the holders of property.

“My plan is this: to levy an income-tax not exceeding 7d. in the pound, or about 8 per cent., on all incomes above £150, including all funded property, whether in the hands of natives or foreigners. I estimate the incomes of lands in Great Britain

45.

Continued.

46.

Continued.

at £39,400,000; houses, £25,000,000; mines, railroads, etc., £8,400,000; in all, £72,800,000. The total produce of this tax, excluding Ireland, I estimate at £3,771,000. As Ireland is to be withdrawn from the tax, I propose to add 1s. a gallon to the tax on spirits, the consumption of which is again increased from the decline of the influence of the temperance pledge. From this source I expect £250,000 a year; and from the equalization of the stamp-duty in that country with that in England, £160,000 more. Four shillings a ton is to be laid on *exported* coals, from which I expect £200,000; in all, £4,380,000, which will cause a considerable surplus after covering the whole deficiency for the year, which I estimate at £2,500,000. And then the question remains, In what way can this surplus be best applied to improve the resources or lighten the industry of the nation? This surplus I propose to apply in the reduction of the import duties in our commercial tariff.

47. Continued. "The principle on which this reduction is founded is, wherever the duty is trifling, and it is practicable, to abolish it altogether; to reduce the duty on raw materials to 5 per cent.; upon articles partially manufactured to 12 per cent., and even on articles entirely manufactured, to cause it not to exceed 20 per cent. On 750 articles of import there is to be an entire remission or abatement of duty; on 450 it is left untouched. The total loss of reduction on the whole would not exceed £270,000. On sugar no reduction of duty, I regret to say, is at present practicable; but on coffee a very great diminution is proposed, bringing down the duty to 8d. a pound on foreign, and 4d. on British. On timber, regarding Canada as an integral part of the empire, and equally entitled to protection, it is proposed to make the duty merely nominal when it comes from British possessions, and 25s. a load when from foreign states. The loss thence arising will be about £600,000 a year.* On the whole, these reductions, with the necessary increase of expenditure, will swell the deficit to £3,700,000; but as the proposed new taxes will bring in £4,300,000, there will be a surplus of some half million to apply to the support of our distant wars.

48. Concluded. "I have a sincere and cordial respect for the interests which apprehend they will be affected by the reductions in the tariff; but communications with the principal parties likely to be affected by it have confirmed the Government in the opinion that these measures will be attended by great public advantage to all classes, not even excluding the agricultural, by the reduction which we propose to make in meat, and cattle, and, above

* The duties proposed to be lowered, which excited the greatest alarm, were those which related to live cattle, sheep and swine, salted and dried meats, and on butter, eggs, cheese, and lard, and the substitution of a moderate duty on these articles. The proposed duties were:

	Present Duty.	New Duty.
Live cattle.....	Prohibited.	£1 0s. a head.
Beef (salt)	12s. a cwt.	0 8s. a cwt.
Lard	8s. "	0 2s. "
Hams	28s. "	0 14s. "
Salmon	Prohibited.	0 10s. "
Herrings	20s. a barrel.	0 10s. "

—*Parl. Deb.*, lxiii. 867, 871.

all, by removal of that complete prohibition which we found when we approached the subject. I know that many gentlemen who are strong advocates for free trade may consider that I have not gone far enough. I know that I believe that in the general principle of free trade there is now no great difference of opinion, and that *all agree in the general rule 'that we should buy in the cheapest market, and sell in the dearest.'* (Loud cheers from the Opposition.) I have stated the reasons on more than one occasion why I think the case of corn and sugar is an exception to this rule. I know that I may be met by the complaints of the gentlemen opposite as to the limited extent to which I have applied the principle to which I have adverted to these important articles. But I feel satisfied that it was inexpedient to apply such important changes as I have heard suggested to these important interests. I think it would be imprudent to increase the alarm which already prevails among these important classes. I think the Legislature has made as great a change as was prudent under the circumstances, *1 Parl. Deb.* and considering the existing relations between landlord and tenant, *lxi. 450, 464, 466, lxii. 444,* and the large amount of capital at *710; Ann.* present applied to the cultivation of *Reg. 1842,* the soil." *72, 84.*

No debate followed on this speech in the first instance; and the Opposition were so much impressed with the courage and grandeur of the change proposed, that for some days the demon of faction was almost laid asleep, and it was thought the measure would pass unanimously. By degrees, however, they recovered from their consternation, and efforts were made to get up a popular agitation against the essential parts of the proposed measure. This was no difficult matter; for although every one, of course, except the farmers, cordially acquiesced in the reduction of duties proposed by the new commercial tariff, yet the feeling was by no means so unanimous in favor of the proposed substitute of an income-tax. Great alarm also prevailed in the grazing districts, that the admission of foreign cattle and salted meat would prove fatal to that portion of British, and still more Irish agriculture. The proposal, too, of an income-tax excited no small degree of alarm, especially among the middle and trading classes, who dreaded the absorption of their profits, and exposure of their affairs, especially in a time of European peace, when the necessity of so rigorous an expedient was by no means apparent. Accordingly, the Opposition saw that this was the tender point to which all their efforts should be directed, and the main struggle took place on Lord John Russell's amendment condemnatory of that tax, which came on on the 4th April, and lasted four nights. But it was favorably received in the city, especially as indicating the resolution of the Government to uphold public credit, without having recourse to a loan, which was generally apprehended, and the Funds rose from 89 to 93 in consequence. *Ann. Reg. 1842, 376, 84, 86; Mart. ii. 538.*

Against the tax it was urged by Lord John Russell in the Commons, and Lord Brougham in the Lords: "A direct tax on income ought never to be resorted to unless in some great

emergency of public affairs—when an extraordinary expenditure has become necessary for a time, or in some pressure upon the finances of the country, which can be sustained by no other means. Such a tax ought on no account to form part of the ordinary revenue of the State, but should cease with the necessity which could alone justify its adoption; inasmuch as, besides all the other objections to which it is liable, its inquisitorial character is such as must always render it odious, however trifling may be the amount abstracted. The facility with which it is collected offers a constant temptation to extravagance on the part of Government, removes the most important check upon expenditure, and dispenses with the necessity of seeking for an equality between income and expenditure in economy.

“The actual state of the revenue, exhibiting a deficiency of £7,500,000 in five years, and a certain deficiency of £2,500,000 more in this year, besides probable demands from our Eastern war, may perhaps justify the imposition of an income-tax as a temporary burden, especially after the attempt to add a twentieth part to the excise and customs had only produced an increase of a two-hundredth part; yet it behooves Parliament, as the faithful guardians of the people's rights and interests, to take care that, during its temporary existence, its pressure shall be distributed in such a manner as shall make it most easily and patiently borne. In this case, it is indispensable that there should be no exemptions, not even of the highest and most exalted in the realm, of a due sense of which the Sovereign has afforded a shining example, in voluntarily offering to share the burden with the meanest of her subjects. But this alone is not enough. It is indispensable also that some distinction should be established between incomes derived from capital of any description and from mere labor, whether that labor be of the head or the hands, by levying a smaller proportion on the latter income than the former. For the same reason, it is indispensable, if we would avoid making the tax a direct confiscation, to make the rate different on persons living on annuities, salaries, and life-interests only, and those who are possessed, in addition, of the capital or stock from which it proceeds.

“These are the exemptions or limitations which justice absolutely requires if this tax is for any period, however short, to be persevered in. There are others more likely to be earnestly contended for, which are not founded in justice, and should be resisted. There should be no distinction of persons in the civil service of the State or in receipt of pensions; they should be dealt with as belonging to the class of annuitants only. It is as little consistent with justice or sound policy to make the rate heavier upon persons of larger income than smaller, or to exempt any class from its operation, until you arrive at the class where it is not worth the expense of collecting, or the people are wholly unable to pay it. Unless this is done, not only is the tax a direct partial confiscation, by seizing upon the property of one class while others are exempt from it, but there is the greatest risk that it will degen-

erate into a perpetual burden, which all other classes, excepting the one burdened, have a direct interest, for their own benefit, in retaining upon them. The only way to make the tax temporary only, is to subject such a number of persons to its operation as to interest at all times a majority of the constituencies in its abolition.

“The tax was originally laid on as a war-tax only, and has never been attempted to be justified on any other footing. The very act which extended it to 10 per cent. expressly declared that it ‘should continue in force during the present war, and until the 6th day of April next after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, and no longer.’ Words can not be more explicit—the faith of Government can not be more strongly pledged. Accordingly, by a great effort of the nation, it was shaken off in 1816, though Lord Castlereagh and the Government of the day made the greatest efforts to get it continued for at least a year longer, in order to wind up the expense of the gigantic war then terminated. But what is the present proposal of the Minister? It is to impose it during a period of profound peace, when, as the speech from the Throne has just informed us, her Majesty continues to receive assurances of the most friendly dispositions from all foreign powers. To resort to the desperate measure of an income-tax, in such circumstances, is nothing less than to proclaim to the world that your resources are exhausted, that indirect taxation has reached its limits, and that you are now more straitened in your finances, in the end of a peace of twenty-five years’ duration, than you formerly were in the middle of a war of nearly as long duration.

“When Mr. Pitt imposed the tax, it was to meet a deficit of £10,000,000, in the heat of a great war, which there was absolutely no other means of filling up. Is there any analogy between such a situation and the present one of this country? Your deficit is £2,500,000, about a twentieth part of your whole income. Though there has been a deficiency for some years, yet the resources of the country are unimpaired. During that time the credit of the nation has been so high that the Three per Cents have been at 89 and 90, and you have been able to borrow at 8½ per cent., while other nations have been obliged to give 5.* There is, therefore, nothing in the state of public credit which requires an extraordinary effort—nothing which obliges you to contradict the assertion of former Parliaments, and the declarations of all classes of politicians, that this is a tax that ought to be reserved either for

* Sir R. Peel made a happy retort on this allusion to the high state of the Funds, as affording the means of meeting the public necessities without recurring to an income-tax. “If you say it is better to go on a little longer with the present system, increasing the debt a little more, funding at 91, why are the Three per Cents at 91? Who has made them 91? Public credit is high; the Funds have risen, and, say you, ‘You can have a loan easily now.’ Oh you miserable financiers!—[Laughter and cheers.] The Funds are high, because you have shown a disposition not to resort to loans in times of peace.”—*Parl. Deb.*, lii. 444.

In this debate, Sir R. Peel stated the deficiency at,
 United Kingdom.....£2,570,000
 India.....2,450,000
 Total, £5,000,000

while the surplus the Whigs received on entering upon office was £3,000,000.—*Ann. Reg.*, 1842, p. 89.

times of war or difficulties with great powers, in times of peace making them equal to times of war. The budget of last year will furnish funds adequate to the whole public necessities, without recurring to this odious, unjust, and inquisitorial tax, which should be reserved
1 Parl. Deb. lxi. 86, 147; as a last resource for the country in Ann. Reg. 1842, 77, 79. ty."

Lord John Russell's amendment was rejected, on the 13th April, by a majority of 308 to 202, and on the 30th May the third reading was carried by a majority of 180. In the Lords, the bill passed by a majority of 71.
55. The bill passed, and its reception by the country.

Notwithstanding these large majorities in both Houses, however, the change introduced great alarm into the country, especially the grazing districts, which were most threatened by the changes in the tariff. The admission of horned cattle at a duty of £1 a head, and sheep, pigs, and salted meat at very reduced duties, naturally excited great alarm among the agriculturists, who were well aware that these animals were reared in countries where rent and wages were not a half of what they are in the British Islands. The oxen of Holstein, and the dairy produce of Holland, were particularly dreaded, and appearances for some time seemed to justify the apprehension. Butcher-meat from Hamburg was advertised at threepence a pound; beef and mutton fell a third in the London market; and during the panic, great numbers of graziers sold off their whole stock, in the belief that the country would be wholly supplied from foreign parts. By degrees, however, the alarm subsided; people recollected that it takes a year to make a sheep, three to form an ox; and the immediate rise of prices which ensued in the countries from which importation was chiefly dreaded proved that the competition was not likely to be so formidable as had been apprehended. Meat, after a great fall, soon rose again to its former level of 6d. and 7d. a pound; and the subsequent importation, though by no means inconsiderable, has not been so large as to warrant any well-grounded apprehensions that *this branch* of British agriculture is likely to suffer materially from the change. On the contrary, the evident tendency of the new tariff has been to cause the corn-lands to be thrown into grass, and render the nation dependent on foreigners, not for its meat, but for its bread. This is exactly what took place in the last days of the Roman Empire, when Italian agriculture was destroyed by the free importation of wheat from Egypt and Libya; but the Italian landlords still drew considerable rents from vast herds of cattle which wandered over the Ansonian plains, of which the present desolate Campania is a remnant and an example.
2 Parl. Deb. lxi. 444, 710; Mart. ii. 541. ple.

Impartial consideration, now that their effect has been tested by experience, must lead to the conclusion that these changes on the tariff introduced by Sir R. Peel were expedient, and required by the circumstances of society. The reason is one of convincing force, though, of course, it was not alluded to by Sir R. Peel or any of his party, or indeed on either side of the House. This is, that as the price of every arti-

cle of consumption had on an average been lowered at least 50 per cent. by the contraction of the currency, it was essential that the money duties should be reduced at least in a similar proportion, or the burden of the import duties would be practically seriously augmented. To have done justice to the nation, taxation of every sort should have been reduced in a similar proportion, including that which went to provide for the interest of the National Debt; but as this was impossible, it was at least something to reduce the money duties on imported articles, and thereby lower their cost in proportion to the lessened income of those who were to purchase them. It is true, this was hard on them who lived by the production of such articles, and this at first sight seemed an injustice; but in reality it was not so. The price of labor, and of raw materials of all sorts, having been reduced also 50 per cent. by the monetary changes, the cost of production was lessened to them in the same proportion, and the expense of their own living had been reduced in a similar degree. Sir R. Peel said that the income-tax of 8 per cent. would be more than compensated to every person who paid it by the lessened price of every article of consumption occasioned by his tariff; and although there are few of the payers of the tax who will concur in that opinion, yet none can deny that a reduction of at least 50 per cent. in the cost of living had been made by the monetary changes that he had introduced, which imperatively called for a corresponding reduction in the burdens with which their articles of consumption were affected.

This leads to a very curious reflection. The financial situation of the nation had become so serious, and the deficit so alarming, that it had overturned one Administration, and forced an entire change of commercial policy on another. The nation was steeped in misery, and indirect taxation had reached its limits; yet foreign affairs had become so threatening that a great increase of the national armaments had become indispensable. The whole experience and talent of the Legislature were taxed to the uttermost to discover a remedy for these manifold evils, and none could be thought of but recurring, in a period of profound European peace, to the grinding tax heretofore reserved as a last resource for the exigencies and dangers of war. Yet was the remedy easy, cheap, certain, injurious to no one, profitable to all. Nothing was required but to send a letter from the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Governors of the Bank of England, authorizing the notes issued on securities to be raised from £14,000,000 to £21,000,000. Instantly despondency would have been succeeded by hope, poverty by comfort, compulsory idleness by willing industry, financial embarrassment by an overflowing treasury. Nothing but to confess a gigantic error was wanting to repair boundless calamities, to restore happiness to a suffering realm. But to have done so required, in some, the magnanimous confession of former mistakes; in others, a surrender of, to them, a most profitable usurpation; in all, a close attention to a subject of universal interest, and but very partial comprehension. The proof of this, how-

ever, is now decisive. Sir Robert Peel's subsequent change in 1844, without his designing it, induced such an extension of the currency as was required, though on the most perilous footing, and two years of prosperity, followed by a frightful commercial crisis, ensued. Nature gave a lasting extension on a solid foundation, by opening her reserves of gold in 1851, and unbroken prosperity has been the consequence.

For the same reason the income-tax must be regarded, generally speaking, as a wise and just measure at the time it was imposed. The necessity for it was as great as when first proposed by Mr. Pitt; and the wars in Afghanistan and China, if less dangerous, were hardly less costly than those which had been waged with European potentates. The currency system had all turned to the advantage of realized property; the *Times*, the great advocate for that system, boasted, in the pride of its heart, that it had made a sovereign worth two sovereigns. This, though a little exaggerated, was in the main true; but as the moneyed interest had thus largely benefited by a system under which every other interest had essentially suffered, nothing could be more just than that it should bear the burden of the increased taxation, which that very system had rendered irrecoverable from all the other classes of the community. In a word, the monetary system was a class system of legislation designed for the benefit of the rich, and which had ended in ruining the poor; and it had now led to its natural and just result, that of rendering class taxation unavoidable if the public revenue was to be upheld and national bankruptcy averted.

But for the very same reason, the injustice of levying the tax at the same rate upon the wages of labor or the income of annuitants, as upon incomes derived from land or realized capital, was not merely to oppress industry by taxing a perishable at the same rate as a durable income, but to subject it to the still farther injustice of making *the sufferers under class legislation pay at the same rate as those enriched by it*—those whose incomes had been halved, as those which had been doubled by recent changes. The injustice of the double burden thus imposed upon the industrious classes was so obvious that, had it been widespread, it must have been speedily abrogated. But it was not widespread, and therefore it was continued, and still continues. The whole persons assessed under Schedule D—that is, the professional class in Great Britain—were only 143,000, a mere trifle among 27,000,000, then forming the population of the British Islands. This handful of men were not the rich bankers or capitalists whose voice is always listened to with respect by Government; they were for the most part hard-working citizens, too few to inspire terror by their numbers, too poor to command influence by their riches.

The vast majority who escaped the tax because their incomes were below the line when it began, gave themselves no sort of disquiet about an injustice by which they were not affected, and rather rejoiced at a burden on others which might be the means of cheapening com-

modities; the holders of realized wealth in secret beheld with satisfaction the burden imposed in such a manner upon the industrious classes as might lessen its pressure on themselves. Thus crushed by the weight of capital, the industrious classes remained oppressed with an injustice which probably never would have been thought of but in a country subjected to class government, nor continued but in one ruled by its influences. The Ministers, assailed by arguments to which they could make no reply, contented themselves with observing that the whole income-tax was an injustice, but that such were the practical difficulties involved in the question that they could not see their way to a more equitable distribution of its burden—the usual answer when Government is pressed with a request which they can not assign any reason for not granting, but which they are resolved, for some undivulged reason, not to concede. It is remarkable that, while this injustice has been perpetrated and continued for fifteen years, in a country boasting all the blessings of representative institutions, in despotic Denmark the property-tax has been arranged in so different a manner that the only question is whether it is not unduly favorable to the middle and industrious classes.*

If Sir R. Peel was sincere in his appeal to the holders of property to submit to a temporary burden in order to extricate the nation from the financial embarrassments in which it had become involved, he himself gave the noblest proof that he was prepared to act upon the principles which he recommended to others. On the very night (11th March) when he pronounced that eloquent appeal, he had received the accounts of the death of Sir W. Macnaghten and the Afghanistan disaster. Vailing with heroic courage his knowledge of the calamity under a calm exterior and a serene visage, he addressed the assembly as if nothing had occurred to break the even tenor of his way, instead of intelligence having been received of the greatest disaster in British annals. The mournful events, however, could not long be concealed, and such was the anxiety of the public for information as to their details that almost every night, for some weeks after, he was besieged with questions in the House from persons who had relatives involved in the frightful ruin. To all these questions he answered with the kindness of a father and the resignation of a Christian; and when the moment for decision arrived, and he required openly to face the calamity and adopt measures to meet it, he acted with the consistency of an old Roman. He openly admitted the magnitude of the disaster which had been sustained, but stated that Government were resolved to meet it in a worthy spirit, and that every effort would be made to restore victory to the British standards. This intrepid announcement was received with loud

* "In Denmark the property-tax is on a graduated scale in proportion to the amount of the income enjoyed by the persons taxed, from whatever source derived. It may well be doubted whether this is not confiscation of the fortunes above the line where the heavier burden begins. But the curious thing is that in the popular community the injustice perpetrated was on the middle class; in the despotic monarchy on the nobility and rich."—*DOUGLASS'S Life of Peel*, ii. 347.

cheers from both sides of the House; reinforcements to a large extent were sent out to the armies in India, so as to raise the British forces there to 45,000 men; and Europe, after a disaster had been sustained, which it was generally supposed, and perhaps hoped, had finally destroyed the British power in India, beheld

with astonishment preparations making to elevate it to an unprecedented pitch of grandeur.¹

Almost unnoticed amidst the multitude of important objects which in this session crowd upon the attention, a bill was brought forward, calculated in the end to work a great and durable change on the national mind and fortunes. This was the COPYRIGHT BILL, brought forward by Lord Mahon (now Earl Stanhope), which this year was sanctioned by both Houses, and passed into law. The right of authors to the property of the written expression of their thoughts, not recognized by the common law of England when published, was the creature of statute, and by the celebrated Act of 1710 of Queen Anne had been limited to fourteen years, with the addition of fourteen more if the author survived the first. This strange distinction, which in the case of works of standard merit likely to be prized by posterity, and therefore valuable to the author's family, made so great a difference in the advantages accruing to them according as he survived or did not survive a certain arbitrary time, had long been felt as unjust. It had not escaped observation, too, that the effect of limiting the copyright of authors to so short a period had been to direct original thought and genius to works of transient popularity rather than durable utility. Impressed with these ideas, the accomplished Mr. Sergeant Talfourd had made repeated attempts to obtain for authors a further extension of the duration of copyright, and the example of Sir Walter Scott's family, which was immersed in difficulties at a time when his literary works should have yielded a splendid fortune to his descendants, was strongly founded on. The learned Sergeant's efforts, however, which were continued through three successive sessions, were unsuccessful, chiefly through the efforts of Mr. Macaulay, who, strange to say, strained every nerve to defeat a measure calculated to give independence to a class of which he himself was so bright an ornament. At length, in this session, the tardy act of justice was done to literary men, and by Lord Mahon's bill the copyright was fixed at the entire life of

the author, and seven years after; or if these terms did not extend to 1897; Pol. Dict. i. 641. years.²

There can be no doubt that this was a very important step in the right direction, and far more for the interests of nations than those of literary men: the beneficial effects of the change are already apparent, and are becoming more so every day. The extension of the power of reading to the great body of the people, and the great increase which has consequently taken place in the sale of publications, has indeed put an end to the degrading patronage of rank and power to genius which was felt as so painful by the authors in

the time of Queen Anne, and appears so strongly in the fulsome flattery of their dedications. The public has become the great patron, and superseded all others. But the change has only enhanced the dangers to which philosophic thought and literary effort are exposed. The public is a jealous mistress, and very little experience is required to show that incessant flattery is the best passport to her favors. The servility of the press to the reigning multitude in democratic communities is at least equal to all that ever was shown to powerful ministers or charming duchesses; witness the press of republican France in former days, of republican America, and a large part of it in this country in these times.

This evil is of the most serious kind, and it is constantly increasing with the extension of education, and the augmentation of the number of readers; for that only multiplies the numbers to whom the flattering unction must be applied. "No man," says Goethe, "ever spoke for half an hour to a mixed audience without flattering them that he was not thought tedious." This is not less true of writers than speakers. "Democracy," says Guizot, "has two grave faults; it aspires passionately to rule without control, and it is constantly governed by the interests and passions of the moment. To judge by the experience of the past, it is of all the social powers the most exacting and unforeseeing—that which is most jealous of limits or division of power, and also that which is most exclusively governed by present fancies, without a thought either of the past or the future."³ Guizot, Sir R. Peel, 353.

The only way in which it is possible to prevent literature from falling in with and aggravating this perilous tendency in numerous and highly-educated communities, is to give authors an interest in the approbation of future times, and thereby emancipate them from the dominion of the present. Unless this is done, the standard literature of the country, like the daily or monthly press, will be entirely devoted to inflaming the passions and aggravating the prejudices of the moment. Truth is always distasteful in the outset of its career to the majority: witness the reception of the discovery of the motions of the earth by Galileo, of the circulation of the blood by Harvey, of the system of the heavens by Copernicus and Newton. The Cross itself, which was to save the world, was borne in pain and sorrow by our Saviour: "Crucify him! crucify him!" was the universal cry. So different is the first impulse of the multitude from the ultimate conclusions of reason. No state of things can be conceived more perilous; and if it is of long continuance, it may come to give awful meaning to the banishment of mankind from paradise in consequence of eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. But as certainly as prejudice and passion govern mankind in regard to the present, so reason and truth prevail in the end. "Magna est veritas et prevalebit" is a maxim of universal truth and application; and the only way to prevent it, to rule in the end the thoughts of men, is to give authors a durable interest in the publication of their thoughts, and thereby relieve them from the necessity of flattering only present passions or interests.

^{62.} Lord Mahon's Copyright Bill.

¹ Parl. Deb. lx. 1429, lxi. 1397; Pol. Dict. i. 641.

^{63.} Reflections on this Act.

^{64.} Extension of the dangers of literature.

In January, 1841, Mr. O'Connell said at a meeting of the Repeal Association in Ireland, "I shall for my part vote for the Whigs to keep them in; but I tell them honestly and firmly they have lost altogether the hearts of the Irish people, and nothing but the LOUD CRY FOR REPEAL shall henceforth be heard among us. I did not resume the repeal agitation till I saw how utterly unable the Whigs were to effect any thing." The first step in this movement was to collect money, the sinews of war, and this was done in a very curious way, highly characteristic of the ascendant which O'Connell and the priesthood had acquired over the entire Catholic population. The sum paid in Ireland for ardent spirits, not less than from £4,000,000 to £5,000,000 annually, presented a fund of vast amount, and perfectly equal to the necessities of the case, if any considerable part of it could be realized. Great as was the influence of the Agitator with his countrymen, however, this was effected to a most surprising degree by supplanting one passion by another—the desire for drink by the thirst for independence. To divert the funds hitherto wasted in the public house into the coffers of the Repeal Association was the great object, and this was done by a movement veiled under the guise of philanthropy, which for a time was attended with surprising success. The temperance movement began. Father Mathew, a monk of ardent disposition, nervous eloquence, and enthusiastic philanthropy, was the soul of the movement. The benevolent ecclesiastic was the unsuspecting hand by which the Catholic hierarchy carried on their projects of converting the surplus funds of Irish labor to the purposes of repeal agitation. The effect of his heart-stirring eloquence was at first prodigious; it recalled the days when Peter the Hermit roused the dormant energies of Europe in behalf of the Holy Land. Multitudes rushed forward every where to take the temperance pledge from the hands of the great apostle of sobriety. Fifty thousand met him here, forty thousand there; his journeys resembled rather the progress of a mighty conqueror than the movements of an humble priest bent only on an errand of mercy. Such was the enthusiasm excited, so general the transports, that the consumption of spirits in Ireland fell off in one year from 10,000,000 to 3,000,000 gallons, and no small part of the embarrassment of the English treasury arose from the sudden temperance of the people of Ireland.¹

It has often been remarked, that whenever the people give over fighting at fairs in Ireland, you may be sure that some serious outbreak is in contemplation, and Government will do well to stand on their guard. Never was this truth more clearly demonstrated than on the present occasion. The effect of the taking of the temperance pledge by two millions of men in the first instance was immense. Serious crime rapidly diminished, as it will always do when by any means a check is given, even for a time, to the dreadful passion for ardent spirits. The judges every where congratulated the grand juries on the lightness of the calendar; predial outrages declined, and the philanthropic and in-

experienced began to indulge the pleasing hope that, by the zeal of a benevolent friar, an antidote had at length been discovered for the most demoralizing social corruption of civilized man. It must be confessed that the returns of crime in Ireland for some years seemed to justify the anticipation. Convictions decreased from 12,000 in 1839 to 8000 in 1844.* But all these movements, originating in sudden conversion, not lasting changes of habit, are merely temporary in their operation, and not unfrequently are followed by a reaction which renders matters worse than they had been before the change commenced. When the political and sacerdotal objects for which the movement had been set on foot had ceased, and the repeal agitation had failed, the temperance movement came to an end, and was succeeded by the darkest era ever known of Irish suffering and crime. The reaction in favor of whisky became as strong as the movement in favor of temperance ever had been. The annual consumption of spirits rose again to 12,000,000 gallons, and with it, aided by the terrible calamities of 1846 and 1847, swelled the rolls of crime to an unprecedented amount.^{1†}

It soon appeared to what purpose the large funds rendered available by the temperance movement, while it lasted, were to be turned by the Irish agitators. No sooner did it appear that the fate of the Whigs was sealed, and that Sir R. Peel was to succeed to the helm, than his support of the Government ceased, and O'Connell commenced a *guerre à mort* against England and every thing belonging to it. His first move was to endeavor to exclude English manufactures from the country; but that attempt soon failed among a people for the most part possessing no manufactures, and invariably so poor as the Irish. His next step was a well-devised one, and was attended with important consequences. He converted the Precursors' Association into a new one styled the REPEAL ASSOCIATION; and thenceforward his whole efforts were directed to further its objects. The organization of the Association was the same as that which had proved so successful in bringing about Catholic emancipation. It consisted of associates, members, and volunteers. A card was given to each person entering, which served the purpose of mutual recognition without expressly violating the law against pass-words and signs. Each of these associates paid 1s. on entering and getting his ticket. The next class was the members, and they paid £1 each on entering, or engaged to obtain twenty associates at 1s. each. The

Years.	Committed in Ireland.	Convicted.
* 1839.....	26,392	12,049
1840.....	23,833	11,194
1841.....	20,796	9,287
1842.....	21,186	9,874
1843.....	20,126	8,620
1844.....	19,446	8,042
1845.....	16,696	7,101

—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, 668.

Years.	Committed in Ireland.	Convicted.
† 1846.....	18,492	8,639
1847.....	31,209	15,233
1848.....	38,578	18,206
1849.....	41,489	21,202

—PORTER, 668.

members received each a card, on which were inscribed prints of four of the principal places where the Irish had been successful in combating either the English or the Danes. At the top of the card was a roll or script, on which were inscribed the words, "Resolved unanimously that the claims of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons of *Ireland*, to make laws to bind this kingdom, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.—

DUNGANNON VOLUNTEERS, 15th February, 1782."

The Association was governed by general inspectors, repeal wardens, and collectors; and it was their duty to collect the subscriptions for the repeal cause, and transmit them to the central Association in Dublin, where they formed a fund which soon became so celebrated under

the name of *the Rent*. With such zeal did the wardens and collectors discharge their duties; that the rent ere long reached £3000 a week; and O'Connell boasted, in the pride of his heart, that he had two millions of repealers under his banners!'

The plan of operations concocted between this consummate master of the art of 68. Monster agitation and his confederate chiefs meetings was, not to break out into open rebellion, but to approach it as closely as possible, and intimidate Government by the display of numbers. For this purpose, meetings on a gigantic scale were to be held in all parts of the country where they were likely to be successful, to which the people were to be collected by the wardens, priests, and collectors in the different parishes. The temperance chiefs were, for the most part, enrolled in this ulterior movement; and the detachments from the different parishes generally mustered, preceded by the temperance bands. When Sir R. Peel's return to power in May, 1841, was evident, simultaneous meetings were held in every parish of Ireland to implore the Queen "not to receive into her confidence the bitter and malignant enemies of her faithful Irish people." The people came in companies, led by their priests, and preceded by the temperance bands, often a distance of ten or fifteen miles, and marched back the same day. The enthusiasm thus excited was indescribable; all hearts were stirred, all understandings swept away by it. A bedridden old woman was carried ten miles "to seek salvation for her country." The numbers collected on these occasions, though much exaggerated by the repeal press, were undoubtedly immense.

At a meeting on the Hill of Kilnoe, in the county of Clare, in May, 1841, it was said that 100,000, and probably really 50,000 were present. These meetings, which were generally addressed by O'Connell in person, were held through the whole of 1841, and though interrupted in 1842, from a doubt whether Sir R. Peel's Ministry would not be swept away, and

the Liberal Government restored by the Anti-Corn-Law agitation, yet they were renewed with fresh vigor in 1843, and soon acquired the most formidable consistency.²

As these meetings generally consisted of thirty, forty, or fifty thousand persons, it may readily be believed that it was impossible that any

voice, how powerful soever, could be heard by such prodigious multitudes. But this difficulty, apparently insurmountable, 69. Character of these meetings, and language used at them. was got over by a very simple device. A number of wardens were stationed in concentric circles round the hustings from which O'Connell addressed them, and they repeated what he said with stentorian lungs, until the re-echo reached the farthest extremity of the crowd, and next morning the whole speech was published by the newspapers. The character of his addresses may be judged of by the following extract from a speech delivered at Trim, on March 15, 1843: "When I think of the multitudes that surround me; when I see the bright eye and hardy look which belong to Irishmen beyond any people upon earth, I ask you, 'Will you be slaves?' You will answer, 'No;' and I reply, 'I shall either be in my grave or a freeman.' You can expect nothing from the English Parliament: idle sentiments will not now do: I call on you to act at once: make your choice either to be freemen or slaves.

'Hereditary bondsmen, know ye not,

Who would be free, himself must strike the blow?'"

And at an immense meeting held at Tara, so famous in Irish song, on 15th August, 1843, he said, amidst thunders of applause: Aug. 15. "I was laughed at in January because I said this would be the repeal year: does any one laugh now? It is my turn now to make merry. I am now able positively to announce to you that before twelve months are over a Parliament will be held in College Green, Dublin, and the hurrahs for repeal will be heard over all the land. The Duke of Wellington began by threatening us: he does not talk of this now; he is getting loopholes made in the old barracks; he is preparing to stand a siege—as if we were going to break our heads against stone walls! The Queen will call the Parliament: we will march to College Green with law and order inscribed on our banners. I shall have all the teetotalers with me: they are the finest effluence of human wishes: there is not an army in the world that I would not fight with them." And the unanimous adhesion of the clergy to the repeal movement was declared by the Rev. Dr. Higgins, the Roman Catholic bishop of Armagh, who said at a dinner held at Mullingar, on Sunday, 14th May, 1843—"I formally announce to you that *all the bishops of Ireland have formally declared themselves repealers*, and that from shore to shore we are all such. [Immense applause.] I defy all the ministers of England to put down the agitation in the county of Armagh. If they beset our temples, and mix our people with spies, we will prepare our people for the circumstances; and if they bring us for that to the scaffold, in dying in behalf of our country, we will bequeath our wrongs to our successors. [Enthusiastic cheers.]"¹

While meetings attended by forty and fifty thousand persons were almost weekly addressed by inflammatory addresses of this description, and the peasantry, instead of attending to their business, neglected the land, and were hurrying from one crowded meeting to an-

70. Measures of Government, and Arms Bill Aug. 22.

² Spectator, 1841, 466, 582; Ann. Reg. 1843, 226, 227; Mart. ii. 563.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1843, 228, 229, 231; Mart. ii. 366, 367; Spectator, 1843, 800, 801.

other, Government looked on with apparently supine indifference, and even seemed to favor the agitation. Large bodies of police and military were always in attendance, but out of sight of the assembled crowds, so as to avoid any collision with the people. No prosecutions were instituted either against the orators who spoke treason or the newspapers which printed it. One indication of vigor alone was given by Government, which was the carrying of an "Arms Act," whereby it was rendered necessary for the possessors of arms to have them registered, branded by an officer appointed for the purpose, and a small license taken out for them. It was evident that this measure was absolutely necessary for the preservation of life and property in Ireland, and it did not differ materially from the bill introduced by Lord Morpeth in 1831; but nevertheless it was made the subject of violent party conflict in the House, and was opposed by the whole strength of the united Liberal and Catholic parties. Introduced on the 29th May, it was so obstinately resisted that it did not get through the Commons till the 9th August; but it went rapidly through the Lords, and became law at the very end of the session, on the 22d of the same month. But meanwhile, under the skillful directions of the Duke of Wellington, preparations were making in every direction for a serious conflict. The smaller posts were generally abandoned, and the troops concentrated in the larger ones,

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxi. 470; Ann. Reg. 1843, 243, 250.

which were barricaded and loop-holed, and every preparation made for a vigorous defense against the attacks which were hourly apprehended.¹

The reason why the Government, to the surprise of all Europe, remained so long quiescent under the tremendous agitation which was now in every quarter convulsing Ireland was that they were desirous not to strike till they had a fair prospect of a conviction of the leaders of the movement—an event which, with the English law requiring unanimity in juries, and the divided state of the country, was by no means probable. Canada had recently afforded a memorable example of the embarrassment arising from an accumulation of prisoners whose guilt was evident, but whom no jury would convict. At length, however, Sir R. Peel deemed the moment for action had arrived, and the blow struck was decisive. The repealers, relying on their long impunity, had now almost thrown off the mask, and talked openly of their "repeal cavalry and infantry," of marching and countermarching. The language constantly used was now "Repeal or Blood;" and the crowds swore to "live or die for O'Connell." Preparations were making for a monster meeting on the greatest scale at Clontarf, when a proclamation was suddenly issued by the Lord-Lieutenant forbidding the meeting, and calling upon all well-disposed persons to abstain from attending it. The proposed place of meeting was occupied at daylight by large bodies of cavalry and infantry, which were strongly supported by reserves in Dublin; the guns of the Pigeon-house Fort were turned on the road leading from Dublin to Clontarf; the hustings were removed; all persons coming to

the meeting turned back; and six thousand men in all assembled to support the majesty of the law. The Repeal Association immediately yielded. Parties were sent out in all directions to warn away and disperse the people, and the meeting was stopped. This was followed by the arrest of O'Connell and the leaders of the Repeal Association, which took place a few days after, on a charge of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1843, 229, 237; Spectator, 1843, 965.

The trials came on in the beginning of November, and every effort was made from the very first to obstruct the proceedings by every legal means, and to strain every nerve to intimidate and overawe both the grand and petty jury. Objections were made at every step to the proceedings; and with such success were the efforts of the repealers attended, that a great proportion of the jurymen paid the fine of £50 to avoid serving. At length the objections in point of form were overruled, and the petty jury was sworn. O'Connell came to the bar in the lord mayor's carriage, followed by twenty-three other carriages filled with his friends. The opening speech of the Attorney-General was very powerful, and made a great impression, unfolding as it did a series of proceedings which recalled the Rebellion of 1798, and left no doubt on any one's mind that a crisis of the same description was at hand. The public anxiety rose to the highest pitch as the proceedings drew to their close; but no words can describe the sensation which was felt when the foreman of the jury returned with a verdict finding all the accused guilty of some of the counts in the indictment. A yell arose in the court, which was re-echoed through all the streets and lanes adjoining, when the verdict was known, which froze every heart with horror. Mr. Smith O'Brien, a gentleman of family and fortune, who afterward obtained an unenvied celebrity in Ireland, generously came in with O'Connell when he was to hear judgment: a courageous step at such a moment, which deservedly excited the enthusiasm of all present. Sentence was not pronounced till the 30th May, and by it O'Connell was ordered to a year's imprisonment, to pay a fine of £2000, and to find security under heavy recognizances to keep the peace for seven years to come. The other persons accused were fined £50 each, and sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. Mr. O'Connell was allowed to choose his own place of confinement, and he selected the Richmond penitentiary, to which he was immediately conveyed. The judge (Burton) who pronounced sentence was so much affected that he could scarcely discharge his duty.²

² Ann. Reg. 1843, 238, 239—1844, 837; Law Cases, Spectator, 1844, 154; Mart. II. 572.

The news of O'Connell's conviction spread like wild-fire over Ireland, and produced a prodigious sensation. Bonfires were lighted up on all the hills, and there was at first some talk of a general rising; but this was forbidden by O'Connell, who issued a proclamation enjoining the people to keep the peace for six, or at most twelve months, and they would have a Parliament in College Green. He was permitted to see his

³ Reversal of the sentence.

friends in confinement, but not to receive deputations; and it was soon apparent that his power had received a death-blow. His alleged invincibility was at an end; the determination of Government, at length, to terminate the agitation, and strike at the guilty party, had been made manifest; and after so flagrant a proof of the erroneous nature of his predictions regarding himself, men no longer trusted those of which he was so profuse regarding his country. Sunday, 7th July, was appointed as a day for a general prayer in all the Catholic chapels of Ireland in behalf of O'Connell; but there was an ominous difference among the spiritual authorities regarding it. The Archbishop of Dublin interdicted the prayer in his province, and it was only partially obeyed in the rest of Ireland. Meanwhile an appeal against the sentence was presented first to the Queen's Bench in Ireland, and next to the House of Peers in England. The sentence was affirmed by the former, but the issue was different with the latter. The case was referred, according to usual custom, to the twelve judges for their opinion; and though they were unanimous in pronouncing the findings of the jury on six out of the eleven counts in the indictment to be bad from not returning a correct answer to the charges, yet, by a majority of seven to two, they held that enough which was unobjectionable remained in the verdict to sustain the sentence. With this opinion in favor of the conviction the case returned to the House of Peers, and then the result was different. The lay lords, with great propriety, abstained from voting, and the case was left to the law lords. These were Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, Lords Denman, Cottenham, Campbell, and Brougham. Three of them overruled the opinion of the twelve judges, and held the objections insurmountable; two—

¹ Ann. Reg. 1844, 337; Law Cases; Spectator, 1844, 841, 845. Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham—adhered to the opinion of the majority of the judges. The result was that the sentence was quashed, and the accused all set at liberty.¹

Leaving it to English lawyers to determine in point of law between these conflicting authorities, and to say whether the opinion of Lords Lyndhurst and Brougham, and the seven English judges, or that of the three Whig law lords and the two judges be the better founded, one thing is perfectly clear, that never was a more magnificent exhibition of British justice exhibited than on this occasion, and never a step taken attended with more beneficial effect in stilling the agitation of the neighboring country. O'Connell was now at the mercy of the assembly he had so long vilified and reviled; nothing was required but for three of the numerous peers who were in attendance behind the Woolsack awaiting the issue to step forward and take a part in the vote, and the thing was done. They did not do so; they yielded to the scruples, perhaps too critically conceived, of the three law lords, and allowed the great Agitator to issue, apparently a triumphant martyr, from prison rather than violate, even in the most trifling matters of form, the strictest principles of British justice. Every one saw that O'Connell was really guilty—that he owed his liberation to a minute technical difficulty; but

this difficulty was given effect to by the highest Saxon court, composed almost entirely of political opponents, upon whom he had heaped every epithet of abuse which the English language could afford. The moral effect of this was great. If the victory in legal niceties was with O'Connell, that in opinion and justice was with the House of Peers; and he never afterward regained his position in public estimation, for he had been caught in his own toils, and liberated from them by the hand of his enemies.

His subsequent career was short, and deserves to be noticed only as the closing scene in the life of one who had so long held so prominent a position in the public eye. He was indulged with a triumphal procession from jail when the reversal of the sentence was communicated to him, and an immense crowd assembled to witness his departure and attend him home; but it was already evident that his influence was on the wane. The year of liberation passed without a Parliament being assembled in College Green—and the next, and the next. Men began to throw in his teeth the non-accomplishment of his promises; the credulity even of the Irish peasantry began to yield to the repeated disappointment of their hopes. He was never formidable again; and he had the misfortune, before he died, of seeing himself passed in the career of popularity by younger, more audacious, and less experienced men. "Young Ireland" reproached him with having "surrendered," when, on the return of the "base, bloody, and brutal Whigs" to power in 1846, he was reinstated in the commission of the peace, and supported the Russell Ministry in Parliament. Symptoms of internal disease and approaching dissolution ere long appeared. His eye became heavy, his countenance fell, his step, once so firm and elastic, waxed feeble and tremulous. By the advice of his physicians he went abroad; but he experienced no material benefit from change of scene, or the respect with which he was received by the Catholic authorities; and having reached Genoa, he expired there on 15th May, 1847. After his death his reputation rapidly sank, and among none so completely as those who had so long worshiped his footsteps. It was essentially injured in the estimation of the world in general by the revelations made by the Government commissioners sent down to investigate the condition of Ireland during the famine which so soon afterward ensued, to the effect that the Liberator, who had uttered so many eloquent declamations on the wrongs of Ireland, was himself a grinding middleman, who exacted three times as much from his starving tenantry as he himself paid for the land to his overlord. His reputation sank so rapidly, that at a sale of his effects, which took place in Dublin some years after, a bust of the great Liberator only brought sixpence.¹

The general distress continued unabated during the first six months of 1848; but toward the close of the year symptoms of decided amendment began to appear. This was probably in some degree owing to the impulse given to trade by Sir R. Peel's tariff, but much more was to be

^{75.} His subsequent career and death. May 15, 1847.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1844, 95, Chron.; Letters of Times' Correspondent, 530; Letters from Genoa, May 16, 1847; Mart. II. 574, 575.

ascribed to the increased bounty of Nature, which

76. now began to be as benign as for the five preceding years she had been rigorous. The "long, long summer" of 1842 still lives in the recollection of those who had been warmed by its sunshine, as much as the terrible winters of 1838 and 1839 live in their gloomy remembrance. The autumn of that year was peculiarly fine; during the whole of August and September scarce a drop of rain fell, and the harvest was not only abundant, but, what is of almost equal importance in these northern latitudes, was got in in excellent order. The effect was soon apparent. Never was seen more clearly the dependence of man upon Supreme Power, and the superior efficacy of Divine blessings to all the efforts of man in drying up the springs of public distress. The price of wheat, which in 1841 had been 63s., fell in 1842-'43 to 49s.; and the importation of foreign wheat, which in the former year had been 2,403,000 quarters, sunk in the latter to 1,606,000, and in the succeeding one to 476,000 quarters.* The effect of this happy change was great in itself; food was rendered comparatively cheap to the working classes, and the pressure of that terrible combination under which they had so long suffered, of low wages arising from commercial depression, and high prices of grain arising from bad seasons, was sensibly alleviated. But important as these effects were, they yet yielded in importance to the effects of the change on the currency, and through it on the credit and commercial enterprise of the nation. The progressive decline of imports of foreign wheat from nearly 3,000,000 quarters to less than 500,000 yearly, took off the great drain on the coffers of the Bank, which had so long taken place, to pay for it. The stock of bullion proportionally increased, and with it the issue of its notes, and the credit, industry, and prosperity of the country.† The bullion in the Bank, which in October, 1839, had been as low as £2,546,000, and in 1840 was only £3,900,000, progressively rose with the diminution of imports of grain, till in 1843 it stood at £11,200,000,‡ and in March, 1844,

was as high as £16,100,000. The notes in circulation underwent a similar increase, having advanced from £15,500,000 in 1840 to £22,000,000 in 1844.

The effects of this marked diminution in the import of grain, and increase in the issue of notes, were very great upon General improvement in the country. Prices, indeed, of all the articles of manufactured produce did not as yet rise; but imports and exports increased, speculation revived, and that deplorable combination of high prices of food with low rates of manufacturing wages, the inevitable result in bad seasons of a currency dependent on the retention of gold, for the time entirely ceased. The increased imports of cotton and other large materials for manufacture indicated the augmented activity of the employers; while the great augmentation of the humbler articles of luxury, the consumption of which indicated their well-being, afforded a gratifying proof that prosperity was at length, after a long and dreary interval, descending to the cottages of the poor.‡ The effect upon the general exports and imports of the kingdom, and the revenue, was visible and striking, especially toward the close of 1843 and during the whole of 1844, when a great increase took place;* and the increase of the revenue, coupled with the produce of the income-tax, which instead of £3,441,000, as Sir R. Peel had calculated, proved to be £5,400,000, exhibited an equally gratifying proof of reviving public prosperity.

The parliamentary session of 1843 was not characterized by any measures of very great importance. So great had been the change, both in finance and commercial policy, introduced in the preceding year, that men stood still, as it were, in anxious and silent expectation of the event, and trusting for the introduction of important measures to the all-powerful Minister by whom so many had been already introduced. Such measures as were brought in related chiefly to the alleviation of that suffering which had prevailed during so many painful years, and was only toward the close of the year beginning to be alleviated. Of the many evils which that long and mournful period introduced, not the least was the almost universal use of infant labor, which had been in a measure forced upon the working

* PRICES AND IMPORTATIONS OF WHEAT.

Years.	Quarters.	Price.
1841-'42.....	2,985,422	63s. 4d.
1842-'43.....	2,405,217	49s. 4d.
1843-'44.....	1,606,902	53s. 9d.
1844-'45.....	476,190	46s. 7d.

—TOOKE *On Prices*, iv. 415.

† BULLION IN THE BANK, AND NOTES IN CIRCULATION.

Years.	Bullion.	Notes out.
January, 1840.....	£4,500,000	£15,500,000
" 1841.....	4,000,000	15,600,000
" 1842.....	5,600,000	16,100,000
" 1843.....	10,600,000	18,600,000
" 1844.....	15,200,000	19,500,000
February, 1845.....	16,100,000	22,000,000

—TOOKE *On Prices*, iv. 437, 441.

‡ IMPORTS OF THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES FROM 1839 TO 1844, INCLUSIVE.

Years.	Cotton. Pounds.	Silk. Pounds.	Hemp. Cwt.	Wool. Pounds.	Sugar. Cwt.	Coffee. Pounds.	Tobacco. Pounds.
1839.....	381,396,000	4,783,738	995,603	57,379,000	4,678,000	41,003,000	85,605,000
1840.....	592,488,000	4,459,512	684,068	42,436,000	4,085,000	70,271,000	36,680,000
1841.....	487,920,000	4,734,755	652,165	53,170,000	4,008,000	43,317,000	43,335,000
1842.....	531,750,000	5,888,100	585,905	45,982,000	4,751,000	41,444,000	89,526,000
1843.....	673,195,000	4,964,209	735,743	42,243,000	5,020,000	38,942,000	43,775,000
1844.....	646,111,000	5,899,187	913,233	65,713,000	4,880,075	46,523,000	87,610,000

—TOOKE'S *History of Prices*, iv. 435.

* EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Imports. Official Value.	Exports. Declared Value.	Revenue.
1839.....	£22,004,010	£53,233,580	£47,844,000
1840.....	67,432,964	51,406,430	45,567,555
1841.....	64,377,962	51,634,629	48,937,397
1842.....	65,204,729	47,881,023	48,530,026
1843.....	70,093,853	52,278,449	52,582,817†
1844.....	85,281,958	58,584,292	54,008,754

† Income tax.

—PORTER, 356, 473, 3d edit.

classes in the manufacturing districts by the deplorable destitution to which they had so long been reduced. The infants in the mineral and manufacturing districts in an especial manner stood in need of legislative protection, for there the work-shop and the mine stood in fearful competition with the domestic hearth and the school; and even the best-disposed parents were forced to send their children to work at a very early period of life, in order to add to the scanty earnings of the family. Struck with these evils, but unhappily still blind to the real cause to which they were owing, a philanthropic and energetic nobleman, whose life has been devoted to the amelioration of the poor, brought in a bill in 1842 for a committee to inquire into the employment of women and children in mines and collieries: Government acceded to the motion, and the committee was appointed. The evidence which they collected was of so startling and horrible a kind that it led to the bill, which he introduced on the report of the committee, passing both Houses with very little opposition, except from the mineral proprietors immediately interested. By this Act the employment of females in mines was absolutely prohibited in all cases; that of boys was limited to ten years of age and upward, and inspectors were appointed to see the Act carried into full execution. This change was severely felt at the time, as tending to throw a number of hard-working women and children out of employment, and in the first instance it augmented rather than relieved the distress in that branch of industry. Yet was the change loudly called for, and in the end beneficial; for it put an immediate stop to a practice, a remnant of savage times, which utterly brutified and demoralized women; and it protected in some degree the class in the community which stood most in need of the shield

¹ *Parl. Deb.* of the Legislature — infant children
lxv. 1097; employed in underground labor, with-
Mart. II. drawn from the sight and sympathy of
554, 555. the great body of the community.¹

Encouraged by this success, Lord Ashley brought forward a motion for an additional dress to the Queen for a general system of religious education for the working classes, and this was followed up by a bill, introduced by Sir James Graham, for the better regulation and education of factory children. By this bill it was proposed that no children between the ages of six and thirteen should work more than six and a half hours; that they should be obliged to attend schools appointed for the purpose; and that the children of Catholics and Dissenters should be committed for so many hours in each week to religious teachers, according to the creed of their respective parents. The measure was to include pauper children at factories, and the children of all persons, whether paupers or not, whom their parents chose to send to the school, whether they were factory children or not. There were to be seven trustees to each school under the Act, three of whom were to be the clergyman of the district and two of his church-wardens; the other four elected by the rate-payers. The bill, which was evidently founded on the right principles on the subject, met with very general support in the House of Commons; and the Queen's reply to

the address presented to her on the subject was very cordial. But difficult in the extreme are all attempts at beneficent legislation in matters where sectarian zeal or sacerdotal ambition deem themselves interested. The Dissenters took fright at the composition of the boards of parish trustees, even though the larger proportion of them were to be elected by the rate-payers, of whom they boasted that they possessed a majority; and such was the clamor raised on the subject, and the multitude of petitions which flowed in from the efforts of the Dissenters, that Sir James Graham, ¹ *Parl. Deb.* with expressions of extreme regret, *lxvii.* 354, was obliged to withdraw, first the *422, lxviii.* educational clauses, and at last the *1103, lxix.* whole bill. *1568.*

Next session Sir James Graham, taught by experience the extreme danger of meddling in the most remote de- ^{80.} gree, even for the most salutary and beneficial purposes, with institutions ^{New Factory Bill, and Lord Ashley's Ten hours' amendment.} which rouse sectarian jealousy or solicitude, introduced a bill which, without any educational clauses at all, professed simply and solely to limit the undue working of the operatives, whether male or female, in future. The fate of this bill was very curious, and strongly illustrative of the varying and antagonistic influences which had now come to bear on the House of Commons. When the bill was sent to the committee, Lord Ashley moved an amendment, by which the working hours of women and young persons under fourteen years of age were to be reduced from twelve to ten hours a day. Sir James Graham opposed this with reluctance and pain, on the ground that the change was too violent; that the limiting the hours of women and children would necessarily draw after it that of adults also; and that thus the change would come to reduce the hours, and of course the produce, of labor in factories by a sixth, and put in hazard the subsistence of two millions of persons. There was some truth, but great exaggeration, in these statements, to which O'Connell lent the additional weight of his powerful voice, which declared that, if the amendment became law, "Manchester would become a tomb." Notwithstanding these sinister predictions, the amendment was carried by Lord Ashley in the Commons by a majority of *nine*, the numbers being 272 to 263. This was considered a serious defeat to ministers, as the amendment had been opposed by their whole strength, and great efforts were accordingly made to get the veto rescinded. They succeeded in doing so by a majority of *seven* in a subsequent stage of the bill, and immediately before, they had by a majority of three negatived the proposal of twelve hours. Government, seeing the House thus vacillating, hinted in no obscure terms that they would withdraw the bill; and Lord Ashley upon this gave way, and moved the adoption of eleven hours in all cases, as a reasonable compromise for three years, and ten hours after that ² *Parl. Deb.* time. After a long and interesting *lxvii.* 277, debate, the bill as amended was carried, the substitution of ten for eleven hours being rejected by a majority of 138.² It was not seriously opposed in the House of Lords, and *lxviii.* 1073, *1101, 1110, 1263, lxxiv.* 1460, 1463, *lxxv.* 915, *1104.*

became law without any educational clauses; affording a melancholy proof of the prevalence of sectarian over philanthropic views in the religious, and of considerations of gain over those of humanity in the worldly portion of the community.

In reflecting on this important question, there is one consideration of paramount importance, to which the public are now only beginning to open their eyes, but without a due regard to which all legislation on the subject will be evaded and become inoperative. This is, that such is the inversion of the feelings of nature which takes place in manufacturing and mining districts, and such the straits to which, from the vicissitudes of commerce, the persons engaged in them are reduced, that the worst enemies of children are often *their own parents*, and all attempts at general education are elusory, unless due provision is made to guard against the fatal precocity of labor. In agricultural pursuits the severity and strength required in the toil is in general a sufficient protection to children against the oppression of infant labor; but in manufactories and collieries the case is different—something can be extracted from the employment of the young even in their earliest years. From seven upward the work of a child is worth something—often as much as four or five shillings a week. No strength is required to watch a wheel, or pour out oil, or open a valve. *The work-shop stands in fearful competition with the school.** Education, in general, is not wholly neglected, but it is given in so imperfect a manner, or to so small an extent, that it is of scarcely any benefit in life. The inevitable contagion of vice from the assemblage of numbers, the facilities afforded for the indulgence of precocious passion, by the young of both sexes being constantly together, counteract all the incipient benefits of education. Hence the vast proportion of the criminals who turn out to be persons “imperfectly educated,” and the astounding fact that the persons convicted by a jury or summarily in England are now a hundred thousand in a year, being about 1 in 180 of the population. Unless the employment of children in mines and manufactories is *absolutely prohibited below fourteen years of age*, all attempts to educate generally the manufacturing and mining population will prove, generally speaking, nugatory and useless.

The year 1843, however, was marked by a succession of riots in an entirely rural portion of Great Britain, which proved that the seeds of evil were not sown only in the manufacturing and mining districts, but that, unless local grievances were looked to and redressed, the country might become as disturbed in the agricultural as it had ever been in the worst parts of Ireland. Loud complaints had long been made of the heavy tolls paid, especially on the cross-roads in South Wales, and the ruinous multitude of separate trusts, which rendered a ticket

* So general is the operation of this cause, that it has been ascertained by recent statistical researches that in Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Bolton, and other manufacturing towns, the proportion of children at school to the entire population is only 4 or 5 per cent., or 1 in 20 or 25, whereas in Prussia it is 1 in 10; in Austria, 1 in 9; in Canada, 1 in 7.

given on one line unavailing even within two hundred yards, if you turned off it. Such was the weight of these exactions, that they had come, in many places, to absorb nearly the whole profit of farmers in carrying their humble produce to market. These complaints, however, as is generally the case with the statement of grievances not supported by powerful parliamentary influence which persuades, or violent popular resistance which intimidates, met with no attention, and the people secretly determined to take the matter into their own hands. In 1839 a set of gates peculiarly obnoxious had been pulled down by the people who suffered under them, and several of the county magistrates, by becoming trustees on the roads, had prevented their being again put up. The victory, as usual in all cases where popular will effects its object by illegal means, only led to fresh acts of violence. The people held meetings of persons suffering under the exactions in remote and sequestered places at night, and organized a conspiracy of a very singular kind. They chose for their text the words of Scripture, “And they blessed Rebecca, and said unto her, Let thy seed possess the gate of those which hate them.”¹ In pursuance of the plan agreed on, they elected a chief, dressed him in women’s clothes, and set about the destruction of all the gates which they deemed objectionable, and the hinderance of their reconstruction. The work of destruction began in the winter of 1842–’43, and at first it was deemed rather a mischievous frolic than any thing else; but ere long it assumed a more serious aspect. In the daytime every thing was quiet and orderly in the extreme. The farmers paid their tolls as usual at all the gates without complaint, and work in the fields and villages went on as usual. But no sooner did darkness set in than bands of armed men began to traverse the roads and surround the obnoxious toll-bars. The loud sound of horns was heard on all sides, calling the peasantry, who were for the most part inclined to their side, to join in the work of destruction. The discharge of fire-arms and the sound of the horns announced their approach; in the twinkling of an eye the toll-house was surrounded by a crowd of men in male and female attire, the doors forced open, and the inmates led out or bound with cords. Immediately the building was unroofed, the walls leveled, the toll-bar destroyed, and nothing but a heap of ruins left to mark where it had stood. In the morning all was again quiet; the laborers were alone seen at work in the fields; carts, as usual, traversed the roads, and but for the crowds which collected with secret triumph round the scene of former devastation, no one could have suspected that any thing unusual had occurred.²

These disorders, as is usually the case when they break out in a rural district where no police force exists, or means are in existence either to prevent the crime or arrest its perpetrators, for long went on unpunished. Large bodies of troops and police were sent down from London to the disturbed districts, with several of the most skilled detectives of the metropolis. For long, howev-

¹ Gen. xxiv. 60.

² Ann. Reg. 1843, 253, 264; Times’ Reporter, July, 1843; Spectator, 1843, 569, 575; Mart. II. 524, 525.

er, the rioters, as often occurs in such cases, eluded the whole efforts of the magistrates, in consequence of the universal adherence of the peasantry to the cause, and the rapid intelligence which they sent to the bands of rioters of the approach of any body of military or police, which was instantly followed by their dispersion and flight. At length, however, matters came to such a point that even the sympathy of the peasantry was alienated from the insurgents. Incendiarism was committed in many places, murder in some. An old woman, aged seventy-two, was shot dead while the roof of her cottage was blazing around her. These atrocities roused the indignation of the better part of the people, who ceased in consequence to lend their aid to the escape or screening of the culprits. Twice Rebecca's horse was shot dead under her, and though the rider escaped on foot, yet several of her followers were captured, and committed for trial. Government, now thoroughly alarmed, acted energetically. A proclamation was issued by the Queen, calling on the magistrates and all good subjects to do their duty, and a royal commission sent down for the trial of the prisoners, who had now become very numerous.¹

Baron Gurney, who presided over the commission, acted with equal humanity and discretion: his addresses to the prisoners drew tears from the eyes of all who heard them, from the intermixture they contained of the tenderness of a parent with the justice of a judge. Three of the worst were sentenced to long periods of transportation; the remainder, who were for the most part deluded peasants, escaped with various periods of imprisonment. The convicts issued an address to their countrymen recommending the cessation of rural disorders; and the commission of inquiry, which was every where most favorably received, reported in favor of a general consolidation of the turnpike trusts through South Wales; and a bill passed both Houses of Parliament in the next session, founded on their recommendation.* Thus the Rebecca insurrection terminated in the entire success of the objects for which it was originally undertaken; and it leads to the melancholy reflection that all the

* There is no reform in domestic administration more loudly called for than a general consolidation of road trusts, at least in every county, so that a ticket given at one bar shall be available at any other bar within five miles. This would be attended with equal benefit to the public, the road trustees, and those who have advanced money for them, for it would diminish essentially the expense of management. In the county of Mid-Lothian, where the produce of the tolls is £42,000 a year, no less than £7000 annually has been saved by consolidating the trusts, while the public have obtained the great advantage of paying only one toll in five miles in any direction. Were a similar system adopted in the county of Lanark, it would probably, with a similar advantage to the community, effect a saving of £20,000 a year; in that of York, of £80,000. The real obstacle to this great reform, as to most others, is the interested views of the surveyors and law agents on the several trusts, who would be affected by the change, and whose resistance to it has hitherto proved insurmountable from the influence they have acquired over the country gentlemen who nominally direct the affairs of the trusts. So powerful is this influence that it will probably never be overcome but by a general national movement, aided by the whole weight of Government.

disorders and suffering consequent on it might have been avoided if the Government and Legislature had at once redressed the real injustice complained of, and paid that attention to provincial grievances at a distance from the seat of power, which they seldom fail to do to metropolitan, at its door.¹

Although the symptoms of amendment in several branches of manufacture was very apparent in the latter part of 1843, yet the general distress was still so great as to encourage both the Chartists and Anti-Corn-Law League to continue in their respective spheres the agitation of the public mind. Such was the activity of the former class of agitators, that they got up a petition, which was presented to the House of Commons, praying for the establishment of the six points of the Charter and the abolition of all monopolies, and which was said to contain 3,500,000 signatures! From the manner in which these petitions were at that time got up by the popular agitators, it is probable the real number of signatures was not half so great, but still the number was immense. It was brought to the House by a long procession of working men, and it required sixteen men to carry it into the House. Mr. Duncombe, who presented it, asserted that, after deducting those of youths and females, the signatures of 1,300,000 heads of families were appended to the petition. It made a great sensation, and Sir James Graham, on the part of Government, admitted the reality and wide extent of the distress of which the petitioners complained. From the emphatic manner in which "monopolies" were denounced in the petition, it was evident that the Anti-Corn-Law agitators had got the direction of the movement, or that a coalition had been entered into between the two sets of agitation. This impression was increased by a mournful event which occurred in January, 1843, when Mr. Drummond, private secretary to Sir R. Peel, was murdered near the Salopian Coffee-house, in Parliament Street, by an assassin, who mistook him for Sir R. Peel. It was proved at the trial that he was insane, and he was sentenced to confinement for life; but in the mean time the obnoxious act excited a very great degree of consternation, from an apprehension that it was the work of one or other of the great combinations by which the country was now convulsed. To such a length did this feeling go, that a most vehement debate took place soon after in Parliament, in the course of which Sir R. Peel declared that he held Mr. Cobden "formally responsible" for the misery of the people.²

The distressed state of Great Britain ever since the monetary crisis of 1839, led, as it always does, to disputes with foreign powers, who sought to take advantage of our distresses to advance pretensions, or make acquisitions at our expense for themselves. The Americans had never got over the check they had received in their attempts to revolutionize Canada during the troubles of 1838; and, in particular, they retained

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxvi. 1854; Ann. Reg. 1843, 262; Spectator, 1843, 1036; Mart. ii. 525, 526.

² The Chartist and Anti-Corn-Law movements.

Feb. 17. ² Ann. Reg. 1842, 152, 153—1843, 6, 7; Chron.; Parl. Deb. lxxvii. 143; Mart. ii. 527, 528.

a very sore recollection of the catastrophe of the "Caroline," by which Sir Allan M'Nab had so signally defeated them. Matters were very near being brought to a crisis by the arrest of Mr. M'Leod, a British subject, who was seized when transacting business in New York, on a charge of being implicated in that affair, and as the person who had slain one of the men who had perished on the occasion. The magistrates before whom he was brought were about to discharge the prisoner on bail, seeing the offense, if offense it was, had been committed on British territory; but a mob got up and prevented his liberation, and this led to a report of a committee of Congress, to whom the matter had been referred, so extremely hostile, that it amounted to little short of a declaration of war. M'Leod, accordingly, was detained for trial, and this led to an unjustifiable incursion of some zealous Canadians into the American territory to get hold of a hostage for M'Leod, where they seized Colonel Grogan, an American subject, accused of incendiary acts in Canada. Fortunately M'Leod was able to bring such overwhelming evidence of an alibi that, after a very impartial charge from the judge,

¹ Ann. Reg. 1841, 317; Mr. Fox's Note, March 12, 1841; Mart. ii. 658.

he was acquitted; and the wisdom of the British Government at once ordered the liberation of Grogan, so that the danger, which had been very great, passed away for the present.¹

The feelings of rancor on both sides which these events had produced did not, however, yet subside. A more serious cause of dispute soon after arose, founded on the right which the British Government claimed, and its cruisers exercised, of stopping American vessels, and searching them, with a view to ascertain whether they were British vessels carrying on the slave-trade under the American flag. This was quite a different right from that of searching neutral vessels during war to ascertain whether they were conveying articles contraband of war, so much the object of dispute during the revolutionary contest, and was grounded, not on an alleged right to search the American vessels *as neutrals*, but the right to examine whether or not they were British vessels engaged in an illegal traffic. The Americans, however, maintained that this right of mutual search applied only to States which had signed treaties permitting it to prevent the slave-trade, and that, as they were not parties to these treaties, they could not permit their vessels to be searched on the ground of looking for slaves, or on any other pretense. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, while admitting that the Americans were no parties to these treaties, maintained that a right to stop American merchantmen, and call for production of their papers to see whether they were not British vessels carrying on the slave-trade in disguise, was indispensable to prevent that odious traffic being carried on to an unlimited extent under neutral flags. The discussion had gone on for some time, when the Whigs went out of office, and then wore a very unpromising aspect; for the feelings of large bodies of men, the slave-owners in America, on the one side, and the British emancipators on the other, were involved in the contest, and

neither Government could venture openly to resist their demands. Matters, too, had been much complicated by an insurrection of some slaves on board the American brig "Creole," which had sailed from New Orleans in October, 1841, which proved successful, and ended in the slaves killing one man and wounding the captain, after which they brought the vessel to the British harbor of Nassau, in New Providence. The whole negroes, 133 in number, were liberated by the British authorities, under the directions of Government, upon the ground that every slave became free as soon as he touched the British soil, and that there was ¹ Ann. Reg. no law authorizing the detention even 1842, 309— of those charged with the mutiny 1843, 318; and murder committed, not in the Parl. Deb. ix. 320; British dominions, but on the high seas.¹ Mart. ii. 654, 655.

The indignation of the Americans was loudly excited by this untoward event.

The Slave States of the Union immediately took fire; denunciations of piracy and abetting murder were loudly hurled at the British Gov-

^{88.} The question is settled by Lord Aberdeen.

ernment, and blood and fire were openly threatened in return. But never was a truer maxim than that it requires the consent of two persons to make a quarrel. A soft word, a seasonable explanation, often turns aside wrath, and sometimes prevents the most serious wars that threaten to devastate the world. When Lord Aberdeen succeeded to the Foreign Office in September, 1841, he spared no pains to explain to the American Government the real nature of the right for which the British contended, and to soften the demand by the offer of reparation in all cases where injury had really been sustained, and a full exposition of the orders given to the British cruisers, which were of the most forbearing description. Fortunately for the peace of the world, these explanations, conceived in the most mild and conciliatory spirit, were met with similar dispositions on the part of the American minister in London, Mr. Stevenson, who labored not less assiduously to explain to his Government the real nature of the British pretensions and the spirit of moderation by which their Government was actuated. The result was an amicable adjustment of this most delicate and dangerous question, without any loss of character or honor on either side. The British Government disclaimed all right to stop or search American vessels *as such* during peace, or to do more than merely require production of their papers, to see whether or not they really belonged to the nation whose flag they bore, with a view to discovering whether they had slaves on board, and then only under such restrictions and responsibilities as effectually guarded against abuse; and the American admitted that "the apparent difference between the two Governments was one of definition rather than principle, and that a right to be exercised only under such restrictions can scarcely be considered as any thing more than a privilege asked for, and either conceded or withheld on the usual principles of international co-unity." Thus was the question, once so threatening, satisfactorily adjusted, and it was settled that when reasonable grounds existed for suspecting that the United States flag was used

only as a pretense, the British cruiser might stop the vessel and demand production of the ship's papers, under the liability of making reparation for damage or delay, in the event of the vessel proving to be really American.*

* Ann. Reg. 1843, 309—1843, 318; President's Message.

Scarcely was this delicate question in this manner satisfactorily adjusted than a fresh and still more serious cause of difference arose from the unsettled state of the Maine frontier. This arose from the ignorance which prevailed on both sides when the treaty recognizing the independence of the United States by Great Britain was concluded in 1783, in regard to the geography of the wild and uninhabited district which lay between Canada and the adjoining provinces of America, and the little importance then attached to a line of demarcation through forests, which it was not then anticipated could ever come to be of value to either State. By degrees, however, this once solitary and secluded region came to be settled by the adventurous pioneers of civilization on either side, and it became of the highest importance to ascertain to which they really belonged. The difficulty arose from the words in the treaty of 1783, which said that the frontier would be "a ridge which divides the waters which flow into the St. Lawrence from those which flow into the Atlantic." The Americans maintained that the Bay of Fundy was part of the Atlantic, and that the ridge here referred to was one running from the head of the St. Croix northward to certain highlands, which in this way came to include the whole of the St. John River. A map was referred to in this treaty, but it was not at first discovered, and the matter

* "The undersigned renounces all pretension on the part of the British Government to visit and search American vessels in time of peace. Nor is it as American that such vessels are ever visited. But it has been the invariable practice of the British navy, and as the undersigned believes, of all the navies in the world, to ascertain by visit the real nationality of merchant vessels met with on the high seas. In certain latitudes, and for a particular object, the vessels referred to are visited, not as American, but rather as British vessels engaged in an unlawful traffic, and carrying the flag of the United States for a criminal purpose, or as belonging to states which have by treaty ceded the right of search to Great Britain, and which right it is attempted to defeat by fraudulently bearing the protecting flag of the Union, or finally as piratical outlaws, professing no claim to flag or nationality whatever. Should the vessel visited prove American, the undersigned adds with pain that even though manacles, fetters, or instruments of torture, or even a number of slaves are found on board, the British officer could interfere no further."—LORD ABERDEEN to MR. STEVENSON, Sept. 14, 1841; *Ann. Reg.*, 1842, 310, 311.

"To seize and detain," said the American President in reply, "a ship upon suspicion of piracy, with probable cause and in good faith, affords no just ground either for complaint on the part of the nation whose flag she bears, or claim of indemnity on the part of the owner. The universal law sanctions, and the common good requires, the existence of such a rule. The right under such circumstances not only to visit and detain, but to search a ship, is a perfect right, and involves neither responsibility nor indemnity. But with this single exception, no nation has a right, in time of peace, to detain the ships of another upon the high seas on any pretext whatever beyond the limits of the territorial jurisdiction. And such, I am happy to find, is substantially the doctrine of Great Britain herself in her most recent official declarations, and even in those communicated to the House. The declarations may well lead us to doubt whether the apparent difference between the two Governments be not one rather of definition than of principle."—*President's Message to Congress*, February 27, 1843; *Ann. Reg.*, 1843, p. 318.

was referred to arbitration in 1794, with power to choose an oversman by lot, and the lot having fallen to the Americans, he determined in favor of the American line. A map was published by Mr. Tudors in 1788 in London, which adopted the American line, and another two years after which took the British line; and what is very singular, it came out afterward that there was one map in the possession of the British Government which took the American line, and another in the possession of the American which adopted the British. In these circumstances there was abundant room for doubt and dispute on both sides; and the diplomatists on neither can be accused of bad faith, because they did not produce the documents on either, which militated against the sides which they were respectively called on to espouse. But what seems to cast the balance in a decisive way in favor of the British line is the fact that there was discovered in the archives of the Foreign Office at Paris a letter by Dr. Franklin, who concluded the treaty, to M. de Vergennes, then Minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris, in which he says, "I have traced what I take to be the line in Mr. Oswald's treaty" (that of 1783). A line was found in red ink in the map in possession of the American Government, which coincided with that contended for by the British Government; and coupling this fact with the expression in Franklin's letter, who drew the treaty and concluded it, there seems to be no doubt that this was the line intended on both sides by its authors.*

* Lord Brougham; Parl. Deb. lxviii. 623, 624.

However this matter may stand as to the original merits of the dispute, nothing can be clearer than that it had become long after a fit subject of arbitration and compromise. The matter was referred, by mutual consent, to the King of Holland, and he gave an award, deciding two points in dispute in favor of the British, but not settling the third point, upon this ground, that there were not sufficient materials to determine what were "the highlands" mentioned in the treaty of 1783. Although this award brought the Americans much nearer the St. Lawrence than was deemed consistent with the security of the British possessions in Canada, the British Government not only offered, but anxiously pressed, that the matter in dispute might be adjusted in terms of it; but the Americans refused to be bound by the award, alleging that the arbitrator was only empowered to decide in favor of one or other line, but not to divide the matter in dispute between them. Lord Palmerston, upon this, sent out two sets of commissioners—one in 1839, to inquire into the merits of the line claimed by the British, and another in 1841, to do the same with that claimed by the Americans, and they both reported in favor of the British line. Matters were in this unsettled state, with the preponder-

* "The map of Franklin," said Lord Campbell, "is, in my opinion, quite conclusive. If you assume that the map now known to be in existence was the map, as I believe it was, which was referred to in the letter of Dr. Franklin, the negotiator of the treaty, to the Count de Vergennes, this was the very map on which the treaty was made, and after the production of that map before a jury of Englishmen, there would not be the slightest doubt as to what was the true boundary."—LORD CAMPBELL, *Parl. Deb.*, lxviii. 663.

ance of evidence decidedly in favor of the claim advanced by England, when Sir R. Peel came into power in October, 1841. He was in no condition to assert the pretensions of his Government by force of arms. Two bad harvests, combined with an erroneous monetary system, had landed the nation in a deficiency of £4,000,000 yearly, including the cost of the Chinese and Afghanistan wars; and the naval and military establishments of the country, starved down to the very lowest point, were unable to meet any fresh requirements. Compromise was, therefore, to him not only recommended by prudence, but dictated by necessity, and he adopted the most effectual means for bringing it about. He selected Lord Ashburton for a pacific mission—a nobleman of distinguished talents and most conciliatory manners, and who, lately elevated to the peerage, was still the head of one of the greatest mercantile houses in the world, and intimately acquainted, both from business connections and extensive information, with the state of public feeling in America. Under such auspices, the matter was soon brought to a satisfactory issue. He left London in Feb-

Aug. 9. ruary, 1842, and in August following concluded a treaty at Washington, which settled both the boundary question and the right of searching ships on the high seas in time of peace.¹

By this treaty the Americans obtained about 91. seven-twelfths of the disputed territory, and the British only five-twelfths. They got the British settlement of Madawaska, and the navigation of the river of St. John, and their territory ran in a salient angle almost into the heart of Canada. On the other hand, they were farther removed from the St. Lawrence than they had been by the King of Holland's award, and they were excluded from a series of heights, of importance in a military point of view, on the right or American side of that river. Upon the whole, the balance, both in point of extent and value of acquisition, was decidedly in favor of the Americans; and although there were many complaints, in the first instance, in the United States, yet, upon the whole, the country was satisfied, and Lord Ashburton was splendidly fêted in his travels through it on his return home. The feeling in Great Britain was more mixed, and with many of a more painful description. All were agreed that it was a great blessing that peace had been preserved, and that the whole territory in dispute was not worth one half-year's cost of a war. But there were many who regretted the sacrifice, not so much of dominion as of character, by which the pacification had been purchased. It was asked whether such a treaty would have been agreed to in the days of Chatham and Pitt—how a great nation was to preserve its position in the world, if it surrendered its possessions rather than draw the sword; and Lord Palmerston's happy sobriquet of "the Ashburton capitulation" expressed so completely the general feeling, that it has come to designate the treaty ever since it was concluded.

But all this notwithstanding, there seems no 92. doubt that Sir R. Peel and Lord Ashburton did right, *situated as they were*, in concluding the treaty. Granting

all that Lord Palmerston said on the subject to be perfectly well founded, so far as the external character and influence of Great Britain were concerned, the question yet remained, whether, advertg to the internal situation of the country, it was then possible to have asserted the national honor in any more vigorous way. England had come, by pursuing the policy of looking only to the cheapest market for the purchase of the materials of its chief manufactures, to be dependent on the United States for five-sixths of the cottons which gave bread to the inhabitants of her chief manufacturing towns. She had established a system of currency which had rendered general credit and commercial industry of every kind entirely dependent on the retention of gold, and, in consequence of its large export, to buy grain during the five preceding bad years, the whole commercial and manufacturing classes had come to be involved in the deepest distress. She had recently sustained an unparalleled disaster in Afghanistan, and had only just emerged from a costly war both in India and China. She had a military and naval force on so very reduced a scale, that not more than ten thousand men could have been collected, after providing for the necessary garrisons, to defend London, or ten sail of the line to assert the honor of the British flag in the Channel. In these circumstances, to have plunged into a fresh war with a considerable naval power, and the one from whom the materials for our chief manufactures were derived, would have been hazardous in the extreme, and might have induced dangers wholly disproportioned to any advantages to be derived from the contest.

Encouraged by the success with which the bold assertion of their claims on the 93. Maine frontier had been attended, The Oregon the Americans next proceeded to question. adopt a similar policy on the other Its history. side of the Rocky Mountains. A vast district of country, called OREGON, then lay between that alpine barrier and the sea, of great importance from its natural fertility, its mineral riches—the rich island of Vancouver, two hundred and fifty miles long, abounding with coal, belonging to its territory—and the command which it afforded of the Columbia River, the great stream which descended from its western fountains, and the destined channel of communication from the St. Lawrence and the great chain of lakes to the Pacific Ocean. So little was either the geography or importance of this immense region understood when the treaty with the United States, in 1783, was concluded, that, literally speaking, nothing was arranged at all regarding it. So unsettled was the matter, and so discordant the claims of the British Government and the United States on the subject, that Lord Castlereagh said to Mr. Rush, the American Minister, in 1822, that, "by holding up a finger, war could at any time be produced about it." So wide were the American pretensions, and so warm the feelings excited, on both sides, that it was with no small difficulty that that lamented statesman, and after him Mr. Canning, prevented hostilities actually breaking out regarding it. Sensible of the danger of such a state of things, the two Governments, in 1818, entered into a convention, by which the whole Oregon territory was to be open to settlers from both countries for the period of

ten years, and this state of promiscuous occupation was to continue for an indefinite period after. It was impossible, however, that this uncertain and precarious state could remain after the country began to be occupied by settlers, however few and far between on either side. It was indispensable that they should know to whom they belonged, and to which Government they owed allegiance. This necessity became more pressing when the increasing numbers and augmented spirit of adventure in the United States led to great numbers of the inhabitants of that country leaving their homes, and seeking new settlements in distant regions. In 1842 and 1843, great numbers of these hardy pioneers of civilization, impelled by the want and stagnation of enterprise, which General Jackson's crusade against the banks had produced in the United States, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and, armed only with their rifle, cartridge belt, axe, and scrip, boldly settled in the desert wilderness. So strong did the passion for maintaining and extending these settlements become, that in 1843

the President of the United States was constrained to give notice to the British Government that he was about to put an end to the existing state of promiscuous possession—a determination which rendered it necessary to fix a boundary-line on this side also between the territories of the two Governments.¹

It was no easy matter to effect this object, for the passions of the Americans, now strongly excited, were hurrying them in great numbers to what they deemed the land of promise on the other side of the Rocky Mountains. Large caravans were formed which traversed the pathless prairies, found their way over the stony barrier, and descended into the boundless wastes which extended from its foot to the shores of the Pacific. It seemed, from the numbers which went, and the haste with which their journey was urged on, that they were desirous to forestall the British, and occupy the country in dispute in such numbers that any attempt to dislodge or transfer them would be impossible to either power. In a word, they were doing exactly the thing which, at the same time, they effected in Texas, which was to squat down in sufficient numbers on the territory, to render it worth while for the Union to incorporate it with their other States, whereby, at one blow, they wrested from the Spaniards a region of 350,000 square miles in extent, or more than twice the area of France. The language used in Congress on the subject, especially in 1844 and 1845, was extremely violent, insomuch as to leave a pacific solution of the question apparently hopeless. To such a length did they go, that on 28d April, 1846, the Con-

April 23,
1846.

gress passed a resolution that notice of the termination of the joint occupancy should be sent to the British Government, and providing for the occupation of the Oregon territory. This bill passed the Senate by a majority of 42 to 10, and the House of Representatives by 142 to 46. Every one in both countries now expected that the next step would be an assertion of their right to the entire territory in dispute, and an appeal to arms for its support. Fortunately, however, for the peace of the world,

the Government of the United States was guided by more pacific views, and the Treasury had not sufficiently recovered the terrible monetary crisis produced by General Jackson's June, 1816. crusade against the banks to render it advisable to face a fresh war, which would immediately lead to the destruction of their foreign trade, and ruin of the large revenue they derived from the import duties, at the very time when they had just declared war against the Republic of Mexico. Lord Aberdeen sent out a proposal for a compromise, which was ¹ Ann. Reg. approved of by a large majority in the 1846, 326, Senate, and accepted by the President, Mr. Rush. ² 3:7; Mart. II. 656, 657.

By this treaty, which arranged the respective claims of the parties on a very equitable footing, the territory on the continent was divided between the parties ^{95.} Its terms. in such a way as to give the larger portion to the United States. The line stretched from a point in the 49th "latitude to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and up Fuca Strait, provided that the navigation of the whole of the said channel and straits south of the 49th parallel of north latitude shall remain free and open to both parties. From the point which the 49th parallel of north latitude shall be found to intersect the great northern branch of the Columbia River, the navigation of the said branch shall be open to the Hudson Bay Company, and British subjects trading with the same, to the point where the said branch meets the main stream of the Columbia, and thence down the said main stream to the ocean." By this arrangement the whole of Vancouver's Island, a possession of great importance, remained to Great Britain. It enjoys a temperate climate, not unlike that of the British Islands; and from the valuable seams of coal which it contains, must ultimately come to be a possession of very great value. So closely joined are the British and American territories on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, and so much detached from all the rest of the world, that the celebrated American statesman, Mr. Webster, has declared his conviction, that ere long their inhabitants will detach themselves ³ Treaty, June from both States, and set up a 17, 1846; Ann. separate Republic of their own on Reg. 1846; 327, the shores of the Pacific.² 328.

These treaties, conducted with such difficulties, between Great Britain and the ^{96.} United States, are worthy of remark, Reflections as indicating the advent of the period on these when the American population was ^{Treaties.} bursting the limits of their territories, wide as they were, and pouring over in mighty streams into the adjoining States. So strong was this disposition, that it was with difficulty that the Governments withstood the pressure; and it was only by the accidental circumstance of the largest portion of the flood breaking into Texas that the whole of Oregon was prevented from being overwhelmed. This is a very singular circumstance, especially when the stationary condition of the French population in Lower Canada is taken into consideration. It adds another to the many proofs with which history abounds, that Republican States, so far from

being the most pacific, are the most warlike and aggressive of all nations; and that the *multis utile bellum* is in them a stronger provocative to conquest than either the ambition of kings or the rivalry of ministers. It points distinctly to democratic institutions as the great *expelling force* which drives civilized man from his native seats, and fills the wilderness of nature with hardy settlers, the destined fathers of mighty nations. But it is calculated not less strongly to evince how peculiarly these qualities are developed in the Anglo-Saxon more than any other race of mankind, and how admirably adapted their disposition, at once nomad and agricultural, is to their destined mission of clearing and peopling the vast forests which overspread the surface of the New World.

America was not the only quarter in which, during the administration of Sir R. Peel, the British empire was threatened with hostility. It was on the very verge also of a war with France, and strange to say, the cause of discord was not any jealousy or ambitious projects of either power in Europe, but a contest for the protectorate of the distant island of Otaheite in the Pacific Ocean. To understand how this came about, it is necessary to premise that the beautiful island of Otaheite, so well known to British readers from Cook's Voyages, had of late years been visited by the English missionaries, and its inhabitants had readily and sincerely embraced the Protestant faith. So rapid had been the spread of the Christian religion among the simple islanders of the Pacific, that the most sanguine hopes were entertained in England that the entire conversion of the South Sea Islands would follow its establishment in the group of islands which surrounded Otaheite. The queen of that island, named Pomare, had embraced Christianity, and was a pupil of the missionaries. Sensible of the weakness of her little kingdom, she was very desirous of being taken under the protection of Great Britain, or, as she expressed it, "to be allowed to sit under their flag."

She accordingly made an application to George IV., in 1825, praying "that he would not abandon them, but regard them with kindness forever." Lord Palmerston, however, who was Foreign Minister when the application arrived, was aware of the embarrassment which the

protectorate of so distant and feeble a state might occasion, declined the proffered honor, though with every expression of friendship and regard for Queen Pomare and her subjects.¹

Meanwhile the French Roman Catholic missionaries, not less anxious than the English for the spread of their own faith, had also fixed upon Otaheite as the centre of their operations in the South Sea; and it was the rival pretensions of the missionaries of these two opposite creeds which embroiled the two countries, and had so nearly involved them in war. The Catholic missionaries, it would appear, had been hurried away by their zeal to carry matters too far, for in 1836 Queen Pomare sent a letter through Mr. Pritchard, the British consul at Otaheite, requesting to know "whether the

Roman Catholic missionaries who belonged to France, and persisted in coming to Otaheite and disturbing the peace of our Government, had the sanction of the British Government?" Lord Palmerston prudently replied that, as Otaheite was an independent state, the Queen of England could not in any manner interfere with the residence of foreigners in a territory which did not belong to her. The French, however, were not so easily got quit of; for they had formed, or were desirous of forming, a settlement in some of the adjoining islands, forming part of the Marquesas cluster, for the double purpose of establishing a harbor of refuge for their commercial vessels engaged in the South Sea fishery, and of founding a convict colony which might serve as a receptacle for part of the criminals with which their prisons in France were overcharged, and procure for that country some of the advantages which England had so long enjoyed from her penal settlements in New South Wales. The French authorities in this settlement complained that some outrages had been committed on two French missionaries, Messrs. Laval and Cazet, who had been in Otaheite for the purpose of weaning over the natives from the Protestant to the Catholic faith, and this was made a ground by Admiral Dupe- tit-Thouars, the French commander on the station, for demanding reparation. Accordingly, on the 30th August, 1838, he appeared off the island in the frigate "Venus," having a body of land troops on board, and demanded, in the most summary way, that a letter of apology should be written by the Queen to the French Government, the sum of 2000 dollars paid to the persons injured, and the French colors hoisted on the island, and saluted with 21 guns on the 1st September. Being in no situation to resist this demand, Queen Pomare entered into a convention, in virtue of which all Frenchmen of every profession were to be allowed to establish themselves and trade freely in every part of her dominions.¹

This convention, however, satisfied neither party. The presence of the French was so obnoxious to Queen Pomare, or her advisers, that in November of the same year she addressed another letter to Lord Palmerston praying for the protection of the British Government. "Let," said she, "your flag cover us, and your lion defend us; determine the form in which we may shelter ourselves lawfully under your wings." In September, 1839, Lord Palmerston returned an answer, which expressed concern for the difficulties which beset Queen Pomare, but declined to enter into an alliance, as "it would be impossible for her Britannic Majesty to fulfill with proper punctuality the defensive obligation which such a treaty would imply." The consequence was that the Queen, deprived of all aid from England, and unable to resist the hostile force with which she was threatened, was constrained to enter into a convention, in virtue of which the flag of Otaheite was lowered, and that of France hoisted in its room. This formal act of possession took place on 9th September, 1842, regularly notified to the British Government. The in-

Aug. 30, 1838.

¹ Treaty, Aug. 30, 1838; Ann. Reg. 1842, 338; Ann. Hist. 1842, 254—App. 250; Guizot, Sir R. Peel, 154, 157.

99. The French take possession of Otaheite.

Sept. 9, 1842.

structions to Admiral Thouars had been to occupy the Marquesas Islands, but not Otaheite; so that this taking possession was unauthorized; but the French Government, deeming the national honor involved in supporting the act of their naval lieutenants, did not hesitate to ratify the protectorate, though ¹ Guizot, 158; Ann. Reg. 1843, they disavowed the assumed sovereignty.¹

As it was only a protectorate, not an absolute dominion, which the French Government ratified in Otaheite, they engaged to respect the British missions; and although the British Government felt some jealousy at this assumption of their ancient rivals in a country which had long been on friendly terms with them, yet the moderation of the two Governments prevented any collision, and promised a pacific solution of the question. But difficult are all attempts of governments to preserve the peace of the world when that worst element of discord, religious zeal, has roused the passions of the people. From an island which slept in peace on the placid waters of the Pacific arose a tempest which had well-nigh spread over the world. The Catholic and Protestant missionaries in Otaheite made the most strenuous efforts mutually to supplant each other in the affections of the natives, and both, animated with a zeal at once ardent and sincere, strove to establish their respective faiths by the ruin of their opponents. These feelings on both sides could hardly fail, ere long, to lead to a collision; and it occurred under circumstances which threatened the most serious results. An English missionary, Mr. Pritchard, had become consul in the island; and although he had resigned his office when the French protectorate was established, his resignation had not been accepted, and he still *ad interim* held the office. He was very obnoxious to the French authorities on account of his zeal and influence with the natives, who had contracted a strong aversion to their Gallic masters; and a French sentinel having been disarmed by the natives, on the night of the 2d March, 1844, it was made a pretext for seizing and imprisoning Mr. Pritchard "in reprisal;" and he was released only on condition of his instantly leaving the Pacific. This he accordingly did, without seeing his family, and reached London by the way of Valparaiso. Matters now looked very serious, for the dignity of England had been outraged in the person of its accredited consul; and that of France seemed not less implicated in maintaining what had been done. Warm feelings were excited and expressed on both sides when the intelligence reached the two countries; and Sir R. Peel declared in Parliament, on 31st July, 1844, "that the account was scarcely credible, so impossible did it seem that such an outrage could be offered under the circumstances; but that the reply of the French Government to the remonstrances of England would soon arrive, when it would doubtless appear they would be as ready to disavow this act as that of dethroning Queen Pomare."²

100. Affair of Mr. Pritchard, which complicates the case.

² Ann. Reg. 1844, 261; Parl. Deb. lxxiii. 241; Spectator, 1844, 724.

Fortunately there were at the head of the foreign affairs of the two Governments, at this moment, two men who, equally alive to the honor

of their country, were yet not less impressed with the paramount importance of preserving peace between them, and who felt that each had succeeded to such an inheritance of historic glory that it could afford to listen only to the dictates of reason and justice. M. Guizot felt that the French officer concerned in the affair had overstepped due bounds in the removal of Mr. Pritchard, and agreed to make him reparation, the amount of which was to be referred to the British and French Admirals on the station; and Lord Aberdeen agreed to accept this reparation without insisting for the dismissal of the officer who had given orders for his seizure. The right of dominion over Otaheite, at first asserted by Admiral Dupetit-Thouars, had been disclaimed by the French Government, and the more modest title of Protectorate alone assumed. Thus was this delicate and dangerous affair adjusted by mutual moderation and good sense, without any injury to the honor of either party; and M. Guizot, in announcing it to the Chamber of Deputies, expressed in noble and generous terms the principles by which the Governments of both had been actuated. "The good understanding which now subsists between the two Governments has been called an *entente cordiale*; friendship, alliance. Gentlemen, it is so; but it is something more novel, more rare, more great, than all that. There are now in France and England two Governments, who believe that there is room in the world for the prosperity and the material and moral activity of both countries; who do not think that they are obliged to regret, deplore, or fear their mutual progress; and who are satisfied that they may, by the full development of their forces of every kind, aid instead of injuring each other. And the two Governments who believe that it is possible to do this, believe also that it is their duty to do it—that they owe it alike to the honor and the good of their country, to the peace and the civilization of the world. And that which they mutually believe possible they have actually done; they have reduced their ideas to practice, and they have evinced on every occasion a mutual respect for rights, a mutual attention to interests, a mutual trust in intentions and words. This is what they have done; and thence it is that incidents the most delicate, events the most grave, are accommodated without producing either a rupture or even a coldness in the relations of the two countries." Noble words! betokening the rise of that spirit, founded on mutual respect and admiration, which led these two ancient rivals to stand side by side on the fields of Alma and Inkermann.¹

Negotiations of the highest importance took place between Great Britain and France at this period, regarding the Spanish marriages and succession; but they will come to be narrated with more propriety in the history of the latter country during the same time, as they had a material influence on its future fortunes, and determined in some degree the ultimate fate of Louis Philippe.

The reviving prosperity of the country, in consequence of the cessation of the import of

¹ Moniteur, Jan. 23, 1845; Guizot, Sir R. Peel, 162; Ann. Reg. 1844, 257, 261.

grain, and increased issue of notes in 1843 and 1844, had so raised the price of stocks as enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer to bring forward a bill, in March, 1844, for the further reduction of the whole public funds excepting the 3 per cents. The 3½ per cents, which composed £250,000,000 out of the £760,000,000 which formed the public debt, had stood in the beginning of the year at 102½, and of course a fair opportunity was presented of paying them off at par. Mr. Goulburn was not slow in taking advantage of this auspicious state of things; and he brought forward, on 8th March, a proposal for the conversion of the 3½ into, first, 3½, and ultimately 3 per cents. The first reduction was to take place immediately, the last in ten years. By this means he calculated that he could effect a saving at once of £625,000 a year, and in 1854 of £1,250,000. As this reduction was accompanied with an offer to pay off the dissentients at par, it involved no breach whatever of the public faith, and was received in the most favorable manner by both sides of the House, and the public generally. The result fully justified the Chancellor's expectations, for the debt held by the dissentients was a perfect trifle, only £200,000, and was immediately paid off. The success of this measure, whereby the old £5 and £4 per cents were at length, as in October, 1854, reduced to 3 per cent., afforded the clearest demonstration of the erroneous principle on which Mr. Pitt originally proceeded in borrowing so large a proportion of the public debt in the 3 per cents instead of the five or four per cents; for if the latter system had been universally adopted, the saving effected on the interest of the public debt, which at this time was £760,000,000 in round numbers, would have been, between 1815 and 1854, no less than two-fifths of the entire interest, or above £100,000,000 a year.¹

The financial statement made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer next day exhibited an equally flattering appearance, which was hailed with the more satisfaction by the nation, that it was the first time during a long and dreary course of years that such a prospect had been presented to the public. The estimated revenue had been £50,150,000, the actual receipts were £52,835,000, showing an increase above the estimates of no less than £2,685,000. This was in itself gratifying, and the more so from its exhibiting such a contrast to what the budget had presented for many years past. But it became doubly so when the several items were taken into consideration, for they indicated in an unmistakable manner a remarkable increase in the comfort of all classes. The estimate of the property-tax had been £5,100,000; it produced £5,326,000. The duties on tea had produced £300,000 in excess, those on wine £350,000, those on sugar £200,000. The customs, estimated at £19,000,000, had produced £21,426,000. On the other hand, the expenditure had fallen short of the estimate by £650,000; and the East India Company had made a large payment out of the moneys received by the treaty with China, to be afterward narrated—altogether the surplus of the present year, ending 5th April,

1854, had been £4,165,000; an amount so large as enabled the Chancellor of the Exchequer not only to pay off the deficiency, amounting to £2,749,000, of last year, but to realize a net surplus of £1,400,000 for the present year.¹

With whatever satisfaction this unwonted financial statement was received by the country, it was very far from proving a source of quiet to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for no sooner was the announcement of a surplus so considerable made public than he was assailed by a perfect host of petitioners, each praying that the duties immediately affecting themselves should be taken off; while the class affected by the income-tax loudly clamored that that heavy burden should be removed, as the war, which alone had been put forward as a ground for its imposition, had come to a conclusion both in India and China. Sir R. Peel, however, adhered to his principle of retaining the direct taxation, and remitting such taxes as were deemed advisable solely on indirect articles. Those selected for relief were glass, vinegar, currants, coffee, marine insurances, and wool. The entire amount of taxes reduced was only £387,000. This was loudly complained of by Mr. Hume, who insisted that Government should forthwith make a large reduction in the army and navy, by which they would be able to remit taxation to ten times the amount of that proposed. But to this demand the Prime Minister made the following satisfactory answer: "When honorable members tell us that we ought to do away with the income-tax, I request them to consider what has occurred since 1835. Three things have occurred. There has been a rebellion in Canada, hostilities in Syria, a terrible disaster in India, and a war in China. Let us not be told, then, that we ought to reduce, or that we can reduce, the income-tax. It is very easy to talk of making reductions, but the difficulty is to show that, in the end, those reductions will consist with true economy or the maintenance of the national independence."²

The duties on sugar were made the subject of a separate debate, of great interest, as affording demonstrative evidence of the effect which, after a trial of six years, the emancipation of the negroes had produced on the productive industry of the once splendid West Indian colonies. It was stated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in Parliament, that, before the Emancipation Bill, the West Indies had produced sugar enough for the consumption of this country, and about a third more which was exported, which had the effect of keeping down the price of the whole to the level which that surplus could command in the market of Europe. When emancipation, however, took place, it was foreseen that the supply would be considerably diminished, and to meet that probable event Parliament brought the duties on East and West India sugar nearer to a level. Experience had proved, however, that this change was not equal to the exigencies of the case, especially as the improved condition of the people in Great Britain, and our altered relations with China, rendered it probable that an increased consumption of

^{108.}
Reduction
of the 3½
per cents.
March 8,
1844.

¹ Ann Reg.
1844, 153,
156; Parl.
Deb. lxxiii.
361, 385.

^{104.}
Favorable
financial
statement
of 1844.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1844, 154,
156; Parl.
Deb. lxxiii.
392, 399.

^{105.}
Reduction
of taxes.

² Parl. Deb.
lxxiii. 405,
417; Ann.
Reg. 1844,
157, 158.

^{106.}
Reduction
of Sugar
Duties.

sugar to mix with tea would take place. For this purpose he proposed that, after the 10th of November next, free-grown sugar of China, Java, Manilla, or any other which her Majesty, by order in council, might certify to be not slave-grown sugar, should be admitted at £1 14s. per cwt., with five per cent. additional, being 10s. more than the duty of 24s. on West India sugar. To this proposal the House cordially agreed, the necessity of the case, from the diminution of West India sugar, being apparent to all. Indeed, so strongly was it felt, that Lord John Russell moved an amendment that *slave-grown* sugar should be admitted to supply the deficiency of the West Indies, which was only negatived by a majority of 69, the numbers being 197 to 128. Thus was the first step in advance made to free trade in sugar; but it was an ominous circumstance that the House divided on the admission of slave-grown sugar on the same terms as that of free labor, and a strange one that the amendment to that effect was proposed by the leader of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. A subsequent amendment, moved by Mr. Miles, on behalf of the West India proprietors, that the duty on British colonial sugar, whether from the East or West Indies, should be lowered to 10s., and the foreign left at 34s., was negatived only by a majority of 22 in committee, after it had been carried by a small majority against Ministers in the House itself.¹

But all the measures of this session sink into insignificance compared with the all-important one of the BANK CHARTER Act, which came on during its continuance, and produced more immediate and important effects on the country than any other measure recorded in British annals. At the last granting of the exclusive privileges to the Bank in 1833, it had been provided that it was to last for twenty-one years, with a power of modification by Parliament at the end of ten years, if Government should be so inclined. Sir R. Peel resolved to take advantage of this permissive clause to place the issue of paper, whether by the Bank of England or country banks, under additional restrictions. The object of this was to prevent, so far as possible, the recurrence of such terrible calamities as the country had undergone in consequence of the fever of speculation in 1835 and 1836, followed by the crises of 1839 and subsequent years, and at once check rash speculation at one time, and undue suspension at another. In this opinion the country generally concurred; for the recollection of the distress recently experienced, and which every one saw was owing to something wrong with the currency, was too vivid not to inspire an almost universal wish that some remedy could be discovered for such multifarious and often-recurring calamities. The only parties that took the alarm were the country bankers and their immediate dependents, who were apprehensive that the power of issuing notes, the great source of their profits, would be taken from them; and they issued several pamphlets on the subject, some of which went through several editions, and made a very considerable impression. Sir R. Peel, however, was too wary a leader to run directly athwart so

powerful a body as the country bankers; on the contrary, he framed his measure in such a manner as ere long secured their general support. The subject was introduced by him in a long and lucid speech of three hours' duration, which was listened to with profound attention on both sides of the House, and never certainly was a subject of more vital importance brought under the consideration of Parliament.¹

"In legislating on this subject," said Sir R. Peel, "it is first necessary to consider what is the principle of value, a point upon which there is not a uniformity of opinion. Some say it is a mere abstraction or measure of value, as a foot or a yard is of distance. I can not accede to that opinion. In my opinion, it means, and can only mean, a certain weight of precious metal of a certain fineness; and the engagement of the makers of a promissory note is to pay on demand a definite quantity of that metal and fineness. This was just the state of matters prior to 1797, when bank paper became issuable without convertibility into metal. The reason why an ounce of gold costs £3 17s. 10½d. is, that that is the proportion which the one metal bears to the other; and if you mean a certain advantage to debtors, you should give a direct discount, and not attempt indirectly to do the same thing, by saying it is worth £5. In a word, gold is the only safe foundation for the currency; and although the necessities of commerce may require that a paper circulation should be mixed with it, yet the currency can never rest on a proper foundation unless the one is convertible into the other."

"I propose, therefore, with respect to the Bank of England, that there should be a separation of the two departments of issue and of banking, that there should be a separate set of offices for each, and a different system of accounts. I likewise propose, that to the issue department should be transferred the whole amount of bullion now in the possession of the Bank, and that the issue of notes should hereafter take place on two foundations, and two foundations only: first on a definite amount of securities, and after that exclusively upon bullion; so that the action of the public would, in this latter respect, govern the amount of the circulation. There will be no power in the Bank to issue notes on deposits and discount of bills; and the issue department will have to place to the credit of the banking department the amount of notes which by law the issue department will be entitled to issue. The banking business of the Bank, I propose, should be governed on precisely the same principles as would regulate any other body dealing with Bank of England notes. The fixed amount of securities on which I propose that the Bank of England should issue notes is £14,000,000, and the whole remainder of the circulation is to be issued exclusively on the foundation of bullion. I propose that there should be a complete and periodical publication of the accounts of the Bank of England, both in the banking and issue departments, as tending to increase the credit of the Bank, and prevent panic and needless alarm."

"With respect to private banks, I propose

¹ Ann. Reg. 1844, 162, 169; Parl. Deb. lxxv. 154, 183, 219, 963, 1012, 1062.

¹ Mart. ii. 625; Ann. Reg. 1844, 191, 192.

108.

Sir R. Peel's argument in support of his Bill.

109.

Continued.

that the general principle is to be a distinction between the privilege of issue and the conduct of banking business, the object being to limit competition, but to make the great change with as little detriment as possible to private interests. To effect this object from the date of the act, no new bank of issue will be allowed to be constituted; but all the existing banks will be allowed to continue their issues, *upon condition that they do not exceed their present amount*, to be calculated on an average of the last ten years. While the issues are to be restricted, business will be facilitated. The privilege of suing and being sued in the name of the office-bearers will be accorded, and the power of an authorized partner to bond the whole in relation to the banking business, and no new bank established but upon application to Government, and proper registration of prospective and paid-up shares and capital. All banks are to be obliged to publish a full and periodical list of all partners and directors, and banks of issue to publish an account of their issues. The Bank of England will be allowed to extend its issues on securities beyond the £14,000,000 on emergency, but only with the assent of three members of the Government; and in that case the whole of the net profit on issues beyond the £14,000,000 is to revert to the Government. The "legal tender clause," making Bank of England notes a legal tender every where but at the Bank of England, is to be continued, as tending to facilitate the circulation of bank paper. The Bank of England shall be bound to buy all the gold brought in, at a trifle below the present price.

"By these means the circulation of the whole of England issuing on securities will be about £22,000,000, £9,000,000 being the proportion of the country banks to £14,000,000 of the Bank of England. The circulation of the country, however, is, and requires to be, £30,000,000, and it is the additional £8,000,000 that requires to be provided for. This portion of our currency must be based on gold, for it is the portion required for foreign commerce, in which national securities are of no avail. The gold wanted for this portion of our commerce *may be assumed to be at the utmost £8,000,000*; for before any thing like that quantity could have been drained out of the country, prices must have fallen so low as to have caused a large exportation of goods and return of gold. As the provision of this Act is, that gold is always to be in store beyond the £22,000,000 based on national securities, there can be no fluctuation in the amount of paper-money otherwise than in proportion to the amount of gold brought for sale to the Bank of England; and as the Bank is obliged to buy with its notes all the gold brought to it, the gold bought in will be surely replaced by an equal amount of paper. When gold, on the other hand, is drawn out, the paper that comes in will be canceled—a necessity, as the Bank has hitherto immediately reissued the notes brought in, thus increasing the drain upon itself, at the very moment when a severe drain has set in of itself."*

* Sir R. Peel's resolutions were in these terms, which contain an able summary of his views on the subject:

"I. That it is expedient to continue to the Bank of

Such were the views entertained by Sir R. Peel and the great majority in both Houses of Parliament, which agreed with him on this all-important subject, and such the arguments by which their views were supported. So general was the concurrence in these views, that no one ventured to oppose them in either House on principle, and the second reading passed without a division. The only serious opposition which showed itself was to that portion of the bill which went to affect the interests of the country bankers, and the restrictions about to be imposed on their issues. Mr. Hawes was the exponent of their views, and he moved an amendment on the 13th June to the effect, "That no sufficient evidence has been laid before this House to justify the proposed interference with banks of issue in the management of their issues." "The object," said he, "of the present bill, is to make the paper circulation conform more closely to the gold circulation, which is declared to be prevented by the unlimited competition in the issue of paper. I deny that unlimited competition; for the convertibility of each note into gold at the will of the holder is a natural and sufficient check on an overissue of paper. There is no foundation for the doctrine advanced by the Bullion Committee, that the difference between the Mint and the market price of gold is the measure of the depreciation of the currency. That difference is entirely owing to the political causes which create a greater demand for gold, and therefore render it more valuable in one part of the world than another. It is a mere gratuitous assumption,

England, for a time to be limited, certain of the privileges now by law given to that corporation, subject to such conditions as may be provided for by any act to be passed for that purpose.

"II. That it is expedient to provide by law that the Bank of England should henceforth be divided into two separate departments, one exclusively confined to the issue and circulation of notes, the other to the conduct of the banking business.

"III. That it is expedient to limit the amount of securities upon which it shall be henceforth lawful for the Bank of England to issue notes payable to the bearer on demand; and that such amount shall only be increased under certain conditions, to be prescribed by law.

"IV. That it is expedient to provide by law that a weekly publication should be made by the Bank of England of the state both of the circulation and of the banking departments.

"V. That it is expedient to repeal the law which subjects the notes of the Bank of England to the payment of the composition for stamp duty.

"VI. That, in consideration of the privileges to be continued to the Bank of England, the rate of fixed annual payment to be made by the Bank to the public shall be £180,000 per annum.

"VII. That, in the event of any increase of the securities upon which it shall be lawful to issue such promissory notes as aforesaid, a further annual payment shall be made by the Bank of England to the public, over and above the £180,000, equal to the net profit thereon arising.

"VIII. That it is expedient to provide by law that such banks of issue in England and Wales as now issue promissory notes payable to bearer shall continue to issue such notes, subject to such limitation as may be provided for that purpose.

"IX. That it is expedient to prohibit by law the issuing of any notes payable to bearer by any bank not now issuing such notes, or by any bank to be hereafter established in any part of the United Kingdom.

"X. That it is expedient to provide by law for the weekly production of the amount of promissory notes payable to bearer on demand, circulated by any bank authorized to issue such notes.

"XI. That it is expedient to make further provision by law for the regulation of joint-stock banking companies."—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxiv. p. 765; *Ann. Reg.*, 1844, p. 196.

wholly unsupported either by reason or evidence, to say that the difference is owing to overissues. As little is the rise of prices during the war to be ascribed to that cause. On the contrary, England was in many articles, especially sugar and colonial produce, the cheapest country in the world at the very time when the market price of gold was 25 per cent. above the Mint price.

“The effect of the Government plan will be to substitute small bills of exchange for promissory notes, thus establishing a currency more easy of issue and more dangerous than that which now exists, while any commercial crisis pressing upon securities will compel the Bank to draw in its notes by whatever means and at whatever ruin to private credit, and thus lead to commercial difficulties unprecedented even in 1825 and 1839. A drain of bullion like that produced by the bad harvests of 1838 and 1839 might close the banking department of the Bank, and lead to such distress as would force on the repeal of the Corn-Laws. If all restrictions were removed on the issue of paper save the one important one of its being convertible into gold, no banker could commit an overissue, for it would come back upon him instantly if it exceeded the wants of the country. The notes in circulation now are little more than half of what they were some years ago, and no proof whatever has been adduced to justify the proposed restrictions. It is the most palpable injustice to lay the whole blame of overissue on the private bankers, and restrict them in future to their present amount of issue, without saying any thing of the Bank of England, with whom the system of overissue always began.”¹

Upon this debate, which went only to a subordinate part of the bill, and left untouched its leading principles, the majority for the Government was 155, the numbers being 185 to 80. A few small alterations in detail were afterward adopted, but an attempt on the part of Mr. Muntz, the member for Birmingham, to throw it out on the third reading was defeated by a still larger majority, the numbers then being 205 to 18. In the House of Lords the bill excited very little discussion, and passed on 12th July without a division; so little was its paramount importance to all classes of the community understood in either House, save by its immediate authors and promoters. It received the royal assent on the 19th of the same month.¹

In announcing his measure regarding the currency, which extended only to England, Sir R. Peel declared his intention of introducing, in the next session of Parliament, a similar measure applicable to Scotland and Ireland. Early in the session of 1845 he proceeded to redeem his pledge, and the country was at that period eminently prosperous; and as no bad effects had as yet been experienced, so far as present appearances went, from the bill of the preceding year relating to England, the bill passed with very little discussion and scarcely any opposition. Sir R. Peel boasted, and apparently with reason, in bringing it forward, that “thus far

experience was in favor of that Act; there had since been a period of extraordinary commercial activity and speculation, especially in manufactures and railways, and a great demand for capital; and the amount of gold and silver in the Bank of England was now £15,842,000.” In pursuance of the principle of the English Act, it was proposed to withdraw all the present exclusive privileges enjoyed by the Bank of Ireland, and to oblige that bank, like all the other banks of issue in the country, to make weekly returns of the state of its business. In Ireland equally as in Scotland, the power at present enjoyed by the banks issuing notes was to be continued to them even below £5; but the amount to be issued by them was in future to be limited, so far as issuing on securities went, to the average of their note circulation for thirteen lunar months since 27th April, 1844. Any excess of issue beyond these sums would require in both countries to be based on bullion. No bank established after the date of this Act was to have the power of issuing notes; and Bank of England notes were declared *not* a legal tender in Scotland. The amount of notes which under this Act might be issued on securities in Scotland would be £3,041,000, and in Ireland £6,271,000; the whole circulation beyond which was to be based on bullion. Thus was Sir R. Peel’s banking system finally established with almost universal concurrence in both islands, and the amount of circulation in the two, taken together, that might be issued on securities, was fixed at somewhat above £31,000,000, being little more than a half of what it had been at the close of the war.^{1*}

It is difficult to say whether what was said or what was left unsaid, in these all-important debates on the currency, which ended in the entire establishment of Sir R. Peel’s system, is the more calculated to awaken surprise and suggest reflection. The avowed object of the system was to check undue extension of the circulation, in periods of speculation and excitement, by the overissue of bankers, and to provide a solid basis for any extension of the currency beyond what was deemed reasonable, by compelling it to be based, whether issued by the Bank of England or private bankers, on bullion alone. To effect this object, it was deemed essential to compel the Bank of England to take all the gold which might be brought to it at a trifle below the Mint price; forgetting that if the precious metals came to flow on in abundance into the country, and no extraordinary drain existed from foreign wars or domestic deficiency of harvest to cause it to

* The Notes now issuable on Securities in the British Empire were:

Bank of England	£14,000,000
English country banks	8,000,000
Bank of Ireland	3,706,000
Irish country banks	3,565,000
Scotch banks	3,041,000
Total	£31,312,000

In 1815 the Notes in circulation on Securities were:

Bank of England	£27,261,000
English country banks	19,010,000
Scotch and Irish banks (estimated)	12,500,000
Total	£58,771,000

—Ann. Reg., 1845, p. 204.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1844, 200, 203; Parl. Deb. lxxiv. 1846.

¹¹⁴ The Bill passes both Houses. July 12.

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxvi. 1061; Ann. Reg. 1844, 206, 206.

¹¹⁵ Similar bills for Scotland and Ireland.

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To effect this object, it was deemed essential to compel the Bank of England to take all the gold which might be brought to it at a trifle below the Mint price; forgetting that if the precious metals came to flow on in abundance into the country, and no extraordinary drain existed from foreign wars or domestic deficiency of harvest to cause it to

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Bank of England

English country banks

Bank of Ireland

Irish country banks

Scotch banks

Total

flow abroad, it would all be brought to the Bank of England, which would thus be forced to issue a corresponding amount of notes, and could only indemnify itself for the large amount of bullion thus kept in dead stock at its expense in its cellars, by forcing its business in every direction. Thus, to a certainty, an immense amount of notes would come to be issued by the Bank of England, and of course all other banks, at the very moment when it was least required, and most perilous in consequence of a large influx of the precious metal at any rate taking place into this country.

If what was said in support of the measure was surprising, what was left unsaid was still more extraordinary. It was not said that the currency of the country, irrespective of that based on bullion, was now fixed at little more than half of what it had been thirty years before, when the population of the country was only two-thirds, and its transactions not a third of what they had since become.* It was not said that the arbitrary line of £31,380,000, then taken as the limit of the notes which would be issued on securities, was to be a fixed line, admitting of no increase, even although the transactions of the country, as was the case within the next ten years, should be doubled.† It was not said that, the whole currency beyond this line requiring to be based on bullion, if that bullion was drained away from the country by any cause, as a bad harvest at home or a serious war abroad, the necessary result would be a sudden and violent contraction of the currency and destruction of credit, at the very time when undertakings the most vast, speculations the most profitable, were in course of being carried into execution. It was not said that, as the whole currency of the country, whether based on securities or on bullion, was convertible at the pleasure of the holder into specie, this contraction would of necessity arise long before the Bank was approaching the end of its coffers, and when it still possessed the means, save by the operation of this law, of sustaining the commerce and credit of the country. It was not said that, in this way, the credit of every person in the kingdom would come to depend, not on the prudence of their undertakings, or even the amount of solid realized wealth they possessed, but solely on the retention of gold by the Bank of England. It was not said that this retention for any great length of time had been rendered impossible by the system of Free Trade, which was simultaneously introduced, which of necessity induced an immense balance of imports over exports into the richer country, which would then become, as Spain had long been, not the depositary of gold, but the channel of its transmission to other states. None of these things were said in the Legisla-

ture, though they were loudly said in the country. It will appear anon what were the consequences of this omission, and by what providential interference the nation was for a time rescued from the abyss into which it must otherwise have fallen.

An event, associated only with scenes of regal pomp and magnificence, but symptomatic of the altered relations of sovereigns and their subjects, occurred this year. This was the visit of Louis Philippe to Queen Victoria, in order to receive the investiture of the Order of the Garter, with which he was honored on the 9th September. The ceremony was performed with great splendor in the Throne Room of Windsor Castle, in presence of the Queen and ten Companions of the Order, and a brilliant assembly of the Ministry and Court. The few whom the magnificence of the spectacle permitted to reflect recollected that this Order had been instituted by Edward III. after the battle of Cressy, and that its first Companions were the Black Prince and the other Paladins whose prowess proved so fatal to France at Poitiers and other fields of fame. How were times now changed! In answer to an address from the incorporation of Windsor, the French King observed: "The union of France is of great importance to both nations, but not from any wish of aggrandizement on the part of either. Our view should be peace, while we leave every other country in possession of those blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to bestow upon them. France has nothing to ask of England, and England has nothing to ask of France, but cordial union." The 12th was the day fixed for his Majesty's departure, but a violent storm prevented his crossing the Channel on that day, so that he was obliged to change his route, and proceed to Dover. On the route thither a fresh disaster occurred, for when the train bearing the royal party reached the New Cross station it was wrapped in flames, and the glare of the conflagration was reflected from the helmets of the escort. Those inclined to superstition drew sinister auguries from these incidents, so quickly succeeding the recent scenes of festivity and magnificence.¹

118.
Visit of the King of the French to England.
Sept. 5.

Sept. 9.

1 Ann. Reg. 1844, 112, 117, Chron.

If this visit was characteristic of the important and auspicious change which had taken place of late years in the relations of France and England, an event which occurred earlier in the year, though considered at the time as one connected only with amusement, was the harbinger of tragic and important events in the east of Europe. On the 1st June the Emperor of Russia arrived in London, having been preceded by a few hours by the King of Saxony.

119.
Visit of the Emperor Nicholas.
June 1.

Years.	Population.	Exports. Official Value.	Imports. Official Value.	Shipping.	Exports. Declared Value.
1815.....	20,500,000	£42,875,996	£32,987,396	Tons. 2,601,278	£42,875,991
1845.....	26,890,000	134,509,116	85,281,955	6,045,718	60,111,081

—Parl. Returns.

Years.	Declared Value.	Computed Value.
1854.....	£97,184,725	£152,591,513
1855.....	95,688,085	143,660,835

—Parl. Returns, 1856.

He was received with her wonted courtesy and magnificence by the Queen, who gave him a splendid series of entertainments in Windsor Palace. One of his Majesty's first acts was to purchase £5000 worth of jewelry in London, which he distributed among the ladies of his acquaintance, whose smiles were liberally bestowed in return for such imperial courtesy; and the favor of the sporting world was not less won by a gift of a cup of uncommon splendor, to be annually run for at Ascot races. Every one

¹ Ann. Reg.
1844, 61, 64,
Chron.;
Doubleday,
Life of Peel,
I. 381.

who approached him was struck with the manly dignity of his figure, his noble and serene countenance, and the polished courtesy of his manners, which threw a lustre even over the stately halls of Windsor.¹

Unmarked amidst the blaze of magnificence which accompanied this imperial pa-
120. geant, political objects of the highest importance were involved in the Emperor's visit. It was not for the purposes merely of popularity or amusement that the Czar left the shores of the Neva to approach those of the Thames. The object was to prepare the British Government, in secret and confidential conferences, for the designs of Russia upon the Turkish empire. It was intended to

Political
objects of
the visit.

unfold the pitiable state of weakness to which the Turkish empire was reduced, and the absolute necessity of the principal powers of Europe concurring in the measures to be adopted in the event, which might ere long occur, of its entire dissolution. What the tenor of these conferences was is not yet fully known; but they may be inferred from what has since been published in regard to the proposals of the Czar to Sir H. Seymour, the English ambassador at St. Petersburg. These were the cession of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria to Russia; of Servia, Bosnia, and the coast of the Adriatic to Austria; of Egypt and Cyprus to England; and the establishment of a power, under the protection of Russia, in Roumelia and Constantinople. Count Nesselrode's memorandum, published since the Crimean war began, leaves no doubt on this point. What answer the British Government returned to these tempting proposals is not known; but the event has proved that it was not such as to disturb the diplomatic relations of the two countries, or prevent the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, when it deemed the proper moment arrived, from proceeding of its own authority to carry them into execution.¹

¹ Count Nesselrode's Memorandum;
Doubleday,
II. 386.

CHAPTER XLII.

ENGLAND FROM THE PASSING OF THE BANK CHARTER ACT IN 1844, TO THE FALL OF SIR R. PEEL'S MINISTRY IN JUNE, 1846.

SIR R. PEEL frequently referred to the Bank Charter Act of 1844, and the adoption of Free Trade, as the main causes of the flood of prosperity which overspread the country during the two succeeding years; and there can be no doubt that he was so far right that the immense increase in railway and other speculations which then took place is in a great degree to be ascribed to the facilities for carrying them on which that Act afforded. The Bank, now laid in chains by Government, had but one thing to do, and that was, to attend closely to the state of the exchanges and the stock of bullion in its coffers, to expand its issues when the former were favorable, the latter large; to contract them when the reverse took place. Circumstances, immediately after the passing of the Act, were eminently favorable to the retention of bullion. The supplies from South America, in consequence of the cessation of the desolating war of independence, had become much more abundant, and the drain, from the fineness of the harvests, had become very inconsiderable. The produce of gold in Russia had now become so considerable* as to exercise a sensible influence on the money market. The import of wheat in the years 1843, 1844, and 1845 was very small; in the latter of these years it was only 313,000 quarters.† The consequence was, that the Bank coffers were overflowing, and Sir R. Peel boasted, in the pride of his heart, as already mentioned in noticing the Scotch Banking Act in 1845, that it had bullion to the amount of £15,842,000. The necessary effect of this state of things, according to the existing law, was a very great issue of bank-notes by that establishment, which was obliged to give them for all the gold brought to its doors, and of course a corresponding increase in the issue of all other banks, which are all entirely regulated by the proceedings of the Bank of England. During the last half of 1844 and the next two years the average bullion in the Bank was from £15,000,000 to £16,000,000, and the paper in circulation from £21,000,000 to £23,300,000. The entire circulation of the empire during these years was from £40,000,000 to £42,000,000, while the gold and silver was

about £30,000,000. True to the principle of the Bank Charter Act, the Bank Directors no sooner perceived this favorable state of things than they lowered the rate of their discount from 4 to 2½ per cent.; and it did not exceed 3½ per cent. till the beginning of 1847,* when the monetary crisis was commencing which terminated so fatally in the close of that year. It was impossible that so great a fall in the rate of discount, and so great an increase in the circulating medium, could take place without a corresponding rise of prices in every thing except food, which was kept down by the fine harvests; the state of things of all others most favorable to commercial enterprise and speculation of every kind.

The first effect of this state of things, as auspicious in the outset as it was perilous in the end, was a vast increase in railway speculation, and the growth of what has been not inaptly called the RAILWAY MANIA. It was during the years 1844, 1845, and 1846 that this system received its full development, and it was then pushed to a degree of extravagance which would not be credited by future times if not attested by a host of contemporary witnesses, and evinced by lasting effects upon the face and fortunes of the country. Compared with the fever which then seized the public mind, and the magnitude of the speculations in consequence set on foot, the famous South Sea Bubble, and the corresponding fervor of England in 1824-'25 and 1836-'37, sink into insignificance. The progressive rise in the price of the chief articles of commerce was such as to render speculation of every kind for a considerable time a source of profit, and to diminish to an extraordinary degree the unfortunate ones which terminated in bankruptcy. The result of this, as usual, was, that people thought that the prosperity which had now set in would never cease; that the rise of prices, which had proved so profitable to many, would continue forever. It must be confessed that for a considerable time appearances seemed to justify the anticipation. The few fortunate speculators, who set on foot some of the favorite lines, soon sold their shares at such prices as in a few days enabled them to realize large fortunes. The knowledge of this so increased the public anxiety to share in these profitable in-

* PRODUCE OF GOLD IN RUSSIA.

1837.....	£200,000	1842.....	£1,848,000
1838.....	1,004,000	1843.....	2,685,000
1839.....	1,008,000	1844.....	2,730,000
1840.....	1,125,000	1845.....	2,792,000
1841.....	1,316,000	1846.....	3,414,000

—*Parl. Papers*, Dec. 8, 1847; *TOOKES'S History of Prices*, v. 537.

† IMPORTS OF WHEAT INTO GREAT BRITAIN.

Years.	Quarters.	Years.	Quarters.
1842.....	2,997,302	1844.....	1,021,245
1843.....	982,287	1845.....	813,245

—*PORTER'S Progress of the Nation*, p. 140, 8d edit.

* RATES OF DISCOUNT CHARGED AT THE BANK, AND BULLION IN CIRCULATION.

Years.	Rate of Int'rat.	Bullion.	Bills under Discount.	Paper out.
1844—Sept. 5	2½	£15,210,000	£7,280,000	£21,210,000
1845—Oct. 16	3	14,190,000	13,500,000	23,380,000
" —Nov. 6	3½	13,720,000	13,620,000	22,890,000
1846—Aug. 27	3	16,860,000	11,840,000	21,810,000

—*TOOKES On Prices*, v. 565.

vestments, that these shares rose every day higher, and scarcely any one who bought had not an opportunity of selling in a few days to advantage. Such was the effect of this, that in a short time the nation seemed to have lost its senses.¹

The effect of this universal mania appeared in a thousand different ways, some of which, it must be confessed, exhibited the national character in no very favorable colors. The passion for gain, now thoroughly awakened, seized upon all classes, pervaded both sexes, swept away all understandings. The grave and the gay, the old and the young, the studious and the volatile, were alike involved in the vortex. The few who ventured to withstand the torrent, and to suggest that the currency and capital of the country were alike inadequate to bear the strain which would soon be brought upon them, were put aside as mere alarmists, whose opinions were entitled to no consideration. It was said the money never left the country, that it only circulated from hand to hand with more rapidity, and that there was enough and to spare. Every one concerned, however remotely, in the great work of forming the net-work of railways which was to overspread the country, was worked to death, so great was the universal anxiety to get the lines forward. Surveyors with theodolites and chains were incessantly traveling the country in every direction; and when the proprietor refused his consent to their entry, it was stealthily obtained at night, or openly asserted in daylight by large bodies of men. Nothing could resist the universal mania. Park walls were to be perforated, shady dells penetrated, gardens pierced through, stately mansions leveled with the ground, villages ruined, streets effaced, to make way for these gigantic precursors of human improvement. As the season passed on, and the 30th November, the last day for lodging plans with the Board of Trade, approached, the pressure and excitement became unparalleled. Lithographers by hundreds were brought over from Belgium and France to aid in making the plans; the engineers and their clerks sat up all night, and several of them in two years made large fortunes. On the evening of the closing day the doors of the Board of Trade were besieged by a clamorous crowd contending for admission, as at the pit doors of the opera when a popular actress is to perform:

above six hundred plans were thrust in before the doors closed at midnight on the 30th November, 1845. The capital required for their construction was £270,950,000, and above £23,000,000 required to be deposited before the Acts could be applied for!²

It may easily be conceived that so prodigious and universal a ferment in society did not take place without unhinging in a great degree the public mind, and bringing forward in the most dangerous way many of the worst qualities of human nature. The same effects on all classes which had been observed in France during the Mississippi Bubble, reappeared in Great Britain, but on a much greater scale, and pervading more

universally all gradations of society. The passion for gain, deemed by all to be within their reach, seized upon all classes. Not a doubt was entertained, save by the thinking few, who were derided as alarmists and croakers, of the possibility, nay certainty, of reaching the goal; the only point was, who was to be first in the race? All classes joined in it: country clergymen and curates hastened to invest the savings of their scanty incomes in the golden investments; traders and shop-keepers in towns almost universally expended their all in similar undertakings; servants, both in affluent and humble families, were to be seen on all sides crowding to the agents' offices in the nearest towns, to throw their little savings into the crucible from whence a golden image was expected to start forth. It was painful to behold the extent of the delusion, mournful to contemplate its certain consequences. No class, not even the very highest, was exempt from it. Ladies of rank and fashion hastened from their splendid West End mansions into the city to besiege the doors of the fortunate speculators, whose abodes were deemed a certain entrance to fabled wealth; the palaces of the exclusives were thrown open to vulgar manners and grotesque habits to facilitate an entrance into these magicians' dens.

Doubtless some classes gained, and that enormously, by this universal insanity.

The legislative attorneys, the engineers in chief employment, and the surveyors, rapidly made fortunes. It must be confessed they gave the public something very tempting in appearance, at least, for their money. There was not a line proposed that was not supported by the opinion of professional men of the highest character, to the effect that at least *ten per cent.*, probably much more, would be the certain returns to the fortunate shareholders. Experience ere long proved that by doubling the estimated costs, and halving the estimated profits, a much nearer approximation to the truth would be obtained. Under the influence of such powerful excitements it may be believed that, without imputing to any one deliberate and intentional falsehood, great exaggeration prevailed; most erroneous views were successfully palmed off upon the committees, and a vast amount of solid wealth was forever thrown away, to the utter ruin of great numbers of innocent persons. These truths were ere long too clearly demonstrated by the result. It was computed that no less than £16,000,000 was expended in surveys, legislation, or litigation connected with the bills got up during the railway mania before they got through Parliament; of the £300,000,000 in round numbers which the lines were computed to cost, nearly a third has never paid any thing in the shape of dividend, and on the remaining two-thirds the net receipts, after deducting the working expenses, would not, on an average, exceed 3 per cent.³

* The sums authorized to be expended by Acts of Parliament on Railways in the United Kingdom were as follows in the undermentioned years:

1843.....	£3,861,285	1847.....	£40,397,395
1844.....	17,870,361	1848.....	14,620,471
1845.....	60,524,093	1849.....	3,155,332
1846.....	162,026,224	In 7 years.	£802,755,221

¹ Mart. ii. 623; Ann. Reg. 1845, 2, 3; Doubleday, ii. 388.

² Mart. ii. 630, 631; Doubleday, ii. 388, 389; Personal knowledge; Ann. Reg. 1845, Chron. 177.

³ Porter, 3d edit., 324, 326; Mart. ii. 631; Doubleday, ii. 388, 389.

It would be well if the historian had only to record the immediate losses which arose to the parties concerned in them from these gigantic undertakings. But unfortunately the evil did not stop here; but, on the contrary, has impressed its mark in a lasting way on the national character and on the estimation in which the Legislature is held. From the extravagant speculations and unbounded gains and losses of the years during which the mania lasted may be dated a great change, and one materially for the worse, in the mercantile character of the country. The old English merchant, cautious, upright, honorable, lavish in his charities, economical in his household, liberal to others, saving upon himself, has disappeared. "Namque avaritia fidem, probitatem ceterasque artis bonas subvertit; pro his superbiam, crudelitatem, deos negligere, omnia venalia habere edocuit. Hæc primo paullatim crescere, interdum vindicari. Post, ubi contagio quasi pestilentia invasit, civitas immutata."¹ In the joint-stock companies which succeeded the individual direction of the old English merchant, facilities to fraud were multiplied, inducements to probity taken away. Forgery and embezzlement hoped for evasion in the careless management of the many; honesty and integrity lost their appropriate reward by their fruits being shared by numbers. Every species of fraud—false balance-sheets, false dividends, cooked accounts—was perpetrated, in some cases with long-continued concealment and immense profits. When at length the perpetrators of the iniquity had in general escaped, aware of what was coming, they had in time disposed of their shares to the widow and the orphan, who, deceived by their representations, bore the penalty of their sins. The *transferable* nature of the shares in those public companies added immensely to the facilities of fraud, for the shares could be disposed of before the fraud was discovered. Unfortunately the Legislature itself

Great effect of these speculations in the country.

¹ Sal. Cat., § 10.

The entire receipts from and numbers of travelers on these lines, from which nearly one half required to be deducted for working expenses, were:

Years.	Gross Receipts.	Number of Passengers.
1845.....	£6,209,714	33,791,253
1846.....	7,565,569	43,790,793
1847.....	8,510,886	51,352,163
1848.....	9,993,532	57,965,070
1849.....	11,200,901	60,398,159

The number of lines completed in these railways was, in 1850,

	Miles.
England.....	4658
Scotland.....	846
Ireland.....	494
	5993

The parliamentary expenses incurred in getting some of the principal of these lines were,

Great Western.....	£80,197
London and Birmingham.....	72,868
Northern and Eastern.....	74,166
Southeastern.....	83,292
Eastern Counties.....	89,171
London and Southwestern.....	41,467
Manchester and Leeds.....	49,166
Sheffield and Manchester.....	31,473
Glasgow and Greenock.....	23,181
North Midland.....	41,849

These figures exhibit only the expenses incurred by the promoters of the bills, without those incurred by those who opposed them, which were often of still larger amount.—*Parl. Report*, July 10, 1850; PORTER, 326, 334, 3d edit.

did not in the general whirl escape, at least in general estimation, unscathed; and the railway Committees, pressed with business, and distracted by opposite opinions from witnesses of equal respectability and skill, gave such various and contradictory decisions, that the public confidence in the wisdom and disinterestedness of their legislation was, for the time at least, seriously impaired.

Another consequence of a very curious and unexpected kind arose from the rise and extraordinary extension of railway speculation in Great Britain at this time, and this was the division on a vital question which it occasioned in the landed interest. The first

step taken by every railway company, when any new line was to be set on foot, was to endeavor to conciliate the landed proprietors through whose estates it was to pass, and this they did by offering them shares of the new undertaking, and ample sums in name of damages for the ground taken. If neither bait took, and a squire proved obdurate, he generally got such ample damages from the juries, who deemed the railway funds inexhaustible, as entirely opened his eyes and altered his views as to the comparative merit of the railway and landed interest. In this way a most important object was gained, attended with decisive effects in the great contest which immediately after ensued. The landed interest, hitherto so united, was *divided*; a considerable portion of it came to regard its interests as more identified with the railways—that is, the commercial interest—rather than with the fields—that is, the agricultural. It was the constant argument of the Anti-Corn-Law League that the repeal of the laws protecting agriculture would immensely augment the internal traffic of the country, and that between the effects of large quantities of grain coming in, and still larger of minerals and manufactures going out, an unlimited amount of carriage on the railways might with confidence be anticipated. There can be no question that these views were, in fact, at least well founded; and being presented to a generation heated by the railway mania, and the very persons most likely, in the first instance, to profit by it, they proved with many landed proprietors extremely serviceable. Their interests as claimants on railways or owners of their shares overbalanced their interests as proprietors of the soil. Thus at the very time when the universal distress arising from five bad seasons in succession had engendered a powerful league, which was making unheard-of efforts to abolish every remnant of protection to agriculture, an element to seduction was thrown among its defenders, which caused many of them at the decisive moment to disappear from the ranks in which they had hitherto been found.

The immediate effect of the vast expenditure of capital upon domestic undertakings, which the railway mania occasioned, was immense. The demand for laborers was such, that even the multitudes of workmen who came over from the neighboring island, and, to the number at one time of nearly a million, were unable to satisfy it. Wages of all kinds rose to nearly double their former

7. Division in the landed interest occasioned by the railway mania.

8. Good effects of the railway mania on the laboring classes.

amount. Common day-laborers, instead of eighteen pence, were getting half a crown and three shillings a day; colliers and iron-miners six or seven shillings, instead of three shillings and sixpence or four shillings.* The price of all the materials used in railways, especially iron, rose to an extravagant height; in December, 1846, it was at £12 a ton, more than double its former price. The immense sums circulated in wages augmented to a very great degree the consumption of butcher-meat, beer, tea, sugar, and all articles of wearing apparel, which diffused prosperity through the dealers in these articles. The shuttle and the hammer rang merrily; joy and gladness for a brief space pervaded the land. This state of general prosperity was attended, as is always the case, with one result, at which every friend of mankind must rejoice, a sensible diminution of crime.† This is generally, it may be said always, the consequence of a state of prosperity and a general increase in the demand for labor. It arises in some degree, without doubt, from the lessening of the number of those unhappy persons who are forced, by actual want and suffering, into the commission of crime. But in many more instances it is to be ascribed to the giving the working classes, generally speaking, *full occupation*; a more effectual antidote against crime, in all ranks of society, than any other which human wisdom has ever yet devised.¹

In one respect the general adoption of the railway system in the British Islands has proved a lasting benefit, especially to the commercial and manufacturing classes. It has in a manner brought the different workshops of the empire together, and enabled each to obtain in an incredibly short space of time, and at a comparatively trifling expense, what it requires from the other. Immense is the advantage thence accruing to all the branches of manufacture; so great, indeed, as to have lengthened the start, already sufficiently great, which Great Britain had acquired over other nations in these respects. To the

* The following figures, quoted by Sir R. Peel, in his address to the electors of Tamworth, prove the great effect of the railway expenditure in ameliorating the condition and enlarging the consumption of the people:

Articles consumed.		1841.	1846.
Cocoa.....	lb.	1,030,764	2,962,327
Coffee.....	do.	28,420,180	36,781,391
Currants.....	cwt.	190,071	35,815
Rice.....	do.	245,887	466,61
Pepper.....	lb.	2,750,790	3,297,481
Sugar.....	cwt.	4,058,971	5,231,845
Molasses.....	do.	402,422	592,665
Tea.....	lb.	36,681,877	46,728,208
Tobacco and Snuff.....	do.	22,308,385	27,001,908
Brandy.....	gallons	1,165,137	1,515,954
Geneva.....	do.	15,404	40,211
British Spirits.....	do.	20,642,333	23,122,581
Malt charged with duty, bushels		36,164,446	41,979,000

—Sir R. Peel to Electors of Tamworth, July, 1847.—*Peel's Memoirs*, ii. p. 104.

† COMMITTEES IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND.

Years.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1842.....	81,309	4189	21,186
1843.....	29,591	3615	20,126
1844.....	26,542	3575	19,449
1845.....	24,303	3537	16,696
1846.....	25,107	4069	18,492

—PORTER, p. 646, 653, 663.

agriculturists also, especially in distant localities, it has proved a very great benefit, by bringing them in a manner much nearer their principal markets, and enabling butcher-meat and dairy produce of every kind to be brought even from the most distant places to the metropolis and great towns; while the inhabitants there have been equally benefited, by the lessened price at which these articles can be purchased. In one respect, however, it has been attended by a consequence by no means equally satisfactory, and which has already come to exercise an important influence upon the political balance and future destinies of the State. It has enormously increased the inhabitants and wealth, and in a proportional degree augmented the political preponderance, of the great towns. The metropolis and the great commercial and manufacturing towns having become so easy of access, the concourse of the inhabitants of the country to the vast emporiums of industry, wealth, and pleasure, has been increased to an unprecedented degree. The chief purchases, even by the inhabitants of the most distant counties, are now made in them. Their wealth and population in consequence are rapidly augmenting, while the small towns are declining, and in many of the rural districts the numbers of the people are rapidly diminishing. London is now adding 60,000 souls annually to its numbers; Glasgow, Liverpool, and Manchester from 10,000 to 12,000 each; while from the agricultural districts of Ireland 2,000,000 human beings have emigrated during the last twelve years. This is a most serious consideration, for it augments the resemblance, in many respects so close, between the state and prospects of society in the British Islands, and that which characterized Italy and Greece in the declining days of the Roman empire.

In one respect the railway system has bequeathed a great and enduring benefit to the species, which will survive the empire which gave it birth. It has brought to the inhabitants of the towns the means of going to the country, and to the inhabitants of the country the means of going into the towns. "Railways," says Miss Martineau, "were to run not only along the margin of the southern part of the island, and round the margin of the misty Scottish mountains, but through the vale in which Furness Abbey had hitherto stood shrouded, and among old cathedrals, of which the traveler might see half a dozen in a day. It was on Easter Monday, 1844, that excursion trips with return tickets were first heard of. Here began the benefits of cheap pleasure-trips to the hard workers of the nation. The process had begun from which incalculable blessings were to accrue to the mind, morals, and manners of the people. From this time the exclusive class was to meet the humbler classes face to face. The peer, and the manufacturer, and the farmer, were henceforth to meet and talk in the railway carriage, and have a chance of understanding each other. The proud were to part with some of their prejudice, and the ignorant with some of their ignorance; and other walls of partition than park inclosures were to be thrown down. The operative was to see new sights hitherto quite out of his reach

—the ocean, the mountain, the lake, and old ruins, and new inventions; and the London artisan was ere long to live within sight of trees and green fields, and yet go to his work every day. As unwholesome streets in London were pulled down, hamlets were to arise at a little distance in the country, from which the humbler classes could go and return to their daily labor in the centre of the town. The diet of millions was to be improved, fish and foreign fruits being conveyed from the town into the country, and milk, butter, and vegetables, fresh from the country, into the towns. Every body's wants were to become known by the general communication about to be established, and the supply was to reach the want and the wish. The change was vast, the prospect magnificent;

but this change, like every other, had to pass at its outset through a wilderness of difficulties.”¹

It can hardly be supposed that a statesman so experienced as Sir R. Peel was really deceived by the flattering and fallacious appearances which the effects of the railway mania at first exhibited, or that he imagined present prospects were to be perpetual. Certain it is, however, that he acted as if he believed this really was to be the case. Carried away by the tumult of activity and temporary prosperity which pervaded the country, he did every thing in his power, both as an individual and the head of the Government, to swell the mania in which it originated. By the existing rules of Parliament a tenth of the estimated expense of every railway required to be deposited before the bill for promoting it was introduced. A committee was appointed to consider the subject in 1844, and it recommended that the deposit-money should be reduced a half, or to a twentieth, which was immediately made the foundation of a bill, which obtained the sanction of Parliament in the same session. To this great concession in favor of speculation the vast increase in it which so soon after took place, and the unbounded effects which thence arose, is in a great measure to be ascribed. The general fervor on the subject was ere long still farther inflamed by the imposing ceremony which took place at the commencement of the Trent Valley Railway, when Sir R. Peel in person, with a silver trowel, turned up the first sod, which was followed by the most enthusiastic speeches on the unbounded prospects which these undertakings were to open to the country.²

To appreciate the immense effect this reduction in the sums required as deposits to be paid had in stimulating these extraordinary undertakings, it is only necessary to refer to the official account of the railways for which plans were deposited in terms of the Act

of Parliament up to the 31st December, 1845. The number of these lines for which plans were lodged was, in 1844, 248; but in 1845 it had risen to the enormous amount of 815! The sums deposited on the lines in the first year were £6,432,155, and the estimated sums to complete the undertakings were £44,927,000. In the succeeding year, however, the capital required to be paid on deposits for new projects was £59,136,000; the sum of £60,927,000 had been already expended on the lines in the course of execution; and the liabilities connected with the new projects, after deducting the deposits paid, amounted to the enormous and almost fabulous sum of £590,447,000! It is difficult to say to what state the country would have been reduced if these wild speculations had all been carried into execution; and nothing can illustrate so strongly the extreme peril of the course on which Government had now adventured, in first passing a Bank Charter Act, which in effect compelled the Bank, and all other banks, to lower their discounts to 3 per cent., and then a Railway Act, which reduced the sums required to be paid in deposit on the projected lines from 10 to 5 per cent.¹

Like many other rash and imprudent courses of conduct, however fraught with lasting and perilous consequences, the measures of Government at this period were attended by immediate and flattering benefits. The path which led directly over the abyss was in the outset strewn with flowers. The prosperous condition of all the great interests in the country was unequivocally evinced in the returns of its trade, manufactures, shipping, and revenue. The imports between 1842 and 1847 rose from £65,000,000 to £90,000,000; and the exports from £47,000,000 to £58,000,000. The revenue, notwithstanding a reduction of taxation in these five years of about £6,000,000, which more than compensated the income-tax, had advanced from £48,500,000 to £51,500,000. The shipping in the same period rose from 4,600,000 tons to above 7,000,000 tons, indicating an increase of at least fifty per cent. in the bulk and weight of the exports and imports of the country.* All this took place not only without any increase, but with an extraordinary diminution in our imports of food, which, till the disastrous years 1846 and 1847, which witnessed the Irish famine, had sunk to little more than 300,000 quarters of wheat a year! It must be confessed that this extraordinary flood of prosperity, enduring for five years immediately succeeding a corresponding period of unmiti-

13. Flourishing state of trade and the revenue.

12. Its vast effect in stimulating these undertakings.

11. Bill passes reducing railway deposits to a half.

10. Official Table, Ann. Reg. 1845, 178, Chron.

9. 13.

8. 12.

7. 11.

6. 10.

5. 9.

4. 8.

3. 7.

2. 6.

1. 5.

0. 4.

1842. £47,381,028

1843. 52,278,440

1844. 58,584,392

1845. 60,111,081

1846. 57,786,875

1847. 58,842,877

£65,000,000

£90,000,000

£47,000,000

£58,000,000

£6,000,000

£48,500,000

£51,500,000

4,600,000 tons

7,000,000 tons

£4,912,498

5,308,027

4,976,098

5,039,708

4,954,904

5,298,787

1,427,187

1,539,490

1,477,561

1,470,970

1,332,089

1,721,356

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, AND REVENUE OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND SHIPPING AND POOR RATES OF ENGLAND, FROM 1842 TO 1847, BOTH INCLUDED.

Years.	Exports—Declared Value.	Imports—Computed Value.	Revenue.	Shipping—Tons.	Poor Rates—England.	Number of Paupers—England.
1842.....	£47,381,028	£65,204,729	£48,581,026	4,637,446	£4,912,498	1,427,187
1843.....	52,278,440	70,003,353	52,582,847	4,977,266	5,308,027	1,539,490
1844.....	58,584,392	85,441,555	54,063,754	5,297,169	4,976,098	1,477,561
1845.....	60,111,081	85,281,958	53,060,354	6,031,587	5,039,708	1,470,970
1846.....	57,786,875	75,958,875	58,790,188	6,314,571	4,954,904	1,332,089
1847.....	58,842,877	90,921,866	51,546,265	7,083,163	5,298,787	1,721,356

gated adversity which had preceded it, afforded a just subject of congratulation to the Prime Minister, and seemed to warrant the confidence of the country in a statesman whose magic wand had so quickly converted desolation and ruin into riches and prosperity.

Sir R. Peel made an adroit use of the flood of prosperity which, from a temporary cause, was thus poured upon the country, to carry out to a much greater extent than he had hitherto done the new commercial policy with which he conceived the well-being of the country was indissolubly wound up. He was enabled to meet the Parliament of 1845 in the most triumphant manner. The wisdom of his policy seemed to be established, beyond the possibility of doubt, by the result. Instead of the woeful tale of a deficit, which under the administration of his predecessors had so often sickened the heart of the nation, he was to come forward with the glad tidings of a large surplus. Supposing, he said, the property-tax to be continued, the revenue in the year ending 5th April, 1846, would amount to £53,700,000, and the expenditure would be only £49,000,000, even after taking into account an increase of £1,000,000 for the service of the navy, which he most wisely proposed. But as £600,000 of this surplus consisted of payments from China, which would only continue a year more, he would take the income at £53,100,000, leaving a surplus of £3,400,000 when the additional estimates for the navy were taken into consideration.¹

"I now approach," said Sir Robert, "the most important question of all, which is, how we are to dispose of this surplus. I propose to do so by continuing the income-tax, and making a great reduction in the duties on consumption. I would not have proposed this if I had not felt the strongest persuasion that by continuing the income-tax it will be in the power of the House to make arrangements with respect to taxation which will be the foundation of great future commercial prosperity, and which will add materially to the comforts of those who are called upon to contribute to it. In considering the taxes on consumption which are to be reduced, the points to be taken into view are the weight of the taxes which enter into the price of articles of general consumption, those which press most heavily on the raw materials which constitute the staple manufactures of the country, the comparative expense incurred in their collection, and which taxes, if removed, would give most scope to the commercial enterprise of the country. These are the objects which Government have had in view in the selection of taxes for reduction, which I am about to propose. I do not propose to maintain any considerable surplus of income over expenditure; but in the conviction that the House will at all events maintain public credit, I shall propose a reduction of certain duties which are rather onerous than productive. First, to begin with sugar, I propose to lower the duty on brown muscovado from 25s. 3d. to 14s. On East India sugar of the same description the duty to be 18s. 8d., and on free-labor foreign sugar 23s. 3d. The effect of these

changes will be, I think, to lower the price of sugar 1½d. a pound at a cost to the revenue of £1,300,000 a year. The export duty on coals I propose to take away altogether at a cost of £120,000. On the raw materials employed in manufactures, 813 in number, I propose to remove altogether the duty on 480, which will get rid of a vast number of troublesome accounts, and no small amount of expense; and release altogether from duty the important raw materials of silk, hemp, flax, certain kinds of yarns, furniture woods, animal and vegetable manures, and a great variety of lesser articles. The entire loss to the Treasury from these reductions will be only £820,000, and the relief to the country immense. The duty on cotton wool is to be entirely taken off, at a loss of £680,000 to the Exchequer. The duty on glass is from 200 to 800 per cent. on the cost of the manufactured article—a burden which renders competition impossible with the manufacturers of France, Belgium, and Bohemia. I propose to take this tax off altogether, which will occasion a loss to the revenue of £642,000. These reductions taken together amount to £3,338,000, being within a trifle of the surplus of £3,409,000 with which the House has to deal. In consideration of these reductions, and of the benefit they will confer upon the country, I propose the farther continuance, for the limited period of three years, of the income-tax."¹

On the other hand, it was contended by Mr. Baring: "Sir R. Peel originally demanded the income-tax for three years as a means of temporarily restoring the revenue, upon the promise that the tax, when this had been effected, was to be removed; but what is the state of the finances now? On the face of his own estimate, the income in the ensuing year, if you deduct from it the income-tax and the Chinese payments, is only £47,900,000, and the expenditure £49,700,000, leaving a deficiency on the revenue, as it stood before it was laid on, of £1,800,000. This is a circumstance well worthy of consideration. You imposed the income-tax to close a deficiency and compensate a large reduction of indirect taxation, and after a trial of three years in a period of profound and universal peace, and when the public revenues during all that time have been largely benefited by the Chinese payments, the income has not recovered itself, and but for that tax the nation would be still in an annual deficiency of nearly £2,000,000. Your boasted surplus is entirely made up of the income-tax; and, markworthy circumstance, the effect of the large repeal of the indirect taxes made three years ago has not been, as was predicted, to restore the revenue in other quarters, but were it not for the direct income-tax the Exchequer would still be in a state of lamentable deficiency. Sir R. Peel has calculated the surplus, even with the income-tax kept on, at only £90,000; and that excess, small as it is, rests entirely upon the supposition of an increased consumption which was by no means sure of being realized. We are told that the selection of articles on which the tax is to be remitted has been made on the principle of being able to take off the entire income-tax at the end of three more years; but in proceeding

¹ Ann. Reg. 1845, 24; Parl. Deb. lxxvii. 455, 497.

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxvii. 465, 497; Ann. Reg. 1845, 24, 26.

^{15.} Continuance of the Income-Tax, and repeal of more indirect taxes.

on that supposition it is much to be feared he is repeating again the too sanguine anticipations of 'Prosperity Robinson,' who took off taxes to the amount of three or four millions, expecting that in three years the revenue would, in consequence, increase five millions.

"The facts by no means warrant these expectations. Nothing is so fallacious in principle, or has been so often disproved in practice, as the assertion, now so often repeated, that the only way to insure an increase of the revenue is to lower the duties. The contrary has been decisively established by experience; scarcely an instance is to be found in our annals of a considerable remission of taxation being followed by such an increase of consumption as compensated the loss to the revenue. In 1816 the revenue was £71,900,000; taxes were taken off to the amount of £17,500,000; and in 1819 the revenue was only £52,155,000, showing a difference of £19,745,000; and proving that the other branches of the revenue, so far from having improved by this great reduction of taxes, had actually fallen off in the next three years by £3,000,000, even after deducting from the deficiency the whole amount of the taxes remitted. In the five years ending in 1826 the taxes remitted were £18,000,000, and the revenue was not restored by about £4,000,000. In the three years ending in 1829 the taxes taken off were £9,600,000; but even in 1839 the revenue had not recovered the loss by £4,600,000. Between 1815 and 1830 the taxes taken off were £33,000,000; and the loss to the revenue was £22,000,000. In the face of these facts, so uniform and so long continued, what ground is there for believing that the effect of the present remission of taxes will be different, or that increased consumption will now for the first time follow diminished duties? It is too evident that the expectation is entirely illusory; increased consumption will never compensate seriously-diminished indirect taxation, and if the House agrees to remit the duties on consumption now proposed for reduction, it is equivalent to consenting forever to what he has himself called 'the dire scourge of direct taxation.'"¹

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxvii. 551, 554; Ann. Reg. 1845, 38, 39.

So entirely were the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in harmony with the ideas of the great majority of the House that the bill passed, with very little opposition, by a majority of 208, the numbers being 263 to 55. This great majority was obtained by the junction of nearly the whole Liberal party with the adherents of the Administration, leaving a small minority of decided Protectionists and Radicals alone in opposition. But although this financial project thus excited very little discussion, and was carried by so large a majority, yet it was a most unfortunate step in the financial history of Great Britain, and was the first decided announcement of the new commercial and financial system which was thereafter for a considerable period to govern the Legislature of the country.²

Three things eminently descriptive of the vast alteration in the ideas of men, and the ruling principles of statesmen, are particularly worthy

of observation in this debate and decision of the House. The first is, that by common consent the income-tax was now continued for three years longer, when not only had all the circumstances stated in justification of its first imposition ceased to exist, but the situation of the nation was the reverse. In 1842 the news had just been received of an unparalleled disaster in Afghanistan; an expensive war was raging in China; and Government at home had to contend with a yawning deficit, yearly increasing, which at length had reached the formidable amount of £8,500,000 a year. Now the disaster in Afghanistan had been effaced by a glorious triumph; the war in China had ceased, and its expenses been succeeded by a large tribute, which had considerably tended to right the British finances; profound peace prevailed in every part of the world; and so far from a deficit of £8,500,000 a year existing, there was a surplus in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer of exactly that amount. Yet the income-tax was renewed without any abatement! The second is, that the large surplus which, for the first time since 1837, the public finances exhibited, was applied, not to the reduction of the income or other *direct* taxes, but of a variety of indirect taxes, considered as oppressive to the springs of industry, or as entering largely into the price of articles of general consumption. The third was, that no surplus whatever was reserved for the liquidation of the National Debt, the interest being provided for, and no more. The times were far distant from those when the House of Commons pledged itself, by solemn protestations in 1819, never under any circumstances to suffer the Sinking Fund to sink below £5,000,000. A new system of finance, directly opposed to the former, had been adopted, which worked as great a change in our national prospects as free trade did in our commercial; and that system consisted in the substitution of direct for indirect taxation, and the entire abandonment of the Sinking Fund.

The Sinking Fund had been so long ignored, in consequence of its almost constant disappearance, since the monetary system of 1819 was introduced. The National Debt, which in 1819 was £794,980,480, in 1844 was still £771,069,858—showing a diminution of only £23,000,000 in twenty-five years. In the twenty-two years ending with 1850, the sum paid off was only £16,547,000.¹ The nation had become accustomed to regard the reduction of the National Debt as, practically speaking, an impossibility; and therefore it was not surprising that the entire devotion of the surplus to the reduction of taxation by Sir R. Peel excited very little attention. But it is not so apparent how they so quietly submitted, in a period of profound peace and unexampled prosperity, to a substitution of a heavy direct for a comparatively light indirect taxation, and the reimposition of a burden against which the people had risen as one man at the close of the French war. This was no doubt, in a great degree, owing to the fact that the income-tax, as now restored, reached incomes only above £150 a year, whereas the former came down to £50, and the nation generally

^{18.} The bill is carried by a large majority. Feb. 18.

² Parl. Deb. lxxvii. 634; Ann. Reg. 1845, 38.

^{19.} Causes of this great change.
^{20.} Porter's Progress of Nation, 482.

had no objection to a heavy load of exclusive taxation being laid on a body of proprietors not numbering in all two hundred thousand persons. Add to this, that the mercantile class, taken as a body, always advocate direct in preference to indirect taxation, for the simple reason that they can easily evade it, which the landholders can not, and they hope that the diminution of indirect taxes will augment their sales and increase their profits. But the main reason why at this juncture the substitution of direct for indirect taxation to so considerable an extent was not seriously objected to was, that the effect of the cheapening system introduced in 1819, and rigidly carried out by subsequent Acts, had been to occasion so great a fall in the price of the articles of commerce, and the consequent incomes of the persons dealing in them, that a corresponding diminution in the final burdens attaching to them had become, in a manner, a matter of necessity. Thus the monetary system of Sir R. Peel was the immediate cause of the extinction of the Sinking Fund, the fearful reduction in the military and naval armaments of the State, the abandonment of protection, and introduction of free trade in its room, and the reimposition of the income-tax, as a permanent burden upon the nation—effects so great and momentous as amply to vindicate the prominent place assigned to that system among the great springs of social change in those islands in the first half of the nineteenth century.

While Great Britain was thus engaged in the prosecution of changes consequent on the extension of the currency during the influx of gold under the Bank Charter Act, and the effects of the alterations were appearing in an entire change in the financial and commercial policy of the State, Ireland was fast relapsing into the state of savage barbarism from which it had been temporarily extricated by the influence of O'Connell and the preaching of Father Mathew. During the influence of the former the passions of the people had been kept enchained as by the arms of a mighty enchanter, in order to hurl them, like the force of a well-disciplined army, with accumulated force against the Government. Under the enthusiasm awakened by the latter, the funds, which hitherto had been wasted in riot and intoxication, were mainly directed to the formation and support of a fund destined to effect the repeal of the Union, and the severance of Ireland from the dominion of Great Britain. But although during particular moments of fervor such political or religious passions may prevail over the natural wants and instincts of our nature, no reliance can be placed on their exercising any lasting sway over mankind. The period of reaction speedily arrives, and when it does, the effects of the long pent-up passions, like the ravages of a restrained flood, are only the greater from the duration of the previous coercion. This truth was strikingly evinced in Ireland at this period; for the serious crimes for which persons were committed in 1845 were only 16,696, while in 1846 they had risen to 18,492, and in 1847, when the famine had begun, to 31,209.¹

Sir R. Peel was deeply affected by the accounts which reached him from all quarters of the increase of disorder and agrarian crimes in

Ireland, and the relaxation of the strong bond of coercion which had hitherto been thrown on the passions of the people by the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy; and he thought the means of restoring order could only be found in raising the character and extending the influence of the higher classes of the Romish clergy. He endeavored, with this view, to extend to them, and to the community generally, the benefits of an improved secular and religious education. Impressed with these ideas, he inserted in the Queen's Speech in this session a recommendation to the Commons to consider the best means of extending and improving academical education in Ireland; and in pursuance of this suggestion, Sir James Graham brought in a bill on 9th May for the erection of three colleges—one at Belfast, one at Cork, and one in Limerick—where the most ample means were to be afforded for education to all classes and all sects of religion. There were to be no theological professors in any of them, the object being to afford the means of secular education without religious distinction; but every facility was to be given to the establishment of theological chairs by voluntary means in connection with the colleges. It could not be said that this establishment was excessive in a country where there were 8,500,000 inhabitants, 400,000 children at the national schools, and as yet only one university—that of Trinity College, Dublin. The grant proposed, too, was very moderate, being only £100,000 to build the three colleges, and £18,000 a year from the Consolidated Fund to keep them up. The bill passed, accordingly, by a majority of 177 to 26 in the Commons, and without a division in the Lords, and the colleges were established. Sincere but vehement partisans on both sides, however, violently objected to the absence of religious teaching, and the cry of "godless colleges" resounded alike in the Protestant and the Catholic ranks. Yet, however much it is to be regretted that circumstances should ever occur which render it necessary to separate religious from secular education, it is difficult to see what other plan could have been followed in a country so distracted by theological disputes, that each party would rather see their children ignorant than educated by their opponents; and although the new colleges have not been attended with all the success which was anticipated from them, their progress has been respectable, and they have undoubtedly conferred great benefits on the community.¹

Another measure, framed with the view of elevating the character of, and lessening the political danger arising from, the Roman Catholic clergy, was brought forward in this session, which excited a much more violent opposition, and is still the subject of deep regret to a large and influential portion of the community. This was an enlarged grant to Maynooth College, where the Catholic clergy were educated in the principles of their own faith. The original grant to this establishment had been £9000 a year; but this was found to be altogether inadequate either to its necessities or the numbers of persons requiring education there, who, being almost all in the very humblest ranks of life, were unable

21. Increase in Irish agrarian crime.

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxx. 345, lxxxii. 366, 1025; Ann. Reg. 1845, 141, 162.

¹ Porter, 696.

22. Enlarged grant to Maynooth College.

to contribute any thing to the expenses of the college. To remedy this defect, and, if possible, elevate the class both of the teachers and the pupils at the seminary, Sir R. Peel proposed to extend the Government grant to £26,380 a year, to make provision for five hundred students, and raise the professors' salaries, so as to insure comfort and respectability to persons holding these situations. As might have been expected, this measure excited the most violent opposition among the zealous Protestants, and meetings were held in every part of the kingdom as soon as it was brought forward, in which it was denounced, in the most unmeasured terms, as a direct encouragement of Popery, superstition, and treason, both to the State and the Christian religion. The Dissenters over the whole kingdom cordially united with the Episcopalians in resisting the measure; and in some of the most violent meetings it was proposed and carried, amidst loud acclamations, that the Prime Minister should be impeached. After many days of animated and protracted debate, however, the bill was carried in the Commons by a majority of 133, the numbers being 317 to 184. In the Lords, it excited also a violent debate, but was carried by a majority of 157, the numbers being 226 to 69. A protest was lodged by five bishops and three lay peers, on the ground that

the bill "provided for the maintenance of religious error and opposition to the Reformation, and countenanced the notion that religious truth was a matter of indifference to the State."²⁴

By this bill the Roman Catholics gained the great advantage, the importance of which was not at first perceived, but ere long became conspicuous, which was, that the maintenance of their educational establishment, on a liberal scale, was thrown on the consolidated fund, and thereby withdrawn from the annual votes of Parliament; and there can be no doubt that the nation gained also, at least in point of tranquillity, by having a subject exciting such violent passions withdrawn from annual discussion. Never was a measure introduced with better intentions, or more in harmony with the principles of an enlightened toleration, and yet its effects have been to the last degree disastrous; and what is very remarkable, chiefly from its defeating the very object for which it was introduced. This is now admitted by every candid observer of all parties, religious as well as civil. It was intended to elevate the condition and acquirements of the Catholic clergy, and bring them more into harmony with the Government of the State, and it has had just the opposite effect; it has lowered the standard both of their education and ideas, and rendered them more than ever the irreconcilable enemies of the Protestant Establishment. This has arisen from a cause which was never thought of by either the advocates or the opponents of the measure; but which, when it came into operation, produced decisive effects, and that so naturally, that the only astonishing thing is, that it was not foreseen and predicted from the beginning.

The cause of the failure is, that the young priests are now educated at home instead of abroad, and thereby become more impregnated

than ever with the bigotry and violent feelings which centuries of dissension have engendered between the rival Churches in Ireland. Before Maynooth was established, the young men intended for the priesthood were all sent to St. Omar, Salamanca, or some foreign university; and it was the precise object of its institution to put a stop to this, because it was thought it brought the clerical youth under foreign ecclesiastical influence. It has prevented that evil, but it has induced a much greater one—namely, the bringing them under the direct control of a body much inferior in acquirement, and much more inflamed in passion, than any foreign hierarchy—the Romish clergy of Ireland. Half a century ago, when the priests had all been educated at a foreign seminary, the Catholic incumbent of a parish in Ireland was often the best informed, and sometimes the most liberal person in it. It would be no easy matter to find such a phenomenon now. Educated at Maynooth, instructed by its local teachers, and contracted in their ideas and information to the narrow and impassioned field of Irish contention, the priests have become less informed, and, as a necessary consequence, more bigoted. Liberalism, which was formerly advancing with rapid strides among them, has been almost entirely blighted by this calamitous change, and Great Britain has found to its cost that there is an evil greater than that of the priesthood being educated at a foreign seminary, and that is, being educated at their own.

A measure which excited much less attention at the time than these fiercely debated Irish questions, but was attended with unmitigated blessings in the end, was the new Poor-Law Bill, introduced by Lord Advocate M'Neill,* for Scotland, which passed into law in this session of Parliament. Like England, and all other countries which embraced the Protestant faith, Scotland at the Reformation had experienced the immense evils arising from the suppression of the streams of charity which in former days had flowed from the walls of the monastic establishments. Left destitute by this calamitous change, in the midst of a rude and distracted country, the poor in Scotland were reduced to the lowest point of misery, insomuch that a great and comprehensive measure for their relief was in a manner forced upon the Legislature. This was done by the Act 1579, c. 74, which, nearly contemporary with the 42d of Elizabeth, the foundation of the English poor-laws, and brought about by the same necessity, was mainly copied from the English statute, and fully imbued with its humane and benevolent spirit. By this Act, the poor, the sick, the aged, the indigent, the impotent, and those who have not wherewithal to maintain themselves, were declared entitled to legal relief; and the heritors in each parish were ordered to meet and assess themselves for their relief, the one half to be laid on the landlords, and the other on the tenants.

It is impossible that words can be found indicating a more humane intention than those in this statute; but unfortunately the whole intentions of the Legislature were frustrated, and Scot-

* Now the Lord Justice-General—1857.

land was left, practically speaking, without any system of parochial relief at all, in consequence of an unfortunate decision of the Court of Session in regard to the administration of it. Repeated statutes and royal proclamations had enjoined the sheriffs and justices to put the law into full execution; but the administration of it was intrusted, in the first instance, to the heritors and kirk-session, or church-wardens, of each parish, who formed a little court which was to sit in judgment on each claim for relief preferred against the parish. Unhappily the Court of Session took up the idea that this administrative body constituted a court of law in the legal sense of the word, and therefore that their decisions could be reviewed only in the Court of Session. Thus were the sheriffs, the ordinary judges of the counties, ousted of their jurisdiction in this matter; and as a decision of the Court of Session could not be obtained in less than eighteen months, and at a cost of at least £60 or £70, the review of that supreme court was of course, in the case of paupers, practically speaking, out of the question. Thus the heritors and kirk-session, the very parties who were to bear the assessment, were rendered virtually judges without appeal in *their own cause*. The result was that which ever has been and ever will be the case where such an absurd anomaly in judicial procedure is permitted: they decided almost every case substantially in their own favor. They did not absolutely resist all claims for parochial relief, but they doled it out with so sparing a hand that, practically speaking, it was no relief at all. A shilling a week to a widow with three or four children was deemed an ample allowance, and in most places even this pittance was refused, for in five-sixths of the parishes of Scotland, though they all abounded with paupers, there was no rate levied at all. So far had this gone that it was universally thought in England, and even believed in many parts of Scotland itself, that there were no poor-laws to the north of the Tweed.

As long as Scotland was a purely agricultural and pastoral country, this state of things was not attended with the evils which might have been anticipated. The landlords were generally resident; the collections at the church doors for the poor were tolerably liberal; and a strong feeling of pride existed among the peasantry to endure any privations rather than apply themselves, or allow their relations to apply, for public charity. But with the spread of manufactures, the increase of wealth, and the rise of great towns, this auspicious social condition of the people came to a termination. A large proportion of the poor in all the great towns were Irish, who were far from their relations and utterly destitute; and the habits of civilized life and frequent migration of the working classes from one place to another, rendered them almost all entirely unknown to the affluent around them when overtaken by misfortune. These evils, which had been long felt and bemoaned by the humane, though stoutly denied by the selfish, were brought to a climax by the long-continued distress in the country from 1837 to 1842, during which the poor of Scotland, almost entirely unprovided for, underwent miseries probably unparalleled in any Christian land,

for they had the evils of civilization without its advantages. Fortunately these evils, and particularly the connection of continued fever, as well as other epidemics, with the condition of the poor in the larger towns, at length attracted the attention of some members of the medical profession; which was the more important, as some of the most benevolent members both of the clerical and legal professions, trusting too much to speculative views as to the causes of destitution, and less conversant with the realities of life in the lowest parts of our large towns, set themselves in decided opposition to any change in the old Scotch system of merely voluntary relief.* On the other hand, a variety of facts tended to prove, that in a complex state of society the system of voluntary relief is never sufficient to meet the increase of destitution, which the varying modes of human existence, and the powers of procreation granted to the human species, naturally involve; that the increase of population, instead of being checked, as Malthus and others had supposed, by the increase of sin and misery, goes on in an increased ratio—under any circumstances admitting of human existence—as the examples of Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland too surely indicated, simply by reason of the habitual *recklessness of character*, and absence of all *artificial wants*, in people brought up in a state of extreme poverty; that the natural result of this state of things is great suffering, and sometimes absolute destruction of great part of such populations, by famine and epidemic diseases; and that this result is always to be apprehended when the richer members of such a people are accustomed to think it wisdom and charity to withdraw their attention from such sufferings, and “pass by on the other side;” and that in such a state of society the only security which experience has shown to be effectual for applying remedies to the *early stage* of such evils, is that which is given by making Christian charity a part and parcel of the law, whereby assistance may be *claimed* by those whose habits will otherwise inevitably degenerate into recklessness and profligacy, and systematic inspection may be depended on for countervailing idleness and imposture. Fortunately these evils attracted the attention of one who had the heart to feel, the courage to assist, and the ability to carry through, what was necessary to provide a remedy for them. DR. ALISON, who had devoted benevolence unbounded, and talents of no ordinary kind, to the alleviation of the suffering with which he was surrounded in the city of Edinburgh, wrote several pamphlets, portraying in such striking and such truthful colors the destitute condition of the Scotch poor, that it at last attracted the notice of Government. A commission was issued, which took evidence and reported in favor of the change, and a bill was introduced by the Lord Advocate, founded on its recommendations, which, 1 Ann. Reg. after encountering great opposition, at 1845, 201, length passed into a law. 202.

By this bill the axe was so far laid to the root of the evil, as that irresponsible administration of the poor-laws was taken out of the hands of

* See particularly Dr. Chalmers and the late Lord Pitmilley. See *Proposed Alterations in the Scottish Poor-Law considered and commented on*: Edinburgh, 1840.

the heritors and kirk-sessions, who had hitherto conducted it. A Board of Super-Provisions vision was appointed at Edinburgh, of the bill. with the able and accomplished Oriental diplomatist, SIR JOHN M'NEILL, at its head, to superintend generally the administration of the poor over the whole country, and with power, at very little expense, to fix the rate of aliment to be awarded to paupers. A power was given to the sheriffs to review the decisions of the parochial boards in admitting or refusing to put applicants on the roll, and to decide litigated points between parish and parish. Parish boards were appointed to be elected by the rate-payers above £5 a year, who administered the whole poor-laws in the first instance, and various provisions were made for the maintenance of lunatics, the education of pauper children, for medical attendance to the poor, and building poor-houses in large cities. So far the provisions of the Act were admirable, and they applied a remedy where it was most needed in taking the irresponsible administration of the poor-laws out of the hands of the heritors and kirk-sessions. But in one essential respect it contained a grievous defect, which has been severely felt since. It said nothing as to the *able-bodied poor*, probably because, by a solemn decision of the Court of Session in 1804, it had been determined that

the poor able to work, but unable by their labor to earn a subsistence, from high prices, were entitled to relief.¹ Had this precedent been followed, it would all have been well; but unfortunately, a few years after the new Act had passed, the Court of Session, having the English poor-laws and the French *ateliers nationaux* before their eyes, reversed their former decision, and held by a majority* that the able-bodied poor had no claim on the parish funds; and this decision was affirmed by Lord Truro in the House of Peers. The effect of this decision has been to establish a most painful and undeserved distinction between the situation of the poor in England, and Ireland, and Scotland; for while in the two former countries the able-bodied are entitled to relief when out of work, in the latter they have no such right. No words can exaggerate the disastrous effects of this state of things, in a country where so large a portion of the working classes are often thrown out of employment from the effect of commercial or monetary crises, and the strikes in the manufacturing districts, which render destitute thousands not concerned in them, but dependent on the combined workmen. A striking example of this occurred within three years of the passing of the Scotch

Poor-Law Act; for in the year 1847, while in England 1,626,201 poor were relieved, of whom 666,838 were able-bodied, and in Ireland above 900,000, in Glasgow and its immediate vicinity above 130,000 poor were out of employment, including the families of the laborers, without any claim whatever on the funds of public charity.[†]

* Lord Jeffrey, Lord Robertson, and Lord Fullerton, were in the minority.

† The statute law of Scotland seems to be nowise chargeable with this anomalous and most distressing state of things, for it has declared the right of able-bodied

If ever the necessity and expedience of any legislative change was decisively demonstrated by experience, it is this great alteration in the parochial law of Scotland. Since the new law came into operation in 1846, the poor relieved have, on an average, been from 80,000 to 100,000, being about 1 in 27 of the population, and the cost of their maintenance has gradually risen from about £300,000 to about £600,000 a year, being at last about a tenth, or 2s. in the pound, on the rental of the country. Every person at

led poor to relief if destitute, as well as the aged, sick, and impotent, in as express terms as words can do, by the ruling Act on the subject, which was nearly contemporary with the 42d Elizabeth, which established the English poor-laws, the Act 1579, c. 74, entitled "For punishment of the *strong* and idle beggars, and relief of the poor and impotent." The lists directed to be made up for sustentation are, "all aged poor, impotent, and decayed persons born within the parish, or having their most common resort there in the last seven years, and who of necessity must live by alms." The justices are to inquire if they be diseased or *whole and able in body*, and thereupon to consider what their *needful sustentation must amount to*, and to tax or stint the whole inhabitants of the parish according to their means and substance therefor. And it directs that if the aged and impotent persons not being so lame, diseased, or impotent, but that they may work at some manner of work, shall by the overseers in any parish be appointed to work, and refuse the same, "he shall be put in the stocks." Again, the Act 1592, c. 272, ordains "that strong beggars and their bairns be employed in common work during their *lifetimes*, and the power thereof is granted to the particular session of the kirk." Again, the Act 1663, c. 16, authorizes all persons having set up manufactories to apprehend vagabonds who shall be found begging, or who, being masterless and out of employment, have not wherewithal to maintain themselves by their own means or work, and to employ them for their service as they shall see fit; "and it enacts that the parishes where they have haunted three years immediately preceding their being so apprehended, and who are thereby *relieved of the burden of them*," shall pay to the persons employing them 2s. Scots a day. And in a proclamation of the Privy Council, dated 11th August, 1692, it is ordained that "if any of the poor are *able to work*, the heritors of the parish are required to put them to work according to their capacities, furnishing them with meat and clothes; and if any child under fifteen be found begging, any person who shall take him before the heritors and elders, and engage to educate him to trade or work, the said child shall be obliged to serve such person for meat and clothes until he pass his thirtieth year." In conformity with these enactments, the Court of Session solemnly decided, in the case of Darling v. Heritors of Dunee, 19th November, 1804, that an able-bodied man, capable of working and actually employed, but unable, from the high price of provision, to earn a livelihood, has a legal claim to parochial relief. This decision was held to fix the law to the effect that the able-bodied poor unable to earn a subsistence had a legal claim for relief; and so the law is laid down by Baron Hume, the highest legal authority in Scotland in recent times. The law, accordingly, was so applied by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire in 1848, when in that county 39,000 able-bodied poor were thrown out of employment, and, with their families, at least 90,000 more, were in a state of starvation. The Court of Session, however, reversed this judgment by a majority, holding that the able-bodied poor, by the Scotch law, have no claim for relief either for themselves or their dependent children, though the parochial boards, if they think fit, are entitled to give such relief in these cases. On this decision Mr. Nicholl, the able administrator of the English and Irish poor-law, observes: "To maintain the exclusion of able-bodied persons from legal relief in cases like those of Paisley, is practically to withhold it from the most distressed, who nevertheless must be supported in some way. May we not ask, therefore, whether provision ought not to be made for doing that with equity, and which will otherwise be done inequitably and with disorder—whether relief should not be provided promptly, efficiently, and fairly, rather than tardily and inefficiently?"¹

—NICHOLL'S *Scotch Poor-Law*, p. 184.

80.
Proof afforded by experience of the good effected by the bill.

¹ Adam v. M'William, Feb. 27, 1849; and Thomson v. Lindsay, Feb. 27, 1849, both affirmed on appeal, March 28, 1852.

all acquainted with the state of Scotland and the dispositions of its inhabitants must be aware that this large number of persons has been relieved, and these unwonted sums expended, in spite of the most rigid economy on the part of the parochial boards in the administration of the poors' funds, and the utmost efforts to resist any increase in the expenditure. The increase arose entirely from the absolute necessity for parochial relief which invariably arises in every country when it reaches a certain stage in civilization and manufacturing industry. It is painful to think that it was so long and unnecessarily delayed.*

Two questions which strongly excited party spirit, but were of little consequence in a general point of view, came before Parliament during the preceding session. The first of these was a charge brought against Sir James Graham, as Home Secretary, of having, for State purposes, ordered some letters posted by two foreign refugees and from two English Chartists, to be opened. The charge, which was of a kind violently to agitate the public mind, was brought forward by Mr. Thomas Duncombe on the 14th June, and Sir James wisely consented to the matter being referred to a select committee. In the interval between the question being mooted and the report of the committee, the utmost efforts were made by the Whig-Radical press to excite the public mind on the subject, and the clamor from one end of

the kingdom to the other soon became excessive. Every one feared that his private correspondence would be looked into by the prying, and inquisitive Post-office officials. But the report of the committee soon put an end to this clamor. From it it appeared that, so far from being illegal, the opening of letters by authority of Government was expressly authorized in the Acts establishing the Post-office; that this power had been since repeatedly confirmed, especially at the accession of Queen Victoria; that it had been exercised often by Whig Ministers, and especially Mr. Fox, in 1782; that from 1799 to 1844 the warrants for opening letters had been on an average *only eight* in the year; and that the power thus legally conferred and sparingly exercised was essential to the safety of the State, and the preventing foreign or domestic conspiracies. This report effectually calmed the public mind and silenced the Radical press; and the public satisfaction was increased by a statement of the Duke of Wellington in the House of Peers, that there was no foundation for the report that the thing had been done at the instigation of a foreign power.¹

Connected with this was another subject, also disposed of in the same session of Parliament. The Alien Act had been little more than a dead letter for a number of years, chiefly in consequence of its containing no provision compelling foreigners to

* TABLE OF POOR-LAW ADMINISTRATION, 1846-'56.

Years.	NUMBER OF POOR.							
	Registered Poor relieved.	Registered Poor at Date.	Casual Poor relieved during the Year.	Number of Poor refused Relief.	Number of such Poor relieved under order of Sheriff.	Number of Poor removed to England or Ireland, or to other Parishes.	Number of Insane or Fatuous Poor.	Number of Orphans or deserted Children.
1846.....	.....	62,432	26,894	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
1847.....	85,971	74,161	60,399	5,841	565	8,453	2945	4794
1848.....	100,961	77,730	126,634	8,577	763	18,733	3480	6121
1849.....	106,434	82,357	95,836	15,895	763	9,396	3574	7459
1850.....	101,454	79,031	53,070	14,235	604	6,306	3421	7969
1851.....	99,777	76,906	42,093	9,264	406	5,102	3520	7542
1852.....	99,637	75,111	46,031	7,627	399	5,253	3634	7681
1853.....	99,609	75,437	49,658	7,045	368	2,415	3787	8338
1854.....	103,777	78,920	34,951	6,473	294	3,056	3803	8280
1855.....	100,550	79,837	42,863	5,757	241	2,163	4292	8955
1856.....	99,363	79,973	38,020	5,603	256	1,898	4487	8620
Increase..	.....	86	.....	.....	15	.....	195	.....
Decrease..	1,197	.....	4,843	4	.....	465	.....	335

Years.	EXPENDITURE.							
	Poor on Roll.	Casual Poor.	Medical Relief.	Management.	Law Expenses.	Buildings.	Sanitary Measures.	Total.
1846.....	£246,542	£24,633	£4,065	£17,454	£2,545	£	£	£295,239
1847.....	336,515	36,340	12,879	43,158	5,022	.....	.....	433,915
1848.....	401,885	53,384	30,330	42,339	5,719	10,971	.....	544,334
1849.....	417,469	51,470	33,010	51,804	8,519	14,775	.....	577,044
1850.....	414,680	31,556	26,574	50,881	10,660	42,814	4334	581,553
1851.....	404,318	25,917	20,311	52,009	10,872	21,576	1038	584,943
1852.....	401,954	25,986	21,436	51,744	13,266	21,186	893	535,863
1853.....	411,185	24,114	21,787	52,352	13,036	21,644	532	544,552
1854.....	428,708	24,386	27,574	56,068	9,780	25,850	6259	578,928
1855.....	461,243	27,356	27,166	58,767	10,290	20,605	6355	611,784
1856.....	406,639	22,188	24,008	61,462	8,474	24,847	1675	629,343
Increase..	25,446	.....	.....	2,694	.....	4,242	.....	17,563
Decrease..	.....	5,167	3,153	.....	1,815	.....	4677	.....

—*Scotch Poor-Law Commissioners' Report*, 1856, January, 1857.—It is a curious and apparently unaccountable circumstance how much more expensive the cost of criminal prisoners is than that of innocent paupers. The cost of the Scotch paupers, from the above Tables, is from £5 to £6 a head: and the English is just the same, the poor-rate being from £5,000,000 to £6,000,000 for the maintenance of 900,000 to 1,000,000 paupers. But the average cost of maintaining a criminal prisoner in Scotland is £16 16s, deducting his earnings; and in Millbank Penitentiary it is £47, also deducting earnings. It is true, the prisoners for crimes are fed up in a way to which the paupers are strangers, for while the innocent pauper gets 39 ounces of solid nourishment in a week, the committed thief gets 60, the convicted thief 96, and the transported thief 160! This extraordinary fact is brought out in the very able and interesting reports of Mr. Channing on the English Poor-Laws for 1839, p. 179.

register their names, and of the number in consequence who avoided doing so. In 1842, out of 11,600 foreigners known officially to have landed, only 6084 were registered; out of 794 landed at Hull in that year, only one was registered; out of 1174 at Southampton, not one. In these circumstances, it was, apparently not without reason, thought that the time had arrived when the restrictions on aliens might be altogether removed. A bill to this effect was accordingly brought forward by Mr. Hutt, from the Liberal benches, which enabled all foreigners at a trifling cost to obtain letters of naturalization conferring upon them all the privileges of British subjects, except those of sitting in the Privy Council or in either House of Parliament. So completely had the feeling against foreigners expired in Great Britain, and so thoroughly was the Continent thought to be pacified, that this important relaxation of former policy excited very little attention, and was scarcely noticed even in the public newspapers. And yet the world was on the eve of the Revolution of 1848, the almost entirely *bouleversement* of the Continent, and the Chartist insurrection in Great Britain!—so widely different is sometimes the under-current flowing in human affairs from what appears and attracts the attention of the Legislature on the surface.¹

During the whole of 1844 and 1845, the efforts of the Anti-Corn-Law League to keep alive agitation in the country on the subject of the import duties on grain were incessant, and attended with the most important effects. It is true, a great part of the facts to which they had formerly so triumphantly referred in support of their argument had now slipped from their grasp. It was now evident that the high prices of grain from 1838 to 1842 had been owing to a succession of bad harvests, and that there was no reason to suppose that in ordinary seasons the nation could not, within its own bounds, supply itself with food. The harvest in this year was not particularly good, and the importation of wheat was only 313,000 quarters, and yet its price was only 45s. the quarter. But though deprived of the powerful argument for a free importation of grain arising from high prices, the Anti-Corn-Law League found a full compensation for its loss in the general prosperity of the nation, and the embarrassments in which, from low prices, the agricultural interest was involved. Their lecturers and itinerant orators, many of whom were men of great ability, skillfully turned this state of things to their own advantage. They represented the general welfare of the nation, and the high wages of labor, as the result of the application of the principles of free trade to all other interests; the depressed condition of the agriculturists, to the retention of protection on their own. The farmers were every where told that the low prices were *owing to the Corn-Laws*, and could only be obviated by their removal; and, strange to say, this argument obtained very general credit. So far was the movement carried, that Mr. Cobden, toward the close of the session, himself moved for a committee to inquire into the causes of agricultural distress, which was only defeated

by a majority of 92 in a House of 334. It was distinctly proved by the Conservative members from every part of England that the distress among the farmers from low prices was not light and partial, but general and severe—a state of things which the more reflecting among them ascribed to Sir R. Peel's new sliding-scale affording no adequate protection to rural industry.¹

So general had distress now become among the agricultural interest, that Mr. Cobden said, in his opening speech on this debate, that one half of the farmers in England were in a state of insolvency, and the other half paying their rents out of their capital—assertions which were not contradicted from either side of the House. A few nights after his motion had been disposed of, Mr. Miles, a Protectionist, moved that the surplus of the revenue should be applied to the relief of the agricultural interest, now beyond all question the most suffering in the community. The motion was negatived by a majority of 213 to 78; but in the course of the debate some observations fell from both sides, which showed not obscurely the changes which were approaching. Sir James Graham, on the part of Government, said, “So far from being sorry that a progressive increase of importation has occurred, I consider it *eminently advantageous*; for, with the rapid increase of our population, many years will not pass away before we are in want of food, if we persist in refusing admission to foreign corn.” And Mr. Disraeli said on the part of the Protectionists: “Protection appears to be in about the same condition that Protestantism was in 1828. The country will draw its moral. For my part, if we are to have free trade, I, who honor genius, prefer that such measures should be proposed by the honorable member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden), rather than by one who, by skillful parliamentary measures, has tampered with the generous confidence of a great people and a great party. For myself, I care not what may be the result. Dissolve, if you please, the Parliament you have betrayed, and appeal to the people, who, I believe, mistrust you. For me there remains this at least—the opportunity of expressing thus publicly my belief that a Conservative Government is an organized hypocrisy.”²

These words on the part of the two leaders of the Free Trade and Protection parties sufficiently indicated to what crisis the country was approaching—what the one party intended, and what the other apprehended. So evident had this become, that toward the close of the session nothing else was debated in the House of Commons but the Corn-Laws; and the declining majority for Protection showed that the waverers were beginning to seek their own advantage in anticipating what they saw was to become ere long the measures of Government. On June 8, Mr. Ward moved for a committee to inquire into the situation and burdens of the landed interest, which was rejected by a majority of 73, the numbers being 182 to 109. Mr. Villiers, on the 10th, brought forward his annual motion on the subject of the Corn-Laws,

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxviii. 818, 881; Ann. Reg. 1845, 62, 69.

² Division on Mr. Miles's motion.

³ Parl. Deb. lxxviii. 965, 1028; Ann. Reg. 1845, 71, 75.

³⁵ Farther divisions on the Corn-Laws, and close of the session.

June 8.

June 10.

and it was negatived by a majority of 132, the numbers being 254 to 122. But on a motion by May 26. Lord John Russell to go into a committee on the state of the laboring classes, with a view to the repeal of the Corn-Laws, the majority was only 78, the numbers being 182 to 104. In the course of this debate, Sir James Graham dwelt strongly on the great fall which had taken place in the price of all the chief articles of consumption since the new tariff came into operation; and Lord John Russell declared he would not now propose a fixed duty of 8s. a quarter on wheat, but if called upon to say what it should be he would fix on 4s., 5s., or 6s.* It was evident from these statements that the Corn-Laws were doomed, and that it was only a question of time when they should be struck altogether from the statute-book. The session

closed on the 9th August with a Queen's speech, in which her Majesty declared the "cordial assent" she had given "to the bills presented for remitting the duties on many articles of import."¹

In truth, the state of the country, induced by the previous policy of Government, and the long adoption of the cheapening system, had rendered the extension of the principles of free trade to the commerce of grain a matter of necessity. Prices of all the articles of commerce and production having been reduced fully 50 per cent. by the monetary system, and at least 15 per cent. more by the reduced tariff, it had become impossible to maintain a system of heavy duties on the import of grain. When the prices of all articles of produce—that is, the remuneration of every species of industry—had been lowered above 60 per cent. by the measures of the Legislature, it became indispensable to lower, in some degree at least, the cost of the food on which the working classes were to subsist. The Protectionists were quite right in imputing the repeal of the Corn-Laws to Sir R. Peel, but they erred in their opinion as to the time and the measure which induced the necessity that led to that repeal. It was in 1819 that the policy was inaugurated, which could not fail in the end to remove all restrictions on the import of grain; it was by unanimous votes of the House of Commons, including the whole Protectionists themselves, upholding the monetary system, that free trade was in reality established as the policy of the country. When Sir R. Peel introduced his tariffs in 1842 and 1845, so materially lowering the import duties, he only yielded to the necessity which he had introduced, and Parliament had so unanimously approved. In proposing to the Legislature the entire repeal of the Corn-Laws, he did not adopt a new policy; he only gave way to the necessary

consequences of their own acts. Sooner or later, free trade in grain must have followed the contraction of the currency and free trade in other things. Some time might have elapsed before the change, in the ordinary course of events, became unavoidable, but meanwhile the hand of fate was on the curtain. Providence, in pity to human infatuation, was about to interpose visibly and decisively in human affairs, and those great changes were, on the eve of coming into operation, destined to apply a severe but merciful remedy to the miseries of Ireland, arrest the devastation of moneyed cupidity in England, give a mighty impulse to industry and improvement all over the world, and provide for the extension, in the remotest regions, of the dominant race among mankind.

Planted originally by nature in the mountains of Peru, THE POTATO possesses the qualities which distinctly mark it as the destined food, in part at least, of a large portion of mankind. It flourishes in nearly every climate except the very warmest and the coldest; more sensitive to frost than even the dahlia or geranium, it is to be seen in perfection in every region of the globe except the tropics or the arctic circle. During the brief months of summer it makes its way and arrives at maturity in every part of the temperate zone. The roots, in their natural state, are not much larger than a strawberry; under the fostering hand of culture they swell to ten or sometimes twenty times the size. It is far more productive, when brought to perfection by cultivation, of food for the use of man, than any cereal; it yields, on an equal space, three times as much for his sustenance as the best wheaten crop. Like civilization, however, of which it is the attendant and the support, it involves in itself the seeds of corruption in its latest and most advanced stages, which threaten calamities as great to the physical necessities of man as the depravity which often overspreads a wealthy and luxurious society does to his moral. But the wisdom of Nature has provided a remedy for the one as well as the other: like the human race, the succulent and prolific root can be propagated by seminal descent as well as by the transplantation of slips, and a new and untainted race be induced by the planting of fresh seeds in a region where the former race has been degraded by a long course of artificial culture.*

* "This predisposition to disease in the potato results, I conceive, from its having *degenerated*, in consequence of its having been subjected to a long course of artificial cultivation. The potato, in common with all other cultivated productions of the vegetable world, has a tendency to degenerate when the laws of nature are departed from; and as it is not a native of this country, it degenerates in proportion as the means to prevent its doing so have been neglected. Nature, however, has provided for the permanent health as well as productiveness of her offspring in the seed contained in the berry which the plant produces from its stalks. Hence, when we endeavor to perpetuate any particular kind of potato by continually cutting and planting its tubers, it may reasonably be expected that we shall injure its general properties and powers, and thus gradually render it less fit for frost, and more liable to disease. And long experience has convinced me that the taint far more frequently attacks the long-cultivated and more delicate sorts of potatoes than any others; the former, I conceive, because the vegetative powers have become disordered and enfeebled by a long course of treatment opposed to na-

* FALL IN THE PRICE OF THE CHIEF ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION, AS REFERRED TO BY SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

Wheat had fallen from 64s. in 1841 to 46s. per quarter.	
Beef.....	from 7½d. to 5½d. per lb.
Mutton.....	" 7d. " 6d.
Sugar.....	" 7d. " 5d.
Coffee.....	" 2s. " 1s. 4d.
Tea.....	" 5s. " 4s.
Currants.....	" 9d. " 6d.
Candles.....	" 7d. " 6d.

—Ann. Reg., 1845, p. 84.

37.
Advantages
and dangers
of the potato
as the food
of man.

For a great number of years back the symptoms of the disease to which the potato, in the more advanced stages of its cultivation, is more particularly subject, had appeared in most parts both of Great Britain and Ireland; and in the latter country, where it constituted the staple food of the people, it had occasioned very great uneasiness and distress. The terrible scarcities, bordering on famine, in the Emerald Isle in 1823, 1837, and 1840, had been mainly owing to this cause. It had always been observed that the disease was most rife in the richest soils, and in wet or stormy seasons. Frequent thunder-storms, and an electrical state of the atmosphere, had been generally found to precede the spread of the devastating malady. Its frequent recurrence and alarming symptoms in bad seasons had excited the attention of the observers of nature, and the most sagacious of these had already recorded the opinion that the root was wearing itself out, and that it *would not last twenty years.** But in the summer and autumn of 1845 these symptoms manifested themselves in a far more alarming manner. The rains began early that season, and, contrary to what is usually the case, the ground was soaked by the end of July; but it was not till near the middle of the succeeding month that they set in with great severity. Then was seen what, under the existing monetary system, three weeks' rain in August can do in the British Isles. Hardly had the Parliament separated on the 9th August, amidst general congratulations for the past, and the warmest anticipations for the future, when the heavens seemed to open, and incessant deluges overspread the already saturated earth. These were accompanied by violent thunder-storms, in the course of which the electric fluid descended in sheets of flame into "the green and deluged earth." This wet and stormy weather continued, with very little intermission, through the whole of autumn; prices rapidly rose, and serious fears began to be felt for the grain crops. But these were soon thrown into the shade by the reports which were ere long spread of a mysterious disease among the potatoes, which threatened absolute destruction to that wide-spread and im-

ture. In 1833 I raised from the berry a great variety of new sorts. In 1834 the best were selected and planted separately. At the present time, though planted late, and cut, they display an extraordinary degree of health and vigor; while beside them, in the same field, some of the old sorts are not only feeble, but tainted and curled." —*Quarterly Journal of Agriculture.*

* Talking with Dr. Smith on the condition of Ireland in summer 1834, Mr. Cobbett said: "The dirty weed (the potato) will be the curse of Ireland. The people must go back to the food they were accustomed to live upon before the general cultivation of the dirty weed—to grow wheat, oats, and rye. You have four millions of males in Ireland, and eight millions of uncultivated acres. This ground must be drained and brought into cultivation, and grow grain crops. *The potato will not last twenty years more. It will work itself out, and then you will see to what a state Ireland will be reduced.* You must return to grain crops, and then Ireland, instead of being the most degraded, will be one of the finest countries in the world. You may live to see my words prove true, but I never shall."—See DOUGLEDAY'S *Life of Peel*, vol. ii. p. 398, note. This prediction of Mr. Cobbett is very remarkable—almost as much so as his memorable saying in America in 1819, that when he heard the Monetary Bill of that year was passed in England, he immediately gave orders to pack up his things and return to London, foreseeing that parliamentary reform could not be much longer delayed.

portant part of the subsistence of the people. The plague thus introduced was, literally speaking, "the pestilence which walketh in darkness." It was so minute that it eluded the powers of the finest microscope—so mysterious that it defied the researches of the most searching philosophy; but it was strong enough to overturn governments, general enough to alter established commerce, powerful enough to cause the migration of nations.¹

¹ Personal knowledge; Mart. II. 673; Ann. Reg. 1846, 2, 4.

Charmed with the advent of so powerful and unexpected an ally, the Anti-Corn-Law League made the utmost efforts to turn it to the best account. Their language and their tactics underwent an immediate change. It was no longer, as it had been for the last two years, to the sufferings of the farmers, arising from low prices, which they promised to elevate by repealing the Corn-Laws, that they addressed themselves; the loud cry was now raised that their instant abrogation was indispensable to prevent the people dying of famine. For some time past their funds had been mainly directed to increasing the number of Liberal electors on the rolls; and the Agricultural Protection Society, which had risen up to check its efforts, had boasted that the Anti-Corn-Law League had degenerated into a new registration club. Now, however, it resumed its pristine avocation of shaking and alarming the public mind; and this it did with immense success. Fifteen thousand copies of the *League* newspaper were weekly distributed; two millions of other publications, tending to the same point, were circulated; three hundred thousand letters were sent out in the course of the year. Covent Garden Theatre was fitted up in autumn as a great bazar for goods presented and exposed for sale in aid of the League fund. They brought £25,000, and 125,000 persons visited the magnificent establishment. The funds of the League seemed to increase with magical rapidity as its necessities augmented, and the period of its approaching triumph drew nigh. A meeting of the members was held in Manchester in December, at which a levy of £250,000 was agreed to, to further the objects of the League, and £62,000 was subscribed in the room. One gentleman subscribed £1500; twenty, £1000 each. This was in addition to £122,508 previously raised by subscription. It must be confessed that the leaders of this great association made most extraordinary efforts to promote its objects, and showed themselves consummate masters of the art of agitating and ruling mankind.²

^{29.} Increased efforts of the Anti-Corn-Law League.

² Ann. Reg. 1845, Chron. 67, 193; Mart. II. 674, 675.

Meanwhile prices of every kind of subsistence rose with extraordinary rapidity, and the real dangers of the period became such that there was no need of political agitation or imaginary terrors to exaggerate them. Wheat, which in June, 1845, had been at 45s. 9d., rose so rapidly that in November it was at 60s.³ Every other species of food advanced in a similar proportion; and these prices, to a people long inured to the low rates produced by the contracted currency, appeared to threaten famine. Every post from Ireland brought over fresh and more alarming reports

^{40.} General alarm, and symptoms of change.

³ Tooke on Prices, iv. 411, 412.

of the failure of the potato crop, as well as the serious damage done to the general harvest by the heavy and long-continued rains. A transport similar to that which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill seized upon the public mind, and it soon became evident that the torrent was for the time irresistible, and that in the mean time at least, and during the continuance of the potato famine, all duties on foreign grain must be removed. On 10th October, Lord Ashley addressed a letter to the electors of Dorsetshire, in which he declared his conviction that "the destiny of the Corn-Laws was fixed, and that the leading men of the great parties in the Legislature were by no means opposed to their eventual abolition." In the beginning of November cabinet councils were very frequent, and it was known that Government had set on foot extensive inquiries concerning the failure of the crop, and about the same time Lord Morpeth joined the Anti-Corn-Law League. The accession of so leading a political character was justly considered as decisive of the views of the entire Whig party. It was no longer a question, save of time, when the change was to be

made, and the two leaders of the
¹ Spectator, 1845, 1182; opposite parties saw that nothing
 Mart. II. 675; remained for them but to run a race
 Parl. Deb. who should first make the desired
 Lxxxiii. 86. alteration.¹

An attentive observer of the signs of the times, Lord John Russell no sooner
41. Lord John saw that the period was approaching
 Russell's when Government must take the ini-
 Letter. tiative in the expected changes, than
 Nov. 22. he resolved to forestall their leader,
 and bid for power by anticipating the Minister
 in them. On 22d November, 1845, he address-
 ed a letter to the electors of London on the sub-
 ject, in which he said: "The present state of
 the country in regard to its supply of food can
 not be viewed without apprehension. Fore-
 thought and bold precaution may avert serious
 evils: indecision and procrastination may pro-
 duce a state of suffering which it is frightful to
 contemplate. Three weeks ago it was general-
 ly expected that Parliament would be called im-
 mediately together. The announcement that
 Ministers were prepared, on its first meeting,
 to propose a suspension of the import duties on
 corn would have caused orders to be sent at
 once to various ports of Europe and America
 for the purchase and transmission of grain for
 the consumption of the United Kingdom. An
 Order in Council dispensing with the law was
 neither necessary nor desirable. No party in
 Parliament would have made itself responsible
 for the obstruction of a measure so urgent and
 beneficial. The Queen's Ministers have met
 and separated without affording us any promise
 of such seasonable relief. It becomes us, there-
 fore, as the Queen's subjects, to consider how we
 can best avert, or at all events mitigate, calam-
 ities of no ordinary magnitude.

"Two evils require your consideration; one
42. Continued. of these is the disease in the pota-
 toes, affecting very seriously parts of
 England and Scotland, and commit-
 ting fearful ravages in Ireland. The extent of
 this evil has not yet been ascertained, and ev-
 ery week tends either to reveal unexpected dis-
 ease, or to abate in some districts the alarms

previously entertained. But there is one effect peculiar to failure in this particular crop. The effect of a bad corn harvest is, in the first place, to diminish the supply in the market, and raise the price. Hence diminished consumption and the privation of incipient scarcity, by which the whole stock is more equally distributed over the year, and the ultimate pressure is greatly mitigated. But the fear of the breaking out of this unknown disease among the potatoes induces the holders to hurry into the market, and thus we have at one and the same time rapid consumption and impending deficiency, scarcity of the article and cheapness of price. The ultimate suffering must thereby be rendered far more severe than it would otherwise be. Another evil under which we are suffering is the fruit of Ministerial counsel and Parliamentary law. The duties on the importation of grain, passed three years ago, are so contrived that the worse the quality of the corn the higher is the duty; so that when good wheat runs to 70s. a quarter, the average of all wheat is 57s. or 58s., and the duty 15s. or 14s. a quarter. Thus the corn barometer points to fair when the ship is bending under a storm.

"It is no longer worth while to contend for a fixed duty. In 1841 the Free-trade
48. party would have agreed to a duty
 of 8s. a quarter on wheat, and after
 a lapse of years this duty might have been fur-
 ther reduced and ultimately abolished. But
 the imposition of any duty at present, without
 a provision for its extinction in a short period,
 would but prolong a contest already sufficiently
 fruitful of animosity and discontent. The strug-
 gle to make bread scarce and dear, when it is
 clear that part at least of the additional price
 goes to increase rent, is a struggle deeply in-
 jurious to an aristocracy which (this quarrel
 once removed) is strong in property, strong in
 the construction of our Legislature, strong in
 opinion, strong in ancient associations and the
 memory of immortal services. Let us, then,
 unite to put an end to a system which has been
 proved to be the blight of commerce, the bane
 of agriculture, the source of bitter divisions
 among classes, the cause of pen-
 ury, fever, mortality, and crime
 among the people."
¹ Doubleday, Life of Peel, II. 403, 404.

Not less attentive than his rival to the cir-
 cumstances of the country, Sir R.
44. Peel, having received the reports
 from Ireland, which were extremely
 alarming, brought before the Cabinet
 the question, What was to be done to
 avert the threatened calamity? His
 own idea was to throw the ports at
 once open by an Order in Council, trusting to
 Parliament for a bill of indemnity. But his
 colleagues were divided on the necessity of such
 an extreme measure; and after several cabinet
 councils had been held in the beginning of No-
 vember, it was agreed to appoint a commission
 to inquire into and suggest measures to avert
 extreme distress in Ireland, and the Cabinet
 met on the 25th to consider the reports re-
 ceived. It was found, however, that the for-
 mer division remained: a minority of the Cab-
 inet, at the head of which was Lord Stanley,
 deemed the circumstances not yet such as to
 justify any permanent deviation from the pro-

protective policy of Government. Sir R. Peel thought otherwise: he was so strongly impressed with the dangers of the approaching crisis that he deemed it indispensable to make not only a temporary but a permanent change of policy. As the Cabinet was divided on this subject, however, and Lord John Russell, by his

Dec. 6. letter from Edinburgh, already quoted, had declared for total repeal of the import duties, and put himself at the head of the Free-trade party, he felt the impossibility at such a crisis of carrying on the government in the face of such a coalition, and he accordingly tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues to her Majesty, which was accepted.¹

The Queen immediately sent for Lord John Russell, and he received the royal command on the 8th December, and reached Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight, on the 11th. His answer to her Majesty, when requested to undertake the formation of a ministry, was, that as the party to which he belonged was in a minority in the House of Commons, it would be vain

for him to attempt a task which would expose her Majesty, ere long, to the inconvenience arising from a second change of servants. He recommended the Queen, accordingly, to send for Lord Stanley, to endeavor to form a Protective ministry; but that nobleman, upon being applied to, declared his absolute inability to do so.* Upon this the Queen renewed her application to Lord John, and showed him a paper which Sir R. Peel had left with her when he resigned office, in which he declared his intention, "in his private capacity, to give every support to the new minister whom her Majesty might select to effect a settlement of the question of the Corn-Laws." This entirely altered the case, as it assured the Whig Cabinet of the support of at least one, and that the most powerful, of the great Tory party. Lord John accordingly returned to town to consult his friends on the possibility of forming a Cabinet, and at first there was every prospect of success. But ere long a difficulty, which proved insurmountable, presented itself. Earl Grey, upon being applied to, refused to join the new Cabinet if Lord Palmerston formed part of it—so strongly was he impressed with the hazard attending the foreign policy to which the latter noble lord was attached. Lord Palmerston, however, from his ability, and vast diplomatic information and connections, was too powerful a man to be dispensed with. The result was, that this attempt

Dec. 19. to form a Cabinet failed, and Lord John informed her Majesty of this on the forenoon of the 20th. On the preceding day, the Queen had informed Sir Robert Peel that, as their political relation was about to terminate, she wished to see him

next day to bid him farewell. He went accordingly, in obedience to the royal command; but, on entering her Majesty's presence, he was informed that Lord John Russell's mission had failed, and that nothing remained but for him to resume office. This he accordingly did, and the whole Cabinet resumed their places, with the exception of Lord Stanley, who retired. He was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone as Colonial Secretary; and the Duke of Buccleuch, who at this crisis joined the Free-trade party in the Cabinet, was made President of the Council in room of Lord Wharncliffe, who had died on the 19th. The Cabinet was now entirely composed of Free-traders; and the influence of that party in the House of Commons, at the same time, was much increased by the unopposed return of Lord Morpeth to his old seat for the West Riding of Yorkshire, in room of Mr. Stuart Wortley, who succeeded to the peerage on his father Lord Wharncliffe's death.¹

While these ministerial difficulties and arrangements, big with the future fate of the British empire and of commerce throughout the world, were in progress in the elevated political regions, the public mind was violently shaken by an announcement which suddenly appeared in the

Times of December 4, to the effect that the repeal of the Corn-Laws was resolved on in the Cabinet, and that Parliament would be called together in January to carry the resolution into effect. This statement was immediately contradicted, in the most unqualified manner, by the *Standard* and other Tory newspapers; but the *Times* persisted in maintaining it, adding, that the repeal would be moved in the House of Commons by Sir R. Peel, and in the House of Lords by the Duke of Wellington. This excited a very great sensation, the more especially as it was known that the journal in question had very peculiar sources of information, and enjoyed the confidence, either directly or through the intervention of a third party, of more than one member of the Cabinet. Grain immediately fell, and the spirits of the League rose. They now every where announced that they were secure of victory, that they would accept of no compromise, and that "not a shilling nor a farthing should be imposed without sound reason shown." The sudden resignation, and still more sudden reconstruction of Sir R. Peel's Cabinet shortly after, left no doubt as to some great change in the Corn-Laws being in contemplation; and it was soon whispered that the Cabinet was now unanimous, and that the "Iron Duke" himself had reluctantly given in. Before Parliament met, on 19th January, it was generally understood that the cause of Protection was lost, and the question

was set at rest, so far as the Cabinet was concerned, by the paragraph in the Queen's speech on the subject, delivered by her Majesty in person.²

"I have to lament," said her Majesty, "that, in consequence of a failure of the potato crop in several parts of the United Kingdom, there will

* "I informed her Majesty that, considering that Lord Stanley, and such of my colleagues as had differed from me, had positively declined to undertake the formation of a government, and that Lord John Russell having had the concurrence and support of all his political friends, with a single exception, had abandoned the attempt to form one, I should feel it my duty, if required by her Majesty, to resume office."—*Peel's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 248.

¹ Peel's Mem. ii. 248, 254; Lord John Russell and Sir R. Peel's Statements; Parl. Deb. lxxxiii. 89, 98, 106; Ann. Register, 1845, Chron., 520—1846, 205.

² 46. Announcement of the repeal of the Corn-Laws in the *Times*. Dec. 4.

³ *Times*, Dec. 4, 6, and 7, 1845; Mart. ii. 677; Ann. Reg. 1846, 3, 5.

be a deficient supply of an article of food which forms the chief subsistence of great numbers of my people. The disease by which the plant has been affected has prevailed to the utmost extent in Ireland.

I have adopted all such measures as were in my power for the purpose of alleviating the sufferings which may be caused by this calamity, and I confidently rely on your co-operation in devising such other means for effecting the same benevolent purpose as may require the sanction of the Legislature. I have had great satisfaction in giving my assent to the measures which you have presented to me from time to time, calculated to extend commerce, and to stimulate domestic skill and industry, by the repeal of prohibitory and the relaxation of protective duties. The prosperous state of the revenue, the increased demand for labor, and the general improvement which has taken place in the internal condition of the country, are strong testimonies in favor of the course which you have pursued. I recommend you to take into your earnest consideration whether the principles on which you have acted may not be yet more extensively applied, and whether it may not be in your power, after a careful review of the existing duties upon many articles the produce or manufacture of other countries, to make such further reductions and remissions as may tend to insure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have adverted, and, by enlarging our commercial intercourse, to strengthen the bonds of amity with foreign powers."

Such were the words by which Sir R. Peel, in her Majesty's name, announced to the world the greatest change ever made in the commercial policy of any nation—namely, the sudden transition from a Protective policy, the natural safeguard of a rising, to a Free-trade, the invariable demand of an advanced, stage of civilization. His detailed plans were brought forward in a luminous speech of four hours' duration, the object of which was to represent the change in the Corn-Laws, great as it was, as not an insulated measure, but part of a great system of policy by which all classes were to be ultimately benefited. The public excitement was extreme. Every crevice in the House was filled; Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge were among the auditors. "The great principle of the relaxation of protective duties," said he, "recommended in the speech from the Throne, I intend to apply not to any one particular interest, but to all interests. On the contrary, I ask all the great interests of the country, manufacturing, commercial, and agricultural, to make the sacrifice, if it be one, to the common good. Of late the whole tariff of import duties has been more than once submitted to the House. In 1842 I commenced, and in 1845 carried out, to a very large extent, a plan for the remission of duties on the raw materials constituting the elements of manufacture. There is at this moment scarcely a duty on the raw material imported from foreign countries which we have not abandoned. I have, therefore, a right to call on the manufacturer to relinquish the protection of which he is now in possession. The only two articles of rude prod-

uce still subject to duty are tallow and timber: on the first I propose to reduce the duty from 8s. 2d. to 1s. 6d. a cwt., and on the second to make also a very great reduction. In regard to manufactures, I call on those who are engaged in making up the three articles, wool, linen, and cotton, which form the clothing of the country, to show the sincerity of their convictions in favor of free trade, by relinquishing the protection of which they are in possession. I do this the more confidently, as it was the manufacturing, and not the agricultural interest, which first called on the Government for protecting duties.

"In pursuance of these principles, I propose to relinquish all duties upon the importation of the coarser species of manufacture in wool, linen, and cotton, and to reduce the duties on the finer linen and cotton goods from 20 to 10 per cent. The duty on silk, at present 30, is to be reduced to 15 per cent. On a great variety of articles which enter into general consumption—boots, shoes, hats, gloves, dressed hides, straw-plait, carriages, candles, soap, brandy, Geneva, sugar, and various other articles—the duty is to be materially reduced; and in return for this, I think I am entitled to call on the agriculturists to submit to some sacrifice for the general good. What I propose is this: The duty on all seeds to be entirely removed, as also on Indian corn or maize, buckwheat and buckwheat flour. The duty on foreign butter, cheese, hops, and cured fish, to be reduced to half its present amount. Every sort of animal and vegetable food, apart from corn, to be admitted duty free, including all animals from foreign countries. All kinds of grain, after 1st February, 1849, to be admitted at a nominal duty of 1s. a quarter, kept on only in order to obtain statistical returns of the quantities imported. During the intermediate period to 1st February, 1849, the duties to be so calculated as to keep wheat at an average price of 50s. a quarter, and the scale adopted would, at the present price, which was 55s., lower the duty at once from 16s. a quarter to 4s.*

"To compensate, in a certain degree, the loss which these reductions will occasion to the farmers, I propose to make certain concessions, especially relating to turnpike roads, poor-rates, and the support of criminals. Turnpikes in England are now under the direction of 16,000 local authorities, distributed over different parts of the country. I propose to compel parishes to unite themselves into districts for the repair of the roads, in such a way as will reduce these 16,000 managers to 600—a change which will get quit of a great number of superfluous employes, save expense, and insure a better administration of the roads. The power of removability should be taken from every laboring man who had earned an industrial residence of five years in any manufacturing town, and from all children, legitimate or

* THE SCALE ON WHEAT WAS AS FOLLOWS:

Under 48s.	the duty to be	10s. per quarter.
" 48s. to 49s.	" 9s. "	" "
" 49s. " 50s.	" 8s. "	" "
" 50s. " 51s.	" 7s. "	" "
" 51s. " 52s.	" 6s. "	" "
" 52s. " 53s.	" 5s. "	" "
" 53s. and upward	" 4s. "	" "

illegitimate, residing with the father or mother, where the parent itself was not removed; from all widows till twelve months after the husband's death, and from all persons become chargeable on the ground of sickness, unless it shall be proved to the satisfaction of the magistrate that such sickness or disability is incurable. These changes will prevent a large part of the population which has migrated from the country into towns, during health, being thrown back on the country when they become chargeable. Facilities will be given for the improvement of entailed estates by advances of Exchequer bills, to be repaid with a moderate interest in a long course of years. Finally, the cost of maintaining felons in jail, which is now a burden on the counties, should be defrayed by the Treasury. This will be a relief to Ireland of £17,000; in England, of £100,000 a year; and the whole expense of the constabulary of Ireland, amounting to £539,000 a year, is to be also laid on the public Exchequer. To compensate these advantages to Ireland, I propose to take on the Treasury half the medical expenses of the Poor-Law Unions, which in England will be £100,000, in Scotland £15,000, and to give £15,000 a year for the education of the children in the work-houses.

“These are the proposals which I offer for the adjustment—the final adjustment,
 51. Continued. of this question. I can not appeal to any ungenerous feeling. I can not appeal to fear, nor to any thing which will be calculated to exercise an undue sway over the reason of those to whom these proposals are made. There may be agitation; but it is not one which has reached the laboring classes, there being among them a total absence of all excitement. I admit it is perfectly true that without danger to the public peace we might continue all the existing duties; therefore I can not appeal to fear as a ground for agreeing to those proposals. But this I do say, that there has been a great change of opinion in the great mass of the community with respect to the Corn-Laws. There is between the master manufacturer and the operative classes a common conviction, that did not prevail in 1842, or at any former period, that those laws should be repealed; and while there is that union of sentiment between them, there appears to be, at the same time, a general contentment and loyalty, and a confidence in the justice and impartiality of this House. The example you have set of taking upon yourselves great pecuniary burdens, in order that you might relieve the laboring classes from the taxation to which they were subjected, has produced the deepest impression and the most beneficial effect upon their minds. But because this is a time of peace; because there is a perfect calm, except in so far as the agitation among the manufacturers may interrupt it; because you are not subject to any coercion whatever, I entreat you to bear in mind that this aspect of affairs may change, that we may have to contend with worse harvests than those of this year, and that it may be wise to avail ourselves of the present moment in order to effect an adjustment, which I believe must ultimately be made, and which can not be much longer delayed without engendering deep feelings of animosity between different classes of her Majesty's subjects.

“What were the facts which came under our

cognizance, charged with the responsibility of providing for the public peace, and saving millions from the calamity of starv-
 52. Continued. ation? We were assured that in one part of this empire there are 4,000,000 of the Queen's subjects dependent upon a certain article of food for subsistence. We know that on that article of food no reliance could be placed. It was difficult to say what was the extent of the danger, what would be the progress of the disease, and what the amount of deficiency in the supply of food. Surely you will make allowance for those who were charged with the heaviest responsibility, if their worst anticipations should be realized. We saw in the distance the gaunt form of famine, and the spectre of disease following in its train. Was it not our first duty to avert the odious charge of indifference and neglect of timely precautions? I declare in the face of this House, that the day of my life to which I look back with the greatest satisfaction and pride is the 1st November last, when I offered to take the responsibility of issuing an Order in Council to open the ports, and trust to you for approval and indemnity. I wished then that, by the first packet which sailed after the 1st November, the news might have gone forth that “the ports were open.” During the latter part of December and in January there has been a temporary suspension of alarm; but still the accounts we have from all parts of the country are sufficient to excite great uneasiness, and imperatively call for the present remedial measure.

“And now I come to the second consideration—How, after the admission of
 58. Continued. foreign imported corn for a period of several months, do you propose to deal with the existing Corn-Law? My conviction is so strong that it would be utterly impossible, after establishing freedom of trade in corn for a period of seven or eight months or more, to give a guarantee that the existing law should at the end of that time again come into operation, that I can not encourage the delusive hope of any such result. It is an utter misapprehension of the state of public opinion to suppose it possible, that after this country, during eight months, shall have tasted of freedom of trade in corn, you can either revive by special enactment, or by the tacit operation of the law itself, the existing Corn-Law. Surely the very fact of suppression is itself a condemnation of the law. It demonstrates that the law which professed, by a total reduction of duty when grain reached a certain price, to provide against scarcity, had failed in its most essential point. Could you, after this, insist upon a revival of this law? Would you revive the existing law in all its provisions? Do not suppose that those who advised suspension have overlooked the consequences upon the question of future protection. Do not disregard public feeling in a question of this kind. When the food of the people is concerned, public opinion can never be disregarded. Are you insensible to the real state of public opinion on the subject? Are you insensible to the altered opinion of many of your own party? Look to the change of opinion that has taken place, not among mere politicians—which you are apt to attribute to some selfish or corrupt motive—but look at the opinions now expressed, of the sincerity of which conclusive

proof has been given, by some of the most honorable men that ever sat upon those benches. Their conduct affords proof that the minister who should suspend the law, and give a guarantee to revive it whenever the period of suspension shall have passed away, would have enormous insuperable difficulties to encounter.

54. Continued. "Your precautions, however wisely taken, may nevertheless fail. It seems to be incident to great prosperity that there shall be a reverse, that the time of depression shall follow the season of excitement and success. That time of depression may perhaps return, and its return may be coincident with scarcity, occasioned by unfavorable seasons. Gloomy winters like those of 1841 and 1842 may again set in. Are those winters effaced from your memories? *From mine they never can be effaced.* Surely you have not forgotten with what earnestness and sincerity you re-echoed the deep feelings of a gracious Queen, when at the opening and close of each session she expressed her warmest sympathy with the sufferings of her people, her warmest admiration of their heroic fortitude. These bad times may recur. The years of plenteousness may have ended, and the years of dearth may come, and again you may have to offer the unavailing expressions of sympathy, and the urgent exhortations to patient resignation—will it then be no satisfaction to you to reflect that by your own act you have been relieved from the grievous responsibility of regulating the supply of food? Will you not then cherish with delight the reflection that in this present hour of comparative prosperity, yielding to no clamor, impelled by no fear, save that provident fear which is the mother of safety, you have anticipated the evil day, and long before its advent had trampled on every impediment to the free circulation of the Creator's bounty? And when you are again addressing your fellow-subjects, and encouraging them to bear without repining the dispensations of Providence, may God grant that, by your decision this night, you may have laid in store for yourselves the consolation of reflecting that such calamities are in truth the dispensations of Providence, and that they have not been caused, have not been aggravated, by laws of man, restricting, in the hour of scarcity and deepest need, the supply of food!

55. Concluded. "You have a right, I admit, to taunt me with inconsistency in my opinions on this subject; but when you say that by my adoption of the principles of free trade I have acted in contradiction to those principles which I have always avowed during my whole life, I positively deny the charge. I foresaw the consequences which would result from the measures which I have felt it my duty to propose. We have not formed our opinion merely on local information. We were charged with the heavy responsibility of taking measures against a great calamity in Ireland; before we brought our remedies forward, we had taken every measure to obtain correct information on the state of that country. Whatever may be the result of these discussions, I feel severely the loss of the confidence of those from most of whom I have hitherto experienced a generous support. So far from expecting them to adopt my opinions, I perfectly recognize the sincerity

with which they adhere to their own. I honor their motives; but I claim for myself the right to give that advice to my Sovereign which I conscientiously believe to be conducive to the general well-being. I wish to convince the people that the greatest object which this or any other Government can have is to elevate the social condition of those with whom we are brought in to no direct relations by the exercise of the elective franchise. I wish to show them that our object has been to apportion taxation, so that we shall relieve industry and labor from any undue burden, and transfer it, so far as is consistent with the public good, to those who are better able to bear it. I look to the present peace of this country, to the absence of all disturbance, to the non-existence of any commitment for a seditious offense; I look to the calm which exists in the public mind; I look to the absence of all disaffection; I look to the increased and growing public confidence, on account of the course you have taken in relieving trade from restrictions, and industry from unjust burdens; and where there was disaffection I see contentment, where there was turbulence I see peace; where there was disloyalty I see loyalty. I see a disposition to confide in you, and not to agitate questions that are at the foundation of your institutions. Taught by this experience, I feel I have only done my duty to my Sovereign and my country in submitting the measures I have now brought forward to the consideration of Parliament."¹

No words can describe adequately the sensation which this speech produced in the country. The immediate reduction of the duty on wheat from 16s. a quarter to 4s., and its entire abolition at the end of three years, were changes so prodigious that they outstripped the hopes of the most sanguine of the Free-traders, and excited a profound feeling of indignation among all the adherents of the agricultural interest. The impression upon the latter class was the stronger that the alarm consequent upon the potato rot, which had been very great in the preceding November, had sensibly declined in the following month, and accordingly wheat, which had been 60s. in the former period, had fallen in the beginning of January to 55s. a quarter. It had been discovered upon farther information, that the disease, though as bad as possible in some parts of the country, was as yet at least by no means universal, and that the apprehensions entertained of a great deficiency of subsistence for the body of the people had been much exaggerated. But above all, it was asked, "Why legislate permanently for a temporary evil? Grant that the potato rot is as universal and serious as the strongest Free-traders allege, that may afford a good reason for throwing open the ports at once, by Order in Council, and keeping them open as long as the calamity lasts; but is it any reason for entirely altering the policy of the country, and permanently adopting free trade in lieu of the protection under the shelter of which it has hitherto risen to greatness?" The Free-traders, on the other hand, were in ecstasies, and regarding with reason the battle as already gained, would

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxxiii. 256, 263, 282—lxxxvi. 705: Ann. Reg. 1846, 83, 36.

56. Reception of the measure in the country.

not condescend to notice the arguments of their adversaries, but contented themselves with simply vilifying and abusing them. These angry feelings on the one side, and exulting on the other, exhaled during the debate which ensued in the House of Commons, which lasted for

¹ Ann. Reg. 1846, 119, 128; Mart. ii. 684; Doubleday, ii. 419, 431. TWELVE successive nights, and gave rise to more acrimonious expressions on both sides, but especially the Protectionist, than had ever been heard within the walls of Parliament.¹

“Sir,” said Mr. Disraeli, “the right honorable gentleman has supported a different policy for a number of years. Well do we remember, on this side of the house, perhaps not without a blush, the efforts we made to raise him to that bench where he now sits. Who does not remember ‘the sacred cause of Protection’—the cause for which sovereigns were thwarted, Parliaments dissolved, and a nation deceived—delightful, indeed, to have the right honorable gentleman entering into all the details of what passed when he called upon his Sovereign! Would his Sovereign have called on him if he had not in 1841 put himself at the head of the gentlemen of England? That well-known position he took—a position to be preferred to the confidence even of sovereigns and courts. I say it without a hope of a party triumph, for I believe I belong to a party that can triumph no more—for we have nothing left for us but the constituencies we have not betrayed. I do say my conception of a great statesman is that of one who represents a great idea, an idea that leads him to power, an idea with which he has identified himself, an idea which he is to develop—which he can and does impress upon the mind of the nation. That is my idea of a great statesman. I care not whether he be a manufacturer or a manufacturer’s son—the position is still grand, I may say heroic. But a man who never originates an idea, a mere watcher of the atmosphere—a man who, as he says himself, takes his observations, and when he finds the wind veers toward a certain quarter, trims to suit it—such a person may be a powerful minister, but he can never be a great statesman.”

“There is a difficulty in finding a parallel in any part of history to the position of the right honorable gentleman. The only parallel I can find is an incident in the late war in the Levant, which was terminated by the policy of the noble Lord opposite (Palmerston). I remember when that great struggle was taking place, when the existence of the Turkish empire was at stake, the late Sultan, a man of great energy and resources, was determined to fit out an immense fleet to maintain his empire. A vast armament was accordingly collected. It consisted of many of the finest ships that ever were built. The crews were picked men, the officers were the ablest that could be found, and both officers and men were rewarded before they fought. Never did an armament similarly appointed leave the Dardanelles since the days of Solymán the Magnificent. The Sultan personally witnessed the departure of the fleet, and all the muftis prayed for the success of the expedition,

as all the muftis here prayed for the success of the late general election. Away went the fleet; but what was the Sultan’s consternation when the Lord High Admiral steered at once into the enemy’s port! The Lord High Admiral was called a traitor, but he had the talent of vindicating himself. “True,” he said, “I did place myself at the head of this valiant armada; true it is that my sovereign embraced me; true all the muftis prayed for my success; but I have an objection to war; I see no reason for prolonging the struggle, and the only reason I had for accepting the command of the fleet was that I might terminate the contest by betraying my master! And yet such was the plausibility and adroitness of this Lord High Admiral, that he is at this moment first Lord of the Admiralty under the new regime.” (Sir C. Napier—“I thought he was dead.”) “The gallant commodore says he is dead; dead he may be, but at any rate he was not shot for treason.”¹

These violent speeches are too characteristic of the ulcerated state of feeling in the country, then exasperated beyond all precedent, to be omitted in general history; but they have no bearing upon the general question, which was, whether the proposed change was in itself necessary and expedient, not whether Sir R. Peel did right or wrong in proposing it. The general question, however, did not want able advocates on the Protectionist side. It was argued by Lord Stanley, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord George Bentinck: “From the earliest times—so far back as the reign of Edward IV.—the Legislature has recognized the principle of protecting native industry, as a reason for regulating the importation of corn; and it has continued to be the rule of our Legislature, down to the present period, to give encouragement to the cultivators of its own soil, in order to secure the independence of this country as regards foreign nations forever. This has not only been our own policy, but at the very moment when we are venturing upon the bold experiment of leaving the supply of the nation’s food to chance, every other country in the world of any eminence is maintaining a protective policy. Sir R. Peel could not have failed to foresee the shock to confidence in public men of all parties which such a change as he has introduced must inevitably produce; but he has entirely overruled the emergency and position in which he was placed; he has confounded the brawling torrent of agitation with the deep, still current of public opinion.”

“The grounds assigned for the measure is the famine in Ireland, and the success of the changes on the tariff; but these reasons are inconsistent with each other. If this bill relieved the famine in Ireland, it can only be by bringing down the price of corn to the means of the starving population of Ireland. You must distinguish between famine and great local scarcity. We were threatened with the latter, but not with the first, in the expected reduction of prices. When the question came before the Cabinet, I (Lord Stanley) yielded my own opinion, and consented to a suspension, but a suspension only, of the Corn-Law. This was all that the case

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxxiii. 259.

59. Arguments against the bill.

58. Concluded.

60. Continued.

required; for the prices showed that there was no general want of food in the country; and I could see no reason for altering a general system for a partial failure; but I stood alone. It is a total mistake to say that the sliding-scale has produced great fluctuation of prices; the fact is, that it has done more than any other legislative measure to prevent that fluctuation. Never were the changes of price so violent and frequent as before that scale was introduced; they then varied from 50s. to 120s. a quarter; whereas since that time the fluctuation has been from 39s. to 80s., and generally from 40s. to 56s. In articles of subsistence to which the sliding-scale has not been applied—as potatoes and cotton—the fluctuation of prices has still been enormous. The present Corn-Law has kept us independent of foreign nations, and preserved an unprecedented steadiness in the price of grain; and no man can assert that these advantages have been purchased by the sacrifice of any interest. On the contrary, the constant complaint of the agriculturists during its continuance has been, that the prices of their produce, with the exception of very bad seasons, have been ruinously low.

“If the Corn-Laws are repealed, the price of corn will fall greatly; we shall
 61. Continued. have an inundation of foreign wheat at 40s. a quarter. In what way is this reduction, supposing prices are forced down to that level, to benefit any class in this country? The *foreign* grower, indeed, will be immensely benefited; he will be furnished with profits which will ere long enable him to extend his production, and encroach yet more largely on the English fields; but in what state will the English agriculturist be, if, by the operation of that law, prices are permanently forced down to 40s. or 42s. a quarter? Will the manufacturer be benefited by the change? He can be so only by a reduction of wages, and if that takes place, where is the good that is to accrue to the working classes? Supposing wages to be reduced, and the cost of production of manufactures to be thereby lessened, and the market for them extended, so far from being a gainer, he will be a loser by the change; the British manufacturer will be a loser. Every acre *brought into* cultivation on the Vistula or the Danube will *throw an acre out of cultivation* on the Thames or the Severn; and what will he gain if he destroys the bread, and thereby ruins the market, of the cultivators who consume five pounds a head of his produce, and “calls into existence” an equal number of those who consume fivepence a head?

“It is altogether a delusion to say that Russia, Prussia, and the United States
 62. Continued. do not take our manufactures because we do not take their corn. They do not take our manufactures because they wish to establish such fabrics among themselves, and in the mean time desire to raise a revenue by means of import duties. These motives will still continue, although we admit their grain duty free. Rely upon it, that change will make no difference in their consumption of our manufactures. It is in our own colonies that we must look for the only durable and growing market for our fabrics, which will soon come to overtop all other markets put together; but

this measure, so far from encouraging these distant offshoots of our empire, goes directly and obviously to injure them. It deprives them of all the advantages they have hitherto enjoyed as British subjects, by letting in all nations to compete with the produce of their industry. Destroy the principle of protection, and you destroy the whole basis on which our colonial system rests, which is, that the colonies are to be in a more favorable situation than foreign nations. You sever the strongest bond—that of mutual self-interest—which unites them to the mother country. It is an easy step for those who have been taught commercial independence to apply it also to political relationship.

“The principle of free trade can never be adopted in what has been emphatically called a Protection Parliament,
 63. Continued. without a loss of character to public men. The alleged change of circumstances during the last three years furnishes no reason for abandoning the settled policy of two centuries, far less for the Premier’s deserting the principle he has strenuously maintained during the last thirty years. The doctrine of free trade is an absolute delusion: prolific of evil, it can be productive of no good to any party. It is simply, under existing circumstances, a preference given to foreign over native industry; and is that the way to benefit a nation? Even the manufacturing classes, to whom such strong appeals are made, will not in the end benefit by it. If the price of provisions permanently falls, their wages will fall with them, and what the better will they be when wheat is at 45s. instead of 75s., if their wages are 15d. a day instead of 2s.? Will our shop-keepers be benefited if ten or fifteen millions are cut off from the rent of land that is the income of their best purchasers; or our manufacturers, if our rural laborers, who now form so large a part of the home market, are disabled from continuing their purchases of their produce, and the British merchants are sent to the serfs of Poland or the Ukraine to supply their place?

“The Irish famine, of which so much is said, is a mere pretense, got up for party
 64. Concluded. purposes. There is not even a scarcity in the land. Prices prove this: wheat is at 55s. a quarter; oats at 26s.: are these famine prices? Why, in 1841, wheat was at 80s., and yet no one said there was a famine. The fact is, that the crop, on the whole, is fully an average one. The Duke of Wellington has admitted that there is no scarcity of food in Ireland, and Lord Cloncurry has added, that there is enough of oats in it to feed the whole people. There is in many places great distress among the peasantry, but that is not because they can not get food to buy, but can not get money to buy it with. Is it a remedy for this woeful state of things to admit the competition of foreign hands to flood the already overstocked Irish labor-market? The potato disease was in some places very formidable, but it was so only in a few districts. In Roscommon it was unknown; in Tipperary and Queen’s County, very partial. The alarm spread by the Government Commissioners has been the main cause of the panic which has been diffused, and even of the losses which have been sustained; for they, by spreading evil reports, induced the

people in many places to raise their potatoes before they were ripe, and thus caused them to rot. But suppose the immediate danger from the potato rot to be as great as the most devoted adherents of Government represent, is that any reason for altering the entire system and policy of the State on account of a *transitory* evil, how serious soever? If scarcity is apprehended, by all means repeal all import duties ¹ *Parl. Deb.* so long as it continues; but it was *lxxxvi. 721* reserved for the Right Honorable *—lxxxiv.* Baronet to provide a remedy for a *349; lxxxviii.* dreaded scarcity in 1846 by enacting *263; Ann.* the repeal of all import duties in *Reg. 1846,* 1849."¹ *63, 81.*

As the interesting debate, of which the above ^{65.} is only a faint outline, continued in *Result of* the House of Commons, the public *the debate.* interest went on continually increasing, until at length it reached an unbearable point of excitement. This arose, not from any doubt of the sincerity or wishes of Ministers, which had been unequivocally evinced both in the Royal Speech and in the course of the debate, but from uncertainty as to the issue with a Parliament avowedly elected under Protection influences, and to withstand the first advances of free trade. Great, therefore, was the surprise of the nation, unbounded the triumph of the Anti-Corn-Law League, when the division took place at twenty minutes before three on the morning of the 27th February, and there appeared a majority of 97 for Ministers, in a very full house, the numbers being 337 to 240. The bill was finally carried on the third reading, on the morning of the 16th May, by a majority of 98. Hoping to conciliate the all-powerful Prime Minister, who had expressed himself as willing to make theirs an exceptional case, the whole West India interest voted with him in the majority on this occasion. They met their deserts and a just retribution at the hands of his successors within two months afterward. The shipping interest did the same; one and all of them voted with Ministers. They did so, partly in the idea that a large increase of foreign importation would give great employment to the British commercial navy, and partly from the idea that the navigation laws were so essential to our national independence that there was not the slightest danger of their being touched. "*Ita dum singuli pugnant universi vincuntur.*"²

² Tacitus. Within three years they too were swept away. In the Lords the result was still more remarkable, for the second reading was carried by a majority of 47, and the bill passed finally on the 22d June. Considering that the great majority of the peers were dependent on landed estates, and that the effect of the bill in lowering prices was distinctly understood, this division must be considered as very remarkable, for beyond all doubt the greater part of their lordships thought

very differently from what they voted.³ It indicates how great was the pressure which the Anti-Corn-Law League had come to exercise upon the public mind, how powerful was the influence which the Government and the Duke of Wellington possessed in that assembly, and what good use the Whigs, since their ac-

cession to power, had made of their time in neutralizing the hostile majority in the Upper House by a copious creation of Peers.

The arguments adduced on either side in the House of Peers were substantially ^{66.} the same as those adduced in the *Duke of Commons,* and need not be again *Wellington's speech* repeated. But there is one short *on the bill.* and characteristic speech, which, as coming from so great a man, and eminently descriptive of a leading feature in his mind, deserves to be particularly noticed. The Duke of Wellington said: "I address you under the disadvantage of appearing as a Minister of the Crown to press this measure, in opposition to the views of many of those with whom I have long acted in public life, with whom I have lived in habits of close intimacy and friendship, and whose good opinion it has always afforded me the greatest satisfaction to obtain, and indeed which I have enjoyed in the highest degree. I have already explained to you the circumstances under which I became a party to this measure. In November last, after the Cabinet to which I belonged had resigned, I considered it my bounden duty to my Sovereign not to withhold my assistance from her Government, and I resumed my seat at her Majesty's council, and gave my assistance to my right honorable friend, the First Lord of the Treasury, because I knew at that time that he would propose a measure of this description—nay, this very measure. It was this very measure which he proposed to the Cabinet early in that month. It is not necessary for me, my lords, to say more on that subject; and though some of your lordships may entertain a prejudice against me for the course which I am pursuing, I can justify it before your lordships, by telling you that I was bound to take it, and that if the same circumstances occurred to-morrow I would take it again. I was bound to my Sov- ¹ *Ann. Reg.* ereign and to my country by consid- *1846, 92;* erations of gratitude, of which I *Parl. Deb.* need not say more than to allude to *lxxxvii.* them on this occasion."¹ *968.*

This frank and manly declaration, coming from the old soldier who had grown ^{67.} gray in the service of his sovereign *Cause of* and country, drew forth loud cheers *this incon-* from all parts of the House. It is *sistency.* highly characteristic of the ruling principle of the Duke's mind, which had appeared in exactly the same way in the crisis on Catholic Emancipation, and in that on Reform. On both of these occasions he accepted a seat in a Cabinet, and on this last the lead in forming a Cabinet, which was to bring in a measure in direct opposition to his previous and often-expressed opinions. It would be uncharitable to conclude from thence that the Duke had no settled opinions on political subjects, and embraced such merely as suited the circumstances of the moment. His whole life belies such a supposition; no man had more fixed and decided convictions. The truth rather was, that his habits of military obedience had rendered one principle in his breast paramount to all others, and that was duty to his sovereign and country in moments of danger. This duty he felt himself bound to discharge, even at the hazard of his own consistency. If there is much to admire in this

noble feeling, which certainly is that which should ever animate a *soldier's* breast, there is much to dread in it when it becomes the guide of a *statesman's* career. And this only affords another illustration of the truth of a remark, which all ages have made, that the duties of civil and military life are often opposite to each other, and can not, under any circumstances, be blended without imminent danger to both.

The first duty of the soldier is obedience — the first of the statesman, deliberation.¹

Amidst the multiplied and protracted debates which took place on this all-important subject in this session of 1846. Parliament, the Budget was well-nigh forgotten; yet it presented some features of interest and importance, which foreshadowed the perilous course on which the Premier had advanced in repealing or reducing so many of the indirect taxes. It came on upon the 29th May; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer with reason congratulated the country on the flattering condition of the finances, which he ascribed to the effects of free trade, without any reference to the railway expenditure. Sir R. Peel had calculated the revenue for the year at £49,762,000; but the actual receipts were £51,200,000. The expenditure was £49,400,167, leaving an apparent surplus of £2,609,177. Of this, however, £750,000 was the payment from China, which could only be reckoned on for one year more. For the ensuing year he calculated on a revenue of £51,650,000; but, owing to an increase of £140,000 for the army, £600,000 for the navy, and £401,000 for the ordnance, which had become absolutely indispensable to restore these services to any thing like a state of efficiency, the surplus would be only £776,000, of which no less than £700,000 would again be money from China. It afforded a melancholy proof of the chasm which the large reduction of the indirect duties had made in the revenue, that the only surplus in the ensuing year, which even the sanguine mind of the Chancellor of the Exchequer could foresee, was derived, after two years of unparalleled prosperity, from the accidental and transitory source of Chinese payments.²

It was foreseen, and scarcely disguised in the course of the debate on the repeal of the Corn-Laws, from the extreme violence of the schism which had taken place in the Ministerial majority, and the words never to be forgiven which had passed between the Ministers and their opponents, that it was only a question of time when the Ad-

ministration was to be overturned. Such was the exasperation of the Protectionist leaders on the Ministerial benches, that it was known they would gladly coalesce with their opponents on the opposite side of the house to eject a government which, as they thought, had betrayed the party that had placed it in power. Yet so utterly at variance were the views of the ultra-Tories and the Radicals on all other subjects but their common animosity to the Premier, that it was not likely they would soon find a subject on which they could unite without such a flagrant dereliction of principle as might discredit and compromise both in the eyes of the nation. Chance, however, was more favorable to them than parliamentary skill could have been. A bill was actually before Parliament, which, it was thought, presented, most opportunely, the much-wished-for opportunity of uniting. This was the LIFE-PRESERVATION BILL FOR IRELAND.³

* ACTUAL EXPENDITURE OF 1845, AND ESTIMATED EXPENDITURE OF 1846.

	Actual Expenditure. 1845.	Estimated Expenditure. 1846.
Interest of debt	£28,200,000	£28,100,000
Charges on consolidated fund.	2,400,000	2,500,000
Army	6,715,000	6,697,000
Navy.....	6,943,000	7,521,000
Ordnance.....	2,142,000	2,543,000
Miscellaneous	3,116,000	3,435,000
Total.....	£49,816,000	£50,873,000

—Ann. Reg., 1846, p. 120, 121.

Ever since the decline of O'Connell's influence, by whose powerful voice its troubled waters had so often been stayed, and the downfall of the temperance movement, the state of Ireland had become more disturbed; and in the latter months of 1845 and first of 1846 it had risen to such a pitch of outrage that some remedial measure had become indispensable. This was the natural consequence of the dreadful state of destitution of food, toward which the wretched peasantry were rapidly approaching. When ejection for non-payment of rent from his little possession was little short of a sentence of death by slow process pronounced upon a man and his whole family, men placed in a position so dreadful almost unavoidably acted upon the principle of self-preservation, and endeavored, by violence and intimidation, to avoid such disaster. To endeavor to check such outrages was the first duty of Government; to remove their cause was the second. Early in the session, accordingly, Sir R. Peel introduced a measure by Lord St. Germain's into the House of Peers, and the facts stated in support* of it were of so

* CRIME AND OUTRAGES IN IRELAND.

	1844.	1845.
Homicides.....	144	136
Firing at persons	104	188
Serious assaults.....	504	544
Assaults, common.....	243	251
Robberies of arms.....	159	551
Administering illegal oaths....	59	22
Threatening letters.....	663	1944
Houses attacked	254	463
Firing into houses.....	77	138
Agrarian outrages.....	1495	3469
Offenses, violent—total.....	\$102	\$281

The great majority of these offenses were committed upon the peasantry or farmers, the persons and dwellings of the gentlemen having been comparatively untouched. —LORD ST. GERMAIN'S *Speech*, 24th Feb. 1846; *Ann. Reg.*, 1846, p. 124. And of the savage, unrelenting cruelty with which they were attended an instance is given in *Sir R. Peel's Memoirs*: "A man and his wife of the name of Juthill, residing between Drummond and Molill, were, early on the morning of the 7th, visited by a party of six men armed with guns and bayonets; and having beaten the husband till he was senseless, they stripped his wife and put her on her back over some fire which they raked out of the fire-place for the purpose. This was for an agrarian cause; and so intimidated are the sufferers, that although it is supposed they know perfectly well the perpetrators of the outrage, they refrain from giving evidence." —*Sir Charles O'Donnell's Memoir*, June 15, 1846; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 303. With truth did the Duke

appalling a kind as caused the bill to pass the Lords with scarcely any opposition. It empowered the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim any county or barony in which murder or attempt to murder had been committed, as falling under the restrictions of the Act. By this Act all persons within the proclaimed district were forbidden, under pain of the penalties of misdemeanor, to leave their houses between sunrise and sunset, and the Government was authorized to station an additional constabulary force at the expense of the disturbed district. The bill also authorized the Lord-Lieutenant to award a reasonable compensation to the family or representatives of a murdered person. It was stated that the vast majority of the outrages were directed against individuals on account of private vengeance or hopes of intimidation, and that they were mainly owing to the infernal system of secret societies. Sir R. Peel said, with truth, that these societies had gone such a length "that there are many parts of Ireland in which no man's life is safe, *except indeed the life of an assassin.*"* So evident was the necessity of the measure, that it met with no resistance, but, on the contrary, the most cordial support, from the Opposition in the House of Peers. Lord Lansdowne "could not think of offering any opposition to a measure so imperatively called for at the present moment. He hoped it would be followed up by measures of permanent amelioration;" while Lord Brougham thought "the case was so urgent that the bill should be passed with the least possible delay." It passed

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxxvii. 953, 957; Ann. Reg. 1846, 124, 126. ed the Lords, accordingly, without a division, its duration being merely restricted to 1st October, 1849, instead of five years, as originally proposed.¹

The fate of the bill, however, was widely different in the Lower House, where the vehement strife produced by the forcing through of the Corn-Law repeal had produced an ulcerated feeling in the minds of the Protectionists, which predisposed them to go into any coalition, how adverse soever to their principles, which might afford them an opportunity of manifesting their spleen against the Government. It was no easy matter, however, either for them or the Whigs, to form an alliance with any show even of decency to oppose the measure, for both were pledged as deep as men could be to support it. The Conservatives had been the first to introduce coercion bills into Ireland, and one of the most efficient of them had been brought in by Sir R. Peel when Secretary for Ireland, and carried through by the whole strength of the Tory party then in power. Lord Grey had followed this example in 1834, and introduced a coercion bill attended with the most surprising good effects, in which he ³ Ante, c. xxxi. §§ 31, obtained the cordial support of the 44. Conservative opposition.² More late-

of Wellington say, when indorsing this report, with many similar facts, to Sir R. Peel: "I am aware that the facts therein reported could not be prevented by the Assassination Bill; but they tend to show the state of society in Ireland, which is, in fact, worse than it is in any of the wildest parts of Asia, Africa, or America."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON to SIR R. PEELE, June 21, 1846; *Peel's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 302.

* SIR R. PEELE to DUKE OF WELLINGTON, June 23, 1846; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 306.

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ly, Lord Morpeth had, in 1835, introduced a modified coercion bill, which also, whenever it was put in force, had produced the effect of stopping the progress of agrarian outrage. Now, however, these two opposite parties, animated by a common hatred of the Ministry, resolved to form a coalition to throw out the bill, the one in punishment of what they regarded as past treachery, the other in the hope of future accession to power. When these were the motives which led to this coalition, it is of little consequence what arguments were adduced either in support of or against the bill, for on both sides the speakers for a long time carried to perfection the maxim of Talleyrand, that the principal object of language is to conceal the thought.

The bill was introduced into the Lower House by Sir James Graham on the 72. 3d March, and from the very first experienced the most determined opposition. Leave was given to bring the bill. March 8. it in by a majority of 39, it being understood that no serious resistance was to be made till the second reading. The whole Catholic party, of course, denounced the bill from the first as uncalled for and tyrannical in the highest degree; and the debate was carried on with such acrimony, that, after repeated adjournments, it was only brought to a first reading on May 1. 1st May, when it was carried by 149, the numbers being 274 to 125. The second reading stood for the 25th May, but, from the pressure of the Corn-Law debate, it May 26. was successively adjourned till the 9th of June, when it came on, and after repeated debates was brought to a close on the 25th. During the course of the protracted debate, it became very evident that a coalition of parties to eject the Ministry had taken place, and as the end approached the real feelings of the opposite sides oozed out, notwithstanding every effort to conceal them, and the discussion was far more on the repeal of the Corn-Laws than on the Irish Coercion Bill. A brief summary of the arguments formally adduced, however, is necessary, in order to show on which side the preponderance really lay on this, as it had now become, momentous question.¹

On the one hand, it was argued by Sir R. Peel, Sir James Graham, and the 73. Solicitor-General: "The measure now proposed is undoubtedly a harsh Argument in support of the Bill. one, and Government makes no attempt to vindicate it, except on the grounds of absolute necessity, but that necessity is unhappily too apparent. 1st. The extent, frequency, and nature of the crimes committed, indicates a necessity for a change of the law as it stands. 2d. The whole powers of the existing law have been tried and exhausted without affording any remedy to the evils. 3d. There is every reason to hope that the present bill will prove effectual in repressing the disorders existing, and which, in some places, have attained such a deplorable height. These disorders are not universal; they are confined to particular districts; but in them they have become such as to have entirely paralyzed the arm of the law as it stands, and established, practically speaking, an entire impunity for crimes of the most atrocious description. It is not merely the number of offenses,

¹ Parl. Deb. lxxxvii. 959, 1018; Ann. Reg. 1846, 134, 137.

but the paucity of convictions, which is the alarming circumstance; but this disproportion has now risen to such a height in the disturbed counties as absolutely to call for the interposition of the Legislature.

“The agrarian outrages are chiefly met with in five counties, viz. — Tipperary, 74. Continued. Clare, Roscommon, Limerick, and Leitrim. The population of those five counties, according to the last census, was 1,412,000 souls, while that of all Ireland* is 8,175,124. Nevertheless, while the homicides in the whole country in 1845 were 92, in those five counties they were 47. The nightly firing into houses in those counties were seven-tenths of those in the whole country—proportions far beyond what the respective numbers of the inhabitants could warrant. Thus, when crime has so much increased in those counties, has the vigor of the criminal law and the conviction of offenders kept pace with the increase in crime? Quite the reverse: the ratio of convictions has come to be in the inverse ratio of the crimes. In these five counties, in 1845, the number of indictable offenses was 1188, while the convictions were only 54! In Roscommon, within the last five months, no less than 888 indictable offenses had been committed, and 8 convictions only obtained! If a special commission were now sent down to that county, what would be the result? Why, that nineteen-twentieths of the prisoners would walk away from the bar—a triumph to the malefactors—a reproach to the innocent sufferers under their crimes! Not less than 1100 or 1200 families in that county alone are living in daily dread of assassination; they know their enemies; they are aware from where they may expect outrages, but they dare not give information for fear of precipitating their fate. It may be safely affirmed that there is no other country in the civilized world where such a state of things would be suffered to exist.

“In former times similar local outrages have 75. Continued. risen to great height in various places; but they were uniformly and effectually repressed by coercion bills similar to the present. Every one knows the immediate and signal success with which Earl Grey's coercion bill in 1833 was attended, which in four months reduced the number of serious agrarian offenses to one-fourth of their former amount; and the same may be said of the next coercion bill, which was found to be indispensable after the expiry of the first, and was brought in by Lord Morpeth. In 1835 all crimes of an insurrectionary character had ceased; but those of an agrarian kind had multiplied to such a degree, that in that year they amounted to the enormous number of 10,229.* No sooner, however, was Lord Morpeth's coercion bill passed than the number began to decline, and when that Act expired in 1840 they were only 4069. With the expiry of the Act, however, they again increased, until in 1845

* AGRARIAN CRIMES IN IRELAND.			
Coercion Act passed.		Coercion Bill not renewed.	
1835.....	10,229	1841.....	5,370
1836.....	8,067	1842.....	6,535
1837.....	6,760	1843.....	5,870
1838.....	4,945	1844.....	6,827
1839.....	4,626	1845.....	8,095
1840.....	4,069		
Act expired.		—Parl. Deb., lxxxvii. 1015.	

they had reached 8095. It is impossible to resist the conclusion from these facts, that, however adverse to British ideas of mild administration, such rude methods of coercion are indispensable in the lawless and savage state which unhappily prevails in some parts of Ireland. And accordingly, though universal in its power, the bill is intended to be only partial in its operation, and to be enforced only in those counties where the extreme prevalence of crime calls upon the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim the Act. And experience warrants the hope that the knowledge that the Executive is armed with these extraordinary powers will have the effect of itself arresting the disorders, without the necessity of actually putting them in execution. 1. Parl. Deb. lxxxvii. 1015; Ann. Reg. 1846, 142.

“If present appearances are looked to, the prospect is still more alarming, and ample proof of its necessity has been 76. Continued. furnished since the Act was introduced into the Upper House five months ago. The gentlemen opposite always refer to the total commitments for crime over all Ireland, and because from the general prosperity which prevails, and the vast extension of the demand for labor which the construction of railways in Great Britain has afforded, there has been, on the whole, no increase, perhaps rather a decrease, of crime, they immediately arrive at the conclusion that the measure now proposed is unnecessary. But that is a most erroneous view of the case. The disease is local; at present it is confined to five counties; but there are no causes in operation there which do not exist in the rest of Ireland, and the malady is so fearful where it has appeared, that there is no saying how soon, if unchecked, it may spread over the whole country. In the first five months of this year (1846) as compared with the corresponding months of 1845, there is a great increase in those five counties; and the total of serious outrages in those five counties in the first five months of 1846 is no less than 2098.* If the same proportion should go on during the whole year, there will be a total of agrarian outrages in this year of 8013 against 2026 last year. The evil, therefore, though local, is fearful and rapidly increasing, and it behooves Parliament instantly to step in and apply that remedy which in former times has been found to be so efficacious.” 2. Parl. Deb. lxxxvii. 426; Speech of Sir R. Peel.

On the other hand, it was answered by Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli, Lord George Ben-

* GRAVE AGRARIAN OFFENSES IN TIPPERARY, CLARE, ROSCOMMON, LIMERICK, AND LEITRIM.

	First Five Months of 1845.	First Five Months of 1846.
Homicides.....	20	28
Firing at person.....	40	41
Serious assaults.....	85	121
Assaults to danger of life....	41	63
Firing into houses.....	46	68

INSURRECTIONARY OFFENSES IN SAME COUNTIES.

	Whole of 1845.	First Five Months of 1846.
In Tipperary.....	814	368
In Limerick.....	282	248
In Clare.....	971	189
In Roscommon.....	659	471
In Leitrim.....	804	164

In whole year..... 2830 5 m'ths, 1440 —Parl. Deb., lxxxvii. 423, 427.

tinck, and Mr. O'Connell, who, strange to say, stood side by side on this occasion:

77. Answer of the Coalition against the bill. "Without disputing the existence of crime and outrage in some parts of Ireland, the real question before the House is, whether this bill is calculated to afford a remedy for them. If it was so, it would be entitled to the hearty support of the House. But if the real state of Ireland is looked to, it will be seen that a coercion act is indeed required for Ireland; but it is not one to restrain the peasantry from committing crime, but one to compel the landlords to do their duty. Government have the power in their hands, and if they would only take a manly tone, and adopt a temperate and dignified estimate of human nature with respect to Ireland, they might wave the wand that would turn her misery and poverty into prosperity and happiness. The disorders which are put forward as the justification of this coercive measure originate in the nature of the land tenure, and the anomalous relation between the landlord and tenant. There is in Ireland what is called the 'starving season,' which is about six weeks before the new harvest, and if during that period the growing crops are distrained, the laborers are deprived of their means of subsistence. They are prevented from digging; if their wives or children come out in the evening to take a few potatoes they are driven to jail, the husbands are driven to madness. Can it be wondered at that such a state of things is a fruitful source of crime—of crime, too, which did not exist in Ireland before the Union, but which is distinctly traceable to the exorbitant and unjust privileges conferred on Irish landlords by the English Parliament? These causes of evil this coercion bill will not remove. Similar bills have been tried in Ireland *seventeen times*, and they have always failed and left the country worse than it was before.

78. Continued. "The real remedies for Ireland are to be found, not in a coercion bill, but in the removal of the causes which have produced the disorders. These measures consist in an adjustment of the tenure of land, so as to secure the tenant an equitable compensation for his improvements, a modification of the whole ejectment bill to check the wholesale clearance system, the extension to all Ireland of the local Tenant-Right in Ulster, a modification of the Grand Jury Law, an increased Reform in Parliament, adequate Corporation Reform, and a better distribution of Church property. Uniformly it has been found that the number of murders in Ireland is in proportion to the number of ejectments; and when it is recollected that 7,000,000 out of the 8,200,000 persons in Ireland live by agriculture, it may well be conceived what unbounded misery these wholesale ejectments occasion. It appears from the report of the Land Commission that from 1839 to 1848 no less than 150,000 persons had been subjected to the ejectment process. Imagination can not figure the suffering which these ejections have occasioned. The serious crimes all originate in them; political feeling has nothing to do with them. They will never be eradicated, or even permanently checked, till the causes which have produced them are removed.

"The House of Commons has done too much for the Irish landlords, and too little for the tenants. The old English statutes in favor of landlords had not been re-
79. Continued. enacted in Ireland under its old Legislature; but by the 56 Geo. III., c. 88, passed after the Union, these powers were at once transferred to them. This statute, for the first time, gave them the power of distraining growing crops, keeping them till ripe, and selling them when ready for the sickle, charging upon the unhappy tenant all the intermediate expenses. There never was a more fertile source of murder and outrage than those powers. This was followed by the 58 Geo. III., c. 89, conferring upon the landlord the power of ejecting the tenant thus ruined from his holding, the sole means of subsistence he had upon earth. The 1 Geo. IV., c. 41, still farther extended the powers of civil-bill ejectments; and the 1 Geo. IV., c. 88, enabled them, in ejectments, to compel the tenant to find security for expense. Finally, the 1 and 2 William IV., c. 31, gave the landlord the right of immediate execution in ejectments, which still farther facilitated these ejectments. All enactments are in favor of the landlords; and it is in them, joined to the refusal to recognize the tenant's right to compensation for improvements, that the real sources of the outrages so much complained of in the south of Ireland are to be found. Accordingly, in Ulster, where this right is partially recognized, these outrages are, comparatively speaking, unknown. Remove these causes of evil, and violent crime will speedily die out of itself; continue them, and twenty coercion bills will never eradicate it.*

"The statistics so much relied on, on the other side, in reality prove nothing
80. bearing on the present question. Concluded. They demonstrate, indeed, in five counties an increase of predial outrages; but they by no means establish the necessity for any general measure of coercion, such as is now brought forward. On the contrary, so far as they prove any thing they do directly the reverse. From May to July, 1845, the amount of predial crime over all Ireland was considerably greater than from September to December.† In the first five months of 1845 the violent crimes amounted to 786; in the first five months of the present year they were only 554. The very crimes which this bill was intended to arrest have exhibited a falling off: in the first five months of last year they were 1701; in the corresponding five of this year they were 1356, exhibiting a diminution of 25 per cent. in less than the first half of this year. Is this a state of things which warrants a measure of surpassing severity to last for a course of years? When the Ministers introduced it in the
Parl. Deb. House of Lords, in February last, lxxxiv. they described it as a temporary 178, 179—measure to meet a temporary emer- lxxxv. 524, gency;‡ and now, after the expira- 527.

* The two last paragraphs are from Mr. O'Connell's able and instructive argument.—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxv. 524, 526.

† PREDIAL OFFENSES IN IRELAND.

May, 1845	828	November, 1845	667
June, "	896	December, "	603
July, "	708		

tion of five months, they still press it forward after the emergency has passed away."¹*

During the progress of this important debate, which dragged its weary length along by repeated adjournments in the House of Commons, Ministers had frequent consultations as to the course which they should pursue in the event of the bill being rejected, which every day appeared to be more probable. The coalition between the Whigs, Radicals, and extreme Protectionists, to throw out the bill, and overturn the Ministry, had become evident, and it was more than doubtful whether all the influence of Government, and the popularity of its chief, would be able to withstand it. The Free-traders, with Mr. Cobden at their head, voted against him, in return for his adoption of their principles; that gentleman, at the same time, "tendering him his heartfelt thanks for the unwearied perseverance, the unswerving firmness, and the great ability with which he had, during the last six months, conducted through the House of Commons one of the most magnificent reforms ever carried through in any country." Lord George Bentinck and the Marquis of Granby, the representatives of the ducal houses of Portland and Rutland, led the band of Protectionists, eighty in number, who voted against the Ministry; Lord Chandos headed a body of one hundred who voted with them. Intense interest was felt in the House and the galleries, as the division took place, and the opponents of the measure filed off, for the Conservative party was entirely broken up, and no one could predict, with any thing like certainty, how the division would turn out. The result, however, was more decisive than the most sanguine of the coalition could have anticipated, for there appeared 219 for Ministers, and 292 against them, leaving them in a minority of SEVENTY-THREE. By a singular coincidence, two hours before this decisive vote took place in the House of Commons, the Lords had passed the Corn-Law Repeal Bill; so that Sir R. Peel's greatest triumph and his fall occurred on the same night, and within a few hours of each other.[†]

Great and unexpected as this majority was, it was rendered still more decisive and galling to Sir R. Peel by the character of the men of whom it was composed. The scene has been thus recounted by the hand of a master, himself one of the principal actors in the mighty drama which was now performed. "It was not their numbers merely," says Mr. Disraeli, "that at-

tracted the anxious observation of the Treasury Bench, as the Protectionists passed in defile before the Minister to the hostile lobby. It was impossible that he could have marked them without emotion; the flower of that great party, which had been so proud to follow one who had been so proud to lead them. They were men to gain whose hearts, and the hearts of their fathers, had been the aim and exultation of his life. They had extended to him an unlimited confidence, and an admiration without stint. They had stood by him in the darkest hour, and had borne him from the depths of political despair to the proudest of living positions. Right or wrong, they were men of honor, breeding, and refinement, high and generous character, great weight and station in the country, which they had forever placed at his disposal. They had not only been his followers, but his friends; had joined in the same pastimes, drank from the same cup, and in the pleasantness of private life had often forgotten together the cares and strife of politics. He must have felt something of this while the Mannesers, the Somersets, the Bentincks, the Lowthers, and the Lennoxes passed before him. And these were 'the gentlemen of England,' of whom, but five years ago, the very same building was ringing with his pride of being the leader."¹

¹ Disraeli's Life of Lord George Bentinck, 299.

Two courses, and two only, were open to Sir R. Peel after this defeat. The first was, to dissolve Parliament, and try the fortune of a new election; the second, to resign office. The first course promised no advantages; on the contrary, a certain accumulation of evils. It was impossible to expect that a Conservative majority could be obtained equal to that which brought him into power in 1841; on the contrary, it was certain it would be very much diminished. A great many of the English county constituencies would turn against one who they thought had betrayed them; all the Irish, which returned Liberal members, would unite against a Minister who threatened them with a coercion bill. Lavish in their praises of him for having adopted their principles, the Free-traders would be the first to vote against him if he retained office; the Whigs had cordially coalesced with the Protectionists to throw him out, and bring themselves in. Influenced by these considerations, Sir R. Peel, with the entire concurrence of the Duke of Wellington, wisely resolved to retire; and on the 29th June these two illustrious men announced, in the Lords and Commons respectively, that they held office only till their successors were appointed. It was the LAST TIME either addressed the House as the leaders of the Government.²*

² Ann. Reg. 1846, 152; Sir R. Peel's Cabinet Memorandum, June 21, 1846; Mem. ii. 288, 292.

* The last paragraph is from Lord George Bentinck's speech.—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxiv. 178, 179.

† "Two hours after the intelligence arrived that the Lords had passed the Corn and Custom Bills, we were ejected from power; and by another coincidence as marvellous, on the day on which I had to announce, in the House of Commons, the dissolution of the Government, the news arrived that we had settled the Oregon question, and that our proposals had been accepted by the United States without the alteration of a word. . . . Lady Peel and I are here quite alone, in the loveliest weather, feasting on solitude and repose; and I have every disposition to forgive my enemies for having conferred upon me the blessing of the loss of power."—Sir R. PEEL to LORD HARDINGHAM, Drayton Manor, July 4, 1846; *Peel's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 810.

* "In my opinion, the loss of the Irish bill, by whatever means, recommended as that bill was by the Speech from the Throne, declared to be absolutely necessary by the Queen's Ministers, sanctioned almost with unanimity by the House of Lords—the loss of the Irish bill will make the administration of Government in Ireland impossible, because discreditable, by the present executive. There is an Irish party, a determined and not insignificant one, in whom British indignation has no terrors. Their wish is to disgust England with Irish objects and Irish members, and to induce England, through sheer disgust, and the sense of public inconvenience, from the

"In proposing the measures of commercial policy," said Sir R. Peel, "which
 84. Sir R. Peel's have disintitiled them to the confi-
 concluding dence of those who have hitherto
 address. given them their support, Govern-
 ment had no other desire but to promote the
 good of the country. Our object was to avert
 dangers which we thought were imminent, and
 to avoid a conflict which we believed would place
 in hostile collision great and powerful classes in
 this country. The love of power was not their
 motive; for I was well aware that, whether ac-
 companied by failure or success, one event must
 necessarily occur, and that was the termination
 of the existence of the Government. I admit
 that the withdrawal of the confidence of many
 of our friends was the natural consequence of
 the measures we proposed; and I do think,
 when measures of that kind are proposed, at
 variance with the course heretofore proposed by
 Ministers, the natural consequence is an expul-
 sion from office. I therefore do not complain
 of it; any thing is preferable to attempting to
 maintain ourselves in office without the confi-
 dence of this House. There has been a combi-
 nation which, together with the influence of
 Government, has carried through these meas-
 ures. But there is a name which ought to be
 associated with their success; but it is neither
 the name of the noble lord opposite (Lord J.
 Russell), nor is it mine. Sir, the name which
 ought to be, and which will be, associated with
 the success of those measures, is the name of a
 man who, acting, I believe, from pure and dis-
 interested motives, has advocated their cause
 with untiring energy, and by appeals to reason,
 enforced by an eloquence the more to be ad-
 mired that it was unaffected and unadorned—
 the name that ought to be, and will be associa-
 ted with them, is that of Richard Cobden.

"I shall now close the address which it has
 been my duty to make, thanking the
 85. House sincerely for the favor with
 Concluded. which they have listened to this my
 last address in my official capacity. Within a
 few hours the power I have held for five years
 will have passed into the hands of another. I
 say it without repining, and with a more live-
 ly recollection of the support I have received
 than the opposition I have encountered. I
 shall, I fear, leave office with a name severely
 censured by many honorable men, who, on pub-
 lic principle, deeply lament the severance of
 party ties, not from any selfish or interested mo-
 tive, but because they believe fidelity to party,
 and the existence of great parties, to be power-
 ful instruments of good government. I shall
 surrender power severely censured by many
 honorable men, who, from no interested mo-
 tives, have adhered to the principles of Protec-
 tion, because they looked upon them as import-
 ant to the welfare and interests of the country.

obstructions offered to all other business in Parliament,
 to listen to the repeal of the legislative union, for the
 purpose of purging the House of a set of troublesome and
 factious members, who equally obstruct legislation for
 Ireland and Great Britain. In presence of such a party,
 the loss of the bill will be a signal triumph over the Ex-
 ecutive, not merely of the Repealers, but of the disturbers
 of the public peace, and promoters of assassination
 throughout Ireland. I think, therefore, we ought not to
 submit to the rejection or the defeat by other means than
 rejection of the Irish bill"—Sir R. Peel's *Cabinet Mem-*
orandum, June 21, 1846.—*Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 291, 292.

I shall leave a name execrated by every monopol-
 ist who, professing honorable opinions, would
 maintain protection for his own individual ben-
 efit. But it may be that I shall be sometimes
 remembered with good-will in those places which
 are the abodes of men whose lot it is to labor
 and earn their daily bread by the sweat of their
 brow; in such places, perhaps, my name may
 be remembered with expressions of
 good-will, when those who inhabit
 them recruit their exhausted strength
 with abundant and untaxed food,
 the sweeter because no longer leav-
 ened with a sense of injustice."¹

These were manly words and noble senti-
 ments, bearing the signet-mark of
 earnestness and sincerity, and worthy
 of a great minister taking for the last
 time the leave of the government of a
 great people. Yet must the truth of
 history take something from the brilliancy of
 the picture, and present the measures which he
 introduced, and which occasioned his fall, not
 in the impassioned words of earnest oratory, but
 in the sober guise of experienced truth. Such
 a survey will take nothing from the estimate
 which justice must ever form of the sincerity of
 the motives and the disinterestedness of the
 feelings by which the course was actuated, but
 add much to the difficulties with which its ex-
 pedience is surrounded.

From what has been said, it is evident that
 the question, whether the permanent
 repeal of the Corn-Laws, when car-
 ried through by Sir R. Peel in 1846,
 was or was not justifiable *on the rea-*
sons which he assigned, depends en-
 tirely on the point, whether or not it
 was possible, after a temporary sus-
 pension of those laws, to have reverted to them
 when the danger had blown over. There may
 be difference of opinion on the question whether
 the potato rot in 1845-'46 was so formidable in
 Ireland as to have rendered necessary the tem-
 porary suspension of the import duties; but
 there can be none whatever, that in the suc-
 ceeding year the evil had extended to such a
 degree, and acquired such dimensions, as ren-
 dered an entire suspension of all import duties,
 at least for the time, indispensable. The real
 question, therefore, is, whether this tempora-
 ry suspension rendered a lasting repeal una-
 voidable? Sir R. Peel maintains it did, be-
 cause, he says, the nation having once tasted of
 the blessings of free trade in grain, would nev-
 er go back to Protection; though he admitted
 there was no cry for repeal then among the
 working classes, and an entire want of excite-
 ment on the subject among them. There does
 not appear to be any ground for this opinion.
 The sliding-scale had repeatedly, during the
 last fifteen years, reduced the import duties to
 1s., especially in 1841, when wheat was at 80s.;
 but no difficulty whatever had been experienced
 in enforcing the enhanced duties when prices
 fell. In former times, temporary suspensions
 of the Corn-Laws, to meet temporary scarcities,
 had repeatedly taken place, and on their termina-
 tion no difficulty had been felt in reverting to
 the protective duties.* This reason, therefore,

* "In December, 1756, Parliament met, and passed an

put forward by the Premier for making the change permanent, in consequence of a passing calamity, was obviously ill founded. Whether or not the alteration had become unavoidable from a different cause—viz., the growing preponderance in the Legislature, as framed by the Reform Bill, of the commercial interests over the agricultural—is a very different question, open to much more variety of opinion, but which, however strongly felt in secret, was not in public put forward as a justification of the lasting change.

In truth, long before the Corn-Law Repeal

Bill had passed into a law, not only 89. The danger of scarcity was the necessity of any change after the lapse of years, so far as it had passed away before the bill was brought forward.

scarcity, passed away, but the terrors even of immediate want were found to have been extremely exaggerated. So early as 13th January, before the bill was introduced into Parliament, the Duke of Wellington had called Sir R. Peel's attention to the important fact that the price of potatoes in Ireland at that period *was only 6d. a cwt. dearer than the average of the eight preceding years*—a state of things inconsistent, not merely with famine, but even serious scarcity.* Dr. Lyon Playfair, and the Commissioners sent over to inquire into the subject in November preceding, had reported that half the crop had perished; but though this was the case in some districts, it was far from being so generally. Wheat fell in January from 60s., which it had reached at the height of the panic, to 55s.; and the judicious measures adopted by Government for the introduction of Indian corn produced so abundant a supply, that even in June following, always the most trying time in Ireland, the local authorities reported "that there is still abundance of provisions in the country; the markets, considering all things, are well supplied and reasonable; and the forethought and wise measures of Government with regard to the Indian meal are daily producing their desired effects. The coming crops look favorably,

1 Colonel O'Donnell to the Military Secretary, Dublin, June 15, 1846; Peel's Memoirs, ii. 304.

and promise more than an average harvest. A continuance of this system of relief for the next six weeks or two months will ward off the distress, famine, and destitution at one time so much apprehended."† It is evident, therefore, that the apprehensions entertained of a general

Act discontinuing, for a limited period, the importation duties. In 1767 wheat was at 57s. 4d., and the first act of the session was one allowing the importation of wheat and wheat-flour, oats and oatmeal, rye and rye-meal, into this kingdom, for a limited period, free of duty. At those periods importation was prohibited when wheat was below 57s. 4d., and from that to 80s. it was admissible at a duty of 8s. In 1791 a change in the import duties took place, and in 1793 an Act passed permitting the importation of wheat and flour at the low duties. In 1795 an Act was passed permitting, for a limited time, the importation of corn free of duty; and the same was done in 1799, the price being then 69s.—Sir R. Peel's *Cabinet Memorandum*, Nov. 29, 1846; *Memoirs*, ii. 189, 190.

* "In eight years, from 1838 to 1846, the price of potatoes in Dublin markets has varied from 3s. to 4s. per cwt.; the average prices for eight years being 3s. 6½d. per cwt. The price at Christmas, 1845, was 4s. the cwt., not quite 6d. the cwt. above the average price for the eight years from 1838. This is worthy of attention."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON to Sir R. PEEL, Jan. 13, 1846; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 264.

scarcity, even of potatoes, had been unfounded; and the crops of oats every where had been immense. This state of things was quite consistent with very great distress, loudly calling for Government interposition in particular places; but that was not because food, on the whole, was wanting, but because, the produce of their little possessions having failed, the people had no money to buy it. The remedy for this was not a prospective and remote repeal of the Corn-Laws, but an immediate impulse to the wages of labor by Government employment, 1 Peel's Memoirs, ii. 304, 306.

If, from the reasons of immediate necessity put forward in support of the repeal of the Corn-Laws, we pass to the more durable reasons founded on the state of the public mind on the subject, and the strength of the moneyed and manufacturing interest in the

89. Durable reasons for the repeal of the Corn-Laws.

House of Commons, we shall see much stronger reasons to consider it as a measure which could not be much longer delayed by any Government. In truth, the demand for it arose from the silent change of time; and the existence of that demand was an indication that the time had arrived when nature intended it should be granted. The very riches of Great Britain, which had grown up during a century and a half of protection, had raised the wages of labor so much in it, owing to the affluence of money from all quarters of the globe, that the manufacturers felt the necessity of some lasting reduction of wages to enable them to compete with foreign artisans either in the foreign or the home market. The inhabitants of towns, whose gains had been seriously diminished by the monetary policy of Government, sighed for the comparatively cheap supplies of food enjoyed by the inhabitants of poorer foreign states. That very monetary policy, and the system of free trade introduced along with it, had been a part of the great design of *cheapening every thing*, intended to obviate the effects of the accumulation of wealth in a particular State, and the final burdens with which such accumulation is invariably, after a time, attended. To these consuming classes, whose interests were directly adverse to those of the producing, the Reform Bill chiefly, by the destruction of the nomination boroughs, the seat of the latter's representation, had given a decided majority in the Legislature. That very legislative preponderance was the result of the superior wealth, energy, and political organization which had given them the victory in the Reform contest. The weight now acquired by the Anti-Corn-Law League was another instance of the same preponderance. Situated as he was in 1846, therefore, Sir R. Peel was right in his belief that the repeal of the Corn-Laws ere long was unavoidable; for nearly all his urban supporters, who constituted his

* "In many places, in the interval between seed-time and hay-harvest, a more than ordinary distress is felt by the cotters, especially in remote districts. In many places the want has been already anticipated, and met by the management of relief committees in donations, and the employment of the poor at public works. Where such arrangements have been made, crime has decreased, and the relief and advantages to the poor have been incalculable."—Col. O'DONNELL to Military Secretary, Dublin, June 15, 1846; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 305.

majority, were enlisted on its side. Whether he should have done it, recollecting his former professions, and what interest he was placed in power to support, is a very different question, on which probably the opinion of posterity will be as unanimous on the other side.

But be this as it may, one thing is perfectly clear, and that is, that it was any thing but general free trade which Sir R. Peel introduced on this occasion; it was, on the contrary, a *retention of protection to the manufacturer, and a withdrawal of it from the farmer*. Wheat, after February 1849, was to be admitted at the nominal duty of 1s. a quarter, which, supposing wheat on an average to be at 50s., was a *fiftieth* part. But the protection retained for manufactured goods at the same time was not a fiftieth, but from a *tenth to a fifteenth* part, which was equivalent to what from 5s. to 7s. 6d. would have been on wheat. This is a most important distinction, which, in the heat of the controversy, has been well-nigh forgotten by the Protectionists, and has been studiously kept out of view by the Free-traders. It was, however, forcibly brought under Sir R. Peel's notice by Mr. Goulburn when the Corn-Law repeal was first brought before the Cabinet.* Comfortably sheltered under protection, the manufacturers beheld with satisfaction, and greeted with applause, a policy which, for their benefit, as they thought, took it away entirely from the agriculturist. One would have supposed from this that the latter class had facilities for production, and peculiar advantages in competition with foreign states, which the former did not enjoy; whereas the fact was just the reverse. There is no steam-engine in the fields; coal and iron, all-powerful in manufacturing, are comparatively impotent in rural labor. We have heard much of the English manufacturers underselling those of Hindostan in cotton goods, but no one ever heard of English

farmers underselling those of Poland, Moldavia, or America in the produce of the fields. The removal of protection from agriculture, therefore, and retention of it to manufactures, was not free trade; it was a simple act of injustice to the former of these interests. It does not by any means follow from this that, situated as the country, and constituted as the House of Commons was at this crisis, it was not a matter of necessity to adopt this policy. But it does follow that we may rest assured that any interest in the country which, though neither the greatest nor the most powerful, has got the command of the Legislature, will force through measures which it deems for its own peculiar benefit, without the slightest regard to their effects upon the interests of the other classes of the community, or even, in the end, of their own.

Another circumstance, which is worthy of particular notice in this great debate, is the part which the Irish popular and Roman Catholic members took regarding it. Being entirely an agricultural country, in which seven-eighths of the inhabitants, and nine-tenths of the wealth, was obtained from rural labor, it is evident that its interests clearly were to support protection to agriculture. Manchester or Glasgow might have much to say on behalf of free trade in grain, because to them it promised to lessen the cost of living and of production; but what had Clare or Roscommon to say to it, whose produce was liable by it to be ruined by foreign competition? Accordingly, it stands proved by incontrovertible evidence that within four years of the introduction of free trade the produce of Ireland in wheat alone had declined by 1,500,000 quarters,* and that the grain of all kinds imported from that country into Great Britain had declined from 3,251,000 quarters to 1,426,397. Nothing is more certain, therefore, than that, whatever it was to England and Scotland, free trade in grain was ruinous to Ireland; and it will immediately appear that the prodigious emigration which has, since it was introduced, banished above 2,000,000 Irish from the Emerald Isle, has been mainly owing to the cutting off of this the best market for their produce. Yet the change, fraught with such disastrous effects to Ireland, which were thoroughly foreseen and predicted at the time, was supported by the whole Roman Catholic party in the House of Commons, themselves for the most part representing Irish counties. Not a whisper escaped

* "From the immense amount of our debt, and charges imposed on every interest in the country, in respect of it, every manufacturer in this country has in justice a claim to be protected, as regards the supply of the home consumer against the competition of a foreigner, who, not having the same charges upon him, is, or ought to be, able to supply articles at a cheaper rate. On this principle you give cotton and linen manufacturers a protection of from 10 to 20 per cent.; and to this extent, and on the same ground, I see no reason why corn should not be protected. Nay, has not corn, on the same principle, a *strong title to extra protection*, on account of the mode in which both the raw material and the manufactured article are both subject to duty? It appears from the *Report on Local Taxation* (p. 27) that local rates amount, on the whole of England and Wales, to 2s. 8d. in the pound of all real property. But while 2s. 8d. is the general rate on real property of every description, including houses, it will be found that in agricultural districts the rate in the pound is much greater. On an average, the rent of land is not above 20s. an acre; therefore 2s. 8d. on the raw material is 13 per cent. Relieve him from this charge, and freedom of import would be less important."—Mr. GOULBURN'S Memorandum to Sir R. PEEL, November 30, 1846; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 205. It is a curious circumstance, that while he saw so clearly, and has so well expressed, the peculiar reason for protection to British agriculture which arises from the peculiar fiscal burdens to which it is subjected, from which the manufacturers are exempted, he made no mention of the *far stronger* claims for protection, arising from the high money-wages of labor in Britain, owing to the riches of the country and affluence of money, and the impossibility of capital and machinery obviating this inequality in agricultural as it can so successfully do in manufacturing industry.

* EXPORTS OF GRAIN FROM IRELAND.

Year.	Quarters—Of which, Wheat—Oats and Oatmeal.	Qrs.	Qrs.
1845.....	3,251,901	779,113	2,352,985
1846.....	1,841,302	393,462	1,311,591
1847.....	963,779	184,222	708,462
1848.....	1,946,417	304,872	1,546,568
1849.....	1,426,397	233,445	1,122,067

—PORTER, p. 345.

From Captain Larcom's Report for 1849, it appears the production of wheat since 1845 had declined 1,500,000 quarters in Ireland. Since prices rose after 1852 there has been a corresponding increase. The potato famine had nothing to do with this decline in cereal crops, for they were not at all affected by the disease which was so fatal to the former; and as prices rose from this cause, the only effect of the failure of the potato crops and general rise of prices should have been a great increase of cereal crops, and in particular of wheat. And the harvest of 1847 was so fine that, at Lord John Russell's suggestion, a general thanksgiving was returned for it.

their constituents; not a qualm of remorse came over themselves for such suicidal conduct. The names of Daniel O'Connell, his sons, and followers, are to be seen in the majority in all the Corn-Law discussions.* It belongs to the biographers or friends of the leaders of that party to justify, if they can, such extraordinary conduct, which was obviously dictated by hatred of England, not love of Ireland, and revealed too clearly a secret foreign influence. Observe, they supported the absolute and lasting repeal, not a temporary suspension to meet a temporary calamity. To the historian it affords a melancholy example of the truth that representative institutions afford no security whatever for good government, unless the constituents, as well as the representatives, are animated by a patriotic spirit, and alive to the real interests of their country, and that, under other circumstances, or when influenced by a foreign or sacerdotal influence, it may become one of the greatest evils which can afflict society.

If the conduct of the followers in Ireland of the Free-trade party is calculated to excite surprise, that of the leaders of the Protectionist in Great Britain appears, at first sight, to be hardly less so. The Duke of Wellington was clearly and strongly opposed to the repeal of the Corn-Laws, and was the leader of the party in the Cabinet which, by refusing to accede to it, obliged Sir R. Peel to resign in December, 1845.† The Duke of Buccleuch was the same.‡ Yet both these noblemen shortly after resumed office after Lord Stanley had seceded from it, on the understanding that the entire repeal of the Corn-Laws was to be made a Cabinet question; and the former said emphatically in the House of Peers, that he was delighted with the Premier's resuming office on these conditions, and that he should, in his place, have done just the same.§ This conduct

* See in particular the divisions on the Corn-Laws.—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxvi. 89, 721, and lxxxiv. 351.

† "I am one of those who think the continuance of the Corn-Laws essential to the agriculture of the country in its existing state, and a benefit to the whole community.

"I am afraid that it would soon be found that this country would cease to be sought after as the desirable market of the world, if the interests of agriculture should be injured by a premature repeal of the Corn-Laws. It appears to me, likewise, that this country is in a better situation than any other to bear the shock arising from the potato disease, and this even in Ireland. The evil in Ireland is not a deficiency of food for the year, or even of the particular description of food, potatoes, but the great and supposed general deficiency of that spread of food operating upon the social condition of Ireland, the habits of the great body of the people, who are producers of the food which they consume during three-fourths of the year in general, and who must consequently be in a state of destitution, and who have not the pecuniary, and if they had the pecuniary means, are not in the habit of purchasing their food in the market."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S Memorandum, Nov. 30, 1845; *Peel's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 198, 199.

‡ "Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch, after anxious reflection, each declared his inability to support a measure involving the ultimate repeal of the Corn-Laws."—*Peel's Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 221.

§ "I was of opinion that the formation of a Government in which her Majesty would have confidence was of much greater importance than the opinions of any individual on the Corn-Laws or on any other laws. My Lords, I received a letter from my right hon. friend, desiring me to attend a Cabinet Council that evening (Dec. 20), which I did. I applauded the conduct of my right hon. friend: I was delighted with it. It was exactly the course which I should have followed myself under

appears to be very inconsistent with previous and strongly expressed opinions; but it is easily explained if the leading feature in the Duke of Wellington's character is considered—that is, fidelity to his Sovereign in difficulty. This duty the old soldier deemed paramount to every other; and situated as the Queen was, after Lord Stanley had declared his inability to form a Cabinet on Protection principles, and Lord J. Russell had failed in making one of the Whigs, he held that he was bound to support her even at the hazard of his own consistency. He thought the support of Sir R. Peel's government of more importance than the maintenance of any consistency, the adherence to any preconceived opinions; and he saw no way of doing this but by going into his views on the Corn-Laws. The Duke of Buccleuch appears, in resuming office with Wellington, to have been actuated by the same views. We may lament that circumstances should have occurred which rendered such a deviation from principle unavoidable; but every one must see that circumstances may occur when it is at once the duty of the patriot and the path of honor to do so.*

But though these circumstances, joined to peculiar habits and a military life, may 93. vindicate the Duke of Wellington This will for his sudden conversion on this not apply to subject, no similar apology can be Sir R. Peel. admitted for Sir R. Peel. *He created the necessity to which the Duke of Wellington yielded.* There was no earthly necessity for repealing the Corn-Laws prospectively in January, 1846, to take effect *three years after*, whatever there may have been to open the ports entirely by an Order in Council at the moment. The ingrafting a permanent change of policy on a temporary calamity was a gratuitous and uncalled-for measure on his part, which never should have been adopted but with the full concurrence of the party which had placed him in power. There was plenty of time to do so; he had three years to think of it and select his own opportunity for making the communication, and if not acquiesced in, resigning office without inconvenience to the Queen's service, and supporting free trade as a private individual. This is what the Duke of Wellington recommended.† Instead of doing this, he forced the whole question on at once; evidently taking advantage of the panic of the moment to drive through a change which in cooler moments he despaired of effecting. This was clearly wrong. The mere change of opinion was in itself nowise

similar circumstances, and therefore I determined, my Lords, to stand by him."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S *Speech*, Jan. 26, 1846; *Parl. Deb.*

* "My own judgment would lead me to support the Corn-Laws. Sir R. Peel may think that his position in Parliament, and in the public view, requires that the course should be taken which he recommends, and if this should be the case, I earnestly recommend that the Cabinet should support him, and I for one declare that I will do so."—WELLINGTON'S Memorandum, Nov. 30, 1845; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 200.

† "I would recommend that in the Queen's Speech the Queen should recommend a reconsideration of the Corn-Laws, with a view to a *suspension* of their provisions, if that measure should appear to be necessary; and such alterations in regard to certain articles of food as may appear to be desirable, and may not be inconsistent with the principle and object of the laws."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S Memorandum, Nov. 30, 1845; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 201.

blamable; often it is the highest indication of political sagacity, the last effort of political virtue. "*Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*" is sometimes the maxim of integrity not less than discrimination. But it is one thing to change opinions when the former appear to have been erroneous, or alter conduct when it has become expedient to do so; it is another, and a very different thing, to betray a trust reposed by a party to whose support the acquisition of power has been owing. That is somewhat akin to what Marlborough did when he made use of the Guards, at whose head he had been placed by James, to establish William on the throne, or Ney when he left Paris to take the command of the royal army at Melun, promising to bring Napoleon back in an iron cage. Had he *resigned office, and then supported free-trade principles*, the Tories might have lamented his change of opinion, but they could not have assailed his honor. But no royal solicitation or state necessity will ever, in the eyes of posterity, vindicate a general who deserts his colors on the day of battle. The defection of Sir R. Peel from the principles of the party which placed him in power, while still retaining that power, is, therefore, a dereliction of duty which honor must ever lament, and will never imitate.*

* The danger of the course on which he was adventuring was clearly explained to Sir R. Peel by Mr. Goulburn. "The more," said he, "I reflect upon the observations which you made to me a few days since as to your difficulty in again defending a Corn-Law in Parliament, the more do I feel alarmed at the consequences of your taking a different course from that which you formerly adopted. An abandonment of your former opinions would, I think, now *prejudice your and our characters as public men*, and would be fraught with fatal results to the country's best interests; and as I probably hear many opinions on a subject of this kind which do not reach you, the view which I take of probable consequences may not be undeserving of your consideration. When the public feel, as I believe they do, great doubts as to the existence of an adequate necessity, when greater doubts still are entertained as to the applicability of an abandonment of the Corn-Law as a remedy for our present distress, the people will, I fear, tax us with treachery and deception, and charge us from our former language with having always had it in contemplation. I view with still greater alarm the effects of the proposed change

But though justice must condemn Sir R. Peel's conduct in retaining office while he changed his principles, yet even here ^{94.} certain alleviating circumstances require to be taken into consideration. It was his fate to be called to direct the councils of his country at the critical time when its growth had terminated, when it had arrived at full maturity, and the causes of decline were beginning to operate. When the obstructing causes were to come into full play, was a mere question of time; no human power could permanently prevent their action any more than it could the silent change of summer into autumn. Sir R. Peel may have accelerated by a few years the adoption of free-trade principles by old and opulent England, but he did nothing more. Sooner or later they will always be embraced by a rich and aged community, in consequence of the action of the laws provided by nature to arrest the growth of aged communities. The cry "*Panem et Circenses*" has been heard in other realms than those of Imperial Rome; it is at bottom the same cry as that of cheap bread which convulsed Great Britain in these times. And without altogether exculpating the statesmen who were instrumental in giving to that cry the command of the State, it is but justice to them to recollect that the change, at least at no distant period, had been rendered necessary by general causes, and that its adoption was one of the great means provided by Nature for checking the growth of worn-out communities, and securing the extension and dispersion of mankind.

upon the public interests. In my opinion, the party of which you are the head is the only barrier against the revolutionary effects of the Reform Bill. So long as that party remains unbroken, whether in or out of power, it has the means of doing much good, at least of preventing much evil. But if it be broken in pieces by a destruction of confidence in its leaders (and I can not but think a destruction of the Corn-Laws would produce that result), I see nothing before us but the exasperation of class animosities, a struggle for pre-eminence, and the ultimate triumph of unrestrained democracy."—Mr. GOULBURN to Sir R. PEEL, Nov. 30, 1845; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 201, 208.

CHAPTER XLIII.

ENGLAND FROM THE INTRODUCTION OF FREE TRADE AND FALL OF SIR R. PEEL IN JUNE, 1842, TO THE SUPPRESSION OF THE CHARTIST INSURRECTION IN APRIL, 1848.

Thus was free trade introduced, and the great Tory party split asunder by the act of its Protectionist chief! The effects of this change of policy and dislocation of parties have been great and decisive, and extended far beyond the lifetime or sphere of the persons who were instrumental in bringing it about. It has diffused for a very long period, perhaps forever, in Great Britain, a distrust in public men—a disbelief either in fixity of policy or adherence to principle in the rulers of the State. It has spread abroad the conviction that the ruling power in the commonwealth is no longer to be found in its aristocracy, either of rank, property, talents, or virtues; but that, by a well-concerted and vigorous system of popular agitation, the whole of these influences may be overthrown, and Government become impracticable, except by the abandonment of pledges the most solemnly given, principles the most solemnly asserted, and concession to demands attended with the most obvious danger. It has entirely broken up and divided the great Tory party, which for half a century had ruled the empire, and withstood, both in arms and influence, the first French Revolution. It has introduced into that once firm and united body discord the most incurable, heart-burnings the most violent. Words were spoken on both sides which can never be forgiven; deeds done which can never be forgotten. When eighty Protectionists, the representatives of the old English aristocracy, followed Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Disraeli into the hostile lobby on the division on the Irish Coercion Bill, the knell of the Tory party was rung, the rule of steady consistent party on either side came to an end, and the empire was handed over to successive coalitions of discordant interests, involving on all sides dereliction of principle, attended to none by durability of power.

It is remarkable that the breaking up of the two great parties which have alternately ruled the State ever since the Revolution was in neither case owing to the hostility of its opponent, however ably directed or perseveringly applied. It was neither Mr. Pitt nor Lord Castlereagh that overturned the Whigs; it was not Mr. Fox or Mr. Burke that paralyzed the Tories. From the assaults of those great men, strongly supported as they were, their opponents on both sides entirely recovered, and they never were so powerful as after those periods when the strife had been most violent. Witness Mr. Pitt in 1784, after the desperate struggle with the Coalition; Earl Grey in 1832, after the close of the long-continued strife consequent on the French Revolution. Even the Reform Bill, however skillfully directed to that end, did not destroy the Tory party; the Opposition

was never so united or so ably led as from 1835 to 1841, when guided by Sir R. Peel, the Government never so powerful as when he came into power in the close of the latter year. The Whigs as a party were destroyed by the Reform Bill, forced through the Lords by their powerful leaders at the head of the whole democracy of the empire; the Tories as a party were destroyed by Sir R. Peel, when at the head of the Government, and supported by a majority so large as promised them a lease of power for an unlimited period. Earl Grey's triumph terminated the ascendancy of the old Whig families which had so long ruled the State, and substituted in its room that of a coalition of English urban Liberals, Scotch Radicals, and Irish Catholics; Sir R. Peel's return to power with a majority of 91 was the herald of the dissolution of the great and united party which he had so long and ably headed, and its severance into angry, soured Protectionists, too weak to form a government, and wavering Liberal Conservatives, eminent in talent, but without followers sufficient to give them any pretensions to be a ruling party.

Without doubt this strange and anomalous result is to be ascribed in some degree to the pressure of external circumstances. The growing wealth and importance of the nation called for an enlarged admission of their representatives into the Legislature, as it did for a certain modification of the duties on the admission of food and necessary articles of subsistence. So far, a concession was necessary in both cases. But the amount and measure of the concession were in both voluntary, and the authors of the changes are responsible for their effects. Both were precipitated, and rendered unavoidable, by the previous acts of the very Ministers who introduced them; both were forced on by the power which they respectively wielded, in utter ignorance of their effects. The Reform Bill was first rendered a national object of desire from the effect of the long-continued declamations of the Whigs and Liberals at the former representation of interests and classes; and it was rendered so broad and sweeping, from Earl Grey seriously and in good faith anticipating from its effects diametrically the reverse of those with which it was actually attended. The demand for the repeal of the Corn-Laws was mainly owing to the monetary system which had been in operation for a quarter of a century, which, by halving the remuneration for every species of industry, had swelled into a passion the desire for a corresponding reduction in the price of food; and to the conduct of Sir R. Peel himself, who, by applying the principles of free trade to inferior articles, rendered irresistible the cry for its extension to the principal staples of human consumption. Not

less than the great alteration in the structure of the constitution, this social change was forced through by him in direct opposition to the wishes of his party and his own former professions, and in such complete ignorance of its effects, that, before many years had elapsed, it had induced evils of a far more serious and irremediable kind than those it was intended to remove. The commencement of these evils forms the interesting and instructive subject of the present chapter.

As a matter of course, the Queen, upon the resignation of Sir R. Peel, for whom she had conceived the highest esteem, sent for Lord John Russell, and he experienced much less difficulty in forming a Cabinet than on the last similar occasion Lord Melbourne had done.* Lord John Russell was First Lord of the Treasury; Lord Cottenham became Lord-Chancellor; Sir George Grey, Home, and Lord Palmerston, Foreign, Secretary; with whom Earl Grey was now persuaded to act as Secretary for the Colonies. Sir C. Wood was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Auckland First Lord of the Admiralty. The Cabinet consisted of the unusually large number of sixteen, and certainly presented a brilliant display of oratorical and parliamentary talent, though the great preponderance of noblemen gave little promise of a due infusion of business habits, and the paucity of practical men afforded too good reason to fear a serious deficiency in knowledge of the real situation and wants of the country. So completely, however, was the Tory party understood to be split asunder by the dissensions consequent on free trade, that the eyes of the entire nation were turned to the new Cabinet as the only one possible under existing circumstances; and the elections consequent on the vacating of seats from the formation of the new Government excited very little attention. All the members of the new Government were returned almost without opposition.¹

Parliament met again after a short adjourn-

* THE WHIG GOVERNMENT, AS NOW REARRANGED.

Cabinet.

First Lord of the Treasury	Lord J. Russell.
Lord-Chancellor	Lord Cottenham.
President of the Council	Marquis of Londonderry.
Lord Privy Seal	Earl of Minto.
Home Office	Sir G. Grey.
Foreign Office	Viscount Palmerston.
Colonial Office	Earl Grey.
Chancellor of the Exchequer	Sir C. Wood.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Lord Campbell.
Paymaster-General	Mr. Macanlay.
Woods and Forests	Lord Morpeth.
Postmaster-General	Lord Clanricarde.
Board of Trade	Earl of Clarendon.
Board of Control	Sir J. Hobhouse.
Secretary for Ireland	Mr. Labouchere.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Earl of Auckland.

Not in the Cabinet.

Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland	Earl of Besborough.
Secretary at War	Fox Maule, Esq.
Commander-in-Chief	Duke of Wellington.
Master-General of the Ordnance	Marquis of Anglesea.
Master of the Mint	R. L. Shiel, Esq.
Attorney-General	Sir J. Jervis.
Solicitor-General	Sir D. Dundas.
Lord-Advocate of Scotland	And. Rutherford, Esq.
Solicitor-General	Thos. Maitland, Esq.

—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxvii. 1.

ment, during which the returns for the vacated seats took place on the 16th July; and the first subject of importance which came on for discussion was the sugar duties, which required immediate attention, as the bill for the existing duties expired on the 4th August. Lord John Russell brought forward this important subject in a very able speech; and the plan which he proposed, and which received the sanction of a large majority of the House of Commons, is the more worthy of attention, as it afforded the first instance of the effect of the free-trade measure, then so much in vogue, and so largely adopted by Parliament, upon the producing interests of the empire. “The first question,” said his lordship, “is, what is the consumption in average years of the empire? and the next, Is there any chance of supply within ourselves adequate to meet it? The returns of sugar imported on an average of the last three years, and the concurring opinion of all practical men engaged in the trade, fix the annual consumption at 252,000 tons; while the most probable view of the supply does not give above 230,000 tons.* Then, where is the additional supply of 22,000 tons, of an article now become one of the necessities of life to a large part of our people, to come from? There is no resource we can look to but foreign slave-grown sugar. That sugar has been virtually excluded from the market since the final emancipation of the slaves in 1837, a period now of nine years, and all the efforts of the producers of sugar in our own colonies have been unable to keep pace with the demand, or prevent the price of the article rising, as it is now doing, to what, as to it, amounts to a famine level. There is an absolute necessity, therefore, of recurring to the Slave States for a supply of this necessary article of consumption. Indeed, the exclusion of slave-grown sugar, under the present prohibitory system, is impracticable, for the Slave States are in possession of treaties under which they are entitled to demand the admission of their slave-grown sugar ‘on the same terms as’ the most favored nation. Under the present system the discouragement to slavery in the Slave States is more apparent than real, because the slave-growers find a market for their produce in other countries into which it obtains free admission, whence they receive supplies in return which come from Great Britain, so that there is a virtual exchange of English manufactures for foreign slave sugar. The Spanish slave planters might just as well send their sugar direct to this country in exchange for our manufactures, as do so by means of this intervening transaction.

“The argument, so strongly rested on by the

* CALCULATION OF THE WEST INDIA BODY FOR 1847.

	Tons.
West Indies	125,000
Mauritius	50,000
East Indies	75,000
	250,000
That of the sugar refiners was less favorable:	
West Indies	115,000
Mauritius	40,000
East Indies	70,000
	225,000

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1846, p. 163.

Protectionists—that if you admit foreign slave sugar on any thing like an equality with British free grown, you give an encouragement to slavery, and go back upon all your own enactments for the emancipation of the negroes—though specious in appearance, has no solid foundation. No such bar as is contended for in the case of sugar is imposed upon slave produce in other articles, as cotton, tobacco, copper, and many others. Nobody can deny that the vast consumption of these articles, especially the two first, in this country, gives an impulse to slavery in the United States; but has any one yet been bold enough to affirm that, before admitting the American cotton into our harbors, we must insist on their solving the tremendous problem hanging over their heads in the United States, and emancipating all the negroes by whose hands the cotton has been raised? Such a proposal would be little short of insanity; and yet if there is any foundation for the argument that we should keep up the heavy import duties on foreign slave-grown sugar to discourage slavery, we unquestionably, to be consistent, should apply the same principle to American slave-grown cotton.

“Financial considerations of the very highest moment concur with the obvious expediency of the thing itself in recommending the introduction of foreign slave sugars at moderate import duties. If we deduct the £700,000 of China money, which is not a permanent source of income, from the estimated revenue for 1847-’48, there will be a deficiency of £352,000, with the chance of its being increased to half a million in that year. This follows from the late Chancellor of the Exchequer’s own statement. Now this being in the most favorable view the state of our finances, is it not expedient to adopt a measure which will fill up the gap, not only without adding to the burdens of the people, but actually diminishing, in a sensible degree, to them the cost of a general and necessary article of human subsistence?”

“The plan which Government proposes is this: Instead of the present prohibitory duty of 63s. the cwt. on foreign slave muscovado sugar, and 28s. 4d. on foreign free-labor sugar, there shall be imposed for the present year a duty of 21s. on all foreign sugar, whether the produce of free or slave labor, the duty to fall progressively till July, 1851, when it should be permanently fixed at 14s.* In addition to this, the differential duty between rum and British spirits is to be reduced from 1s. 6d. to 1s. the gallon. We can not accede to the demand of the West Indians that molasses should be admitted to our breweries and distilleries. In consideration of these reductions, which will go far to lower the price of sugar to the British consumer, we propose to relax in some degree the restrictions at present in force on the importation of free black immigrants from Africa into the West Indies. By

* PROPOSED RATE OF DECLINE OF THE DUTY ON FOREIGN SUGAR.

To July 5, 1847.....	21s.
“ 1848.....	20s.
“ 1849.....	18s. 6d.
“ 1850.....	17s.
“ 1851.....	15s. 6d.
After July, 1851.....	14s.

—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxvii. 1316, 1317.

the Orders in Council, originally in force after the suppression of slavery, the emigration of negroes from Sierre Leone to the West Indies was absolutely prohibited, from an apprehension that, if allowed, it would prove the slave-trade in disguise. This prohibition was subsequently relaxed, both by Lord Melbourne’s government and that of Sir R. Peel, both in regard to Africa and other parts of the world, from a sense of its necessity. Still, however, the law is, that any agreement or contract for the services of any negro, made in the British settlements in Africa, is not valid or binding in the West Indies, and is not to be respected by the British cruisers. We propose by the present act so far to modify this as to allow contracts for hiring of negroes in the *British* possessions on the coast of Africa to be binding in the West Indies, provided they are not for *more than a year*; but we do not deem it safe to permit any similar concession as to contracts made elsewhere on the African shores, or especially on the Kroo coast. Under this plan we shall realize from the sugar duties a revenue of £4,200,000, being £625,000 more than was expected by Sir R. Peel’s proposed scale of duties, and in addition obtain the great advantage of giving the people of this country an increased supply of sugar at a reduced price.”¹

On the other hand, it was argued by Lord George Bentinck, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Brougham: “It can not now be denied that, contrary to what was strenuously maintained when the emancipation of the negroes took place, the effect of that measure has been seriously to lessen the production of sugar in the West Indies. For while the average production of sugar in the British colonies in the West Indies was, on an average of six years before that event, 195,000 tons, their production since emancipation has fallen off to such a degree, that at one period it did not exceed 107,000 tons, and has in no instance exceeded 145,000 tons. As a natural consequence of this great decline, prices of that article have risen; on an average of twelve years, since emancipation, the rise has been no less than 10s. a cwt., or a penny a pound—from 27s. a cwt. to 37s. There can be no doubt that, in this state of affairs, the admission of slave-grown sugar would, in the first instance, reduce its price; possibly bring it down again to 27s. a cwt. But at what price would this advantage be gained, even in the light only of our own pecuniary interests? It could only be effected by lessening still further the production of sugar in our own dominions, and rendering us daily more and more dependent on the foreign slave growers for the supply of what has now become a necessary article of the national subsistence. Is that a desirable state of things? is it creditable to a great nation? And supposing the policy to be carried out to its uttermost length, and our own free-labor sugar to be entirely driven out of the market by the foreign slave-grown, what will be the result so far as prices and our own interests are concerned? Why, that we shall be entirely at the mercy of the foreign slave growers, and that the planters of Cuba and Brazil, having got the monopoly of the article into their own

¹ *Parl. Deb.* lxxxvi. 1304, 1318; *Ann. Reg.* 1846, 166, 169, 170.

⁹ *Argument of the Protectionists on the other side.*

hands, will raise the price to any height which they please.

10. *Continued.* "Much is said of the inability of the colonies of Great Britain, working with free labor only, to supply the demand of this country, without a large assistance from foreign Slave States. The statement is much exaggerated, and the difficulty, such as it is, has been mainly of our own creation. It is the restrictions imposed on the importation of free laborers into the West Indies, whether from Africa or China, by our own Orders in Council, which have been the main cause of the great decline of West Indian produce since the emancipation. Remove those most absurd and impolitic restrictions, and the production in the West Indies will increase. It is said by the Government that 125,000 tons may this year be expected from the West Indies, and an equal amount may be expected with confidence from the East Indies and the Mauritius. In fact, no limit can be assigned to the capabilities of production of sugar in the East Indies, with a fine climate, ample means of irrigation, and a hundred millions of people to cultivate it. Already in the Mauritius the crop this year has been 60,000 tons, of which 49,000 has been already shipped, or is in the course of being so. And the noble lord opposite calculates on 100,000 tons from India. These sources of supply will, together, reach 285,000 tons—considerably more than the annual requirements of this country, which, even during the last two years of unexampled prosperity and impulse to labor, has never exceeded 246,000 tons. Where, then, is the necessity of making a sacrifice of the present and future interests of our own free colonies, when we possess within ourselves the means of amply supplying all our necessities?"

11. *Continued.* "Look to our export trade to our colonies, as compared with that which we carry on with those countries from which we may expect to obtain sugar, and see whether we ourselves are likely to be gainers by exchanging the one with the other. The declared value of our exports to the West Indies was £2,500,000, when the population was 1,000,000, being 57s. a head of our manufactures; whereas, to the United States, with a population of 15,000,000, it was only £7,500,000, being 10s. a head. Is it not, then, for our interest to preserve our West Indian customers, who, if they send us their sugar, take our manufactures in return, rather than seek to ingratiate foreign nations, who require so much less of our manufactures, and add so little to our exports? If we get our sugar from Cuba or Brazil, the principal articles which they will take in exchange will be, not manufactures, but gold coin or bullion, the export of which will be attended with no other effect but a drain upon the metallic treasures of the Bank of England, and consequent contraction of the currency, and diminution of credit in this country. And as to the East Indies, the principal difficulty in regard to those possessions is, that their markets are already glutted with our manufactures; and if we in addition adopt measures which will deprive them of a market for the 100,000 tons of sugar which they now raise, what other result is to be anticipated but that their means of purchasing our manufactures will

be still further lessened, and our trade with them will run more and more into a large balance of imports over exports, attended with a ruinous drain upon the metallic resources of this country?

"If slave sugar is admitted, and the price of that article is in consequence diminished 6s. per cwt., somebody must be a loser if the consumers in this country are gainers. This difference of price will go into the pockets of the Cuba or Brazilian slave planter, or it will be taken from those of the British West India colonists and those engaged in the commerce of their productions. Was such a loss as this ever voluntarily inflicted by a Legislature on one portion of its subjects? It is boasted on the other side, that if this bill passes, it will save the British consumers from £1,500,000 to £2,000,000 a year. Be it so. That sum is violently wrested from the West India planters, already laboring under the accumulated difficulties arising from the emancipation of the negroes, and who had adventured the last wreck of their fortunes in the attempt to stay the ruin, on the assurance that the Legislature would never so far recede in its career as to restore slavery and the slave-trade, after having made such efforts for its suppression. If this bill passes, many of the most respectable merchants in that once wealthy trade will, before many weeks are over, be in the Gazette, and these splendid islands, once the pride and glory of England, will become a wilderness, inhabited only by savage and wild beasts.

12. *Continued.* "Is the country prepared to violate all its resolutions, abandon all its endeavors, contradict all its professions, render itself contemptible in the eyes of men, guilty in the sight of Heaven, by restoring the slave-trade after having made such efforts for its abolition? Mr. O'Connell has put the matter plainly and forcibly. 'The question is cheap sugar with slavery, or dearer sugar without it. It is nothing else than the repetition of the children's fable—the large loaf or the father's curse. It is a farce to let in the sugars of Cuba and Brazil, and at the same time to propose or continue emancipation.' No one regrets the twenty millions paid as the price of emancipation; no one grudges the forty-nine vessels of war, 7000 men, and 700 guns, now employed in repressing that infernal traffic. But what excuse can we make for ourselves, what a figure will we make in the eyes of the world, if at the very time when we are paying £1,500,000 as the interest of the loan borrowed, and the expense of these armaments, we are making a present of a similar or larger sum to the slave growers of Cuba and Brazil, and that too at the expense of our own fellow-countrymen in the West Indies, who have struggled on in opposition to overwhelming difficulties, in reliance on our philanthropic professions? The profits which the slave owners will make of this measure are immense. If the price of sugar is raised by it to them £6 a ton, and each negro make three tons a year, the annual value of the slave labor is increased £18. Supposing he lasts ten years, there is £180 added to the value of the slave, which at present is £81! What a fearful encouragement are we about to give to the accursed traffic which we professed ourselves so desirous to abolish!

"It has often been said, but it can not be too often repeated, that the slave-trade
 14. which the bill now under consideration goes to strengthen and restore, is a species of that infernal traffic far worse, as well as more extensive, than that of which Mr. Wilberforce effected the abolition forty years ago. Imagination can not conceive, the pen almost refuses to record, the horrors of this awful traffic as it is now proposed to be re-established. Six years ago Mr. Fowell Buxton said in this House, that such had been the impulse given to the slave-trade by the emancipation of the negroes that 250,000 negroes annually passed the Atlantic; and Lord Aberdeen said, in 1844, that the average number of slaves annually imported into the Southern States of North America and the Spanish West Indies alone was 100,000 a year. This year above 16,000 were imported into Rio Janeiro alone. Is it to a trade of such gigantic dimensions, so much exceeding what our own slave-trade was in its worst days, that you are prepared to give the immense additional impulse arising from the present measure, which will at once more than double the value of every imported slave? But melancholy as the vast increase of the slave-trade, from the effect of our measures, has been, it is as nothing compared to the augmented horrors of the traffic, which, in the hands of the Spaniards and Portuguese, have now reached a pitch never before equaled, and which apparently it is impossible to exceed. By the Passenger Act in Great Britain, which regulated the slave-trade while it was legal, five tons were allowed for each slave; but as it is now practiced, *there are five or six slaves to one ton.* The slave-deck is 2 feet 10 inches high; and in one instance 349 human beings were embarked on board a vessel 67 feet long by 21 broad, with a measure of from 80 to 100 tons. Such are the sufferings of the poor wretches crammed into these holes, where they are for days and weeks enduring the agonies of suffocation, that they are sometimes driven by the madness induced by suffering into revolt; but in such cases the arms and discipline of the Europeans generally prevail, and after forty or fifty have been massacred, the rest are flogged in so merciless a manner that death would be a relief to their prolonged sufferings.*

* "Those who were thus executed were heavily ironed; a rope was then put round their necks, which was rove through the yard-arm, and they were run up from the deck. By this means they were not hanged, they were strangled or choked, and in that state, while still alive, they were shot in the breast, and then thrown overboard. If there were two shot or hanged together, they were run up in the same manner, until their legs were laid across the rail of the bulwark on the ship's side, and then they were broken, and chopped off to save the irons. In this way the bleeding body of a negro was thrown overboard to make way for another. The legs of about a dozen were chopped off in that manner. When the bleeding feet fell on the deck, they were picked up by the Brazilian crew, and then thrown overboard after the body; sometimes they pelted the body with them in sport, while it hung half alive. When two, chained together, were to be hung, they were shot while they remained suspended, and then thrown overboard while still alive. The women were shot in the neck, and thrown over while still living. Several of them were seen to struggle in the water for some time before they sunk. After this slaughter was done, about twenty were brought up and flogged. The women were flogged as well as the men. Such was the severity of the flogging they received

"Let us not deceive ourselves, therefore: we are about to pass a measure which will restore the slave-trade in far more than its pristine horrors. When on the verge of sealing it up by our powerful navy on the coast of Africa, we shall reopen it in a new legitimized channel, and in a form which will set at naught all the vigilance of our cruisers. Already France is cordially co-operating with us for the extinction of this infernal traffic, and even in Cuba and Brazil themselves a better feeling has arisen. Yet at this very moment, with the goal almost in view, we abandon the race, relinquish the good fight, and restore the trade in augmented strength and aggravated horrors. This bill will render nugatory all our former exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade. The 150,000 negroes now annually imported from Africa will be fearfully augmented by the bounty we are preparing to give for their introduction. Free labor in our own colonies can never compete with slave labor, unless the slave-market of Africa is closed; and by the profits with which this measure will cause the slave-trade to be attended, it will be reopened with more effect than ever. Eighty thousand human beings, the half of those imported, will be hurried by it, amidst excruciating tortures, into eternity! And this, in the year 1846, is the first act of a Liberal Government, and the earnest of the measures they are prepared to adopt in the service of humanity!"

Sir R. Peel pursued a very singular but eminently characteristic course on this occasion. He stated that the bill before the House was widely different from what he intended to have introduced, and that he thought the West Indies was an exceptional case to the general principles of free trade. Situated as he was, however, he declared his intention to support the bill, not because he approved of it, for he agreed with all Lord George Bentinck had said on the abomination of the traffic in slaves, and thought the reduction of duties on foreign slave sugar should be much more gradual, but simply because, if the bill were thrown out, which might "easily be done," "the Ministry would resign, and the country would have three Ministries within three weeks, and the new Ministry would revoke the measure regarding the Corn-Laws which had been just passed." Then he declared that the abandonment of Protection in the British Islands compelled him to surrender it in the West Indies also. The result was, that Sir R. Peel, and all the Liberal Conservatives, as they began to be called, voted with the Ministry, and the bill was carried by a majority of 130, the numbers being 265 to 135. This was probably a tolerably accurate index of the strength of the purely Protectionist party, as compared with the united Whigs, and Liberal or urban Conservatives. In the House of Lords the majority was only 18, but that was in a very thin House

that they were obliged to lie on their bellies during the remainder of the voyage; and on the backs of some the flesh had putrefied and fallen off in pieces of six or eight inches in diameter."—*Account of the Treatment of the Slaves on board Lenordt Fonseca's Ship*, quoted by Lord G. Bentinck in *Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. 49, 50.

15. Concluded.

1. Parl. Deb. lxxxviii. 84, 54; Ann. Reg. 1846, 173, 191.

16. Sir R. Peel's singular conduct, and passing of the bill.

of 28 members only. Every one saw that the battle of native industry had been fought and lost, and that, for good or for evil, free trade, in every department, was to be the destiny of the State.¹

Thus was protection finally taken from the West Indies, and the principle of free trade carried out, even in that quarter, where its advocates admitted its application was most open to exception. Thus, also, it may now be confidently stated, were the WEST INDIES FINALLY RUINED. This is now proved by the decisive evidence of facts. For some years after the bill was passed, and before the rapidly declining rate of import duty on foreign slave sugar, the planters made immense efforts, hoping, as is often the case, to be able to compensate the reduction of price by increase of production; and though the returns exhibited a falling off in the principal articles of production, it was not so considerable as might have been expected; * yet they exhibited in the next three years a falling off in sugar to the extent of 360,000 cwt.; in rum, of 900,000 gallons; and in coffee, of 3,200,000 pounds! On the other hand, the foreign sugar imported since the bill came into operation has been immense; from Cuba it has more than tripled; from Brazil more than doubled.† But at length the resources of the colonies were worn out—the unequal struggle terminated. After having exhausted their credit and mortgaged their estates to the utmost they would bear, they could continue the conflict no longer. Vast estates in all the islands were abandoned, and speedily covered by jungle, in the midst of which the negroes squatted, and clearing little bits of ground adequate for their own maintenance, resumed the indolent, listless life of their fathers in Afri-

ca; while the foreign sugar imported has increased so astonishingly, since the lowest point of the duties was reached in 1851, that IN THE THREE SUBSEQUENT YEARS IT HAD TRIPLED. A hundred millions of British property had been destroyed from the effect of these disastrous changes; a great and growing market for our manufactures, and nursery for our shipping, reduced to little more than half of its former amount.‡

Disastrous as these effects have been to the interests of Great Britain in the West Indies, they have been light in comparison of the immense impulse thereby given to the foreign slave-trade. Mr. Fowell Buxton computed the number of Africans annually consumed by the foreign slave-trade in 1841 at 250,000; and Lord Aberdeen admitted that the slaves imported into Cuba and the Southern States of North America in that year were 100,000! What, then, must have been the magnitude of this infernal traffic, when, in consequence of our lowering the duties on foreign slave sugar five years afterward, the production of sugar by means of slaves was more than doubled! The mind is staggered, as by the Afghanistan disaster or the Moscow retreat, by the contemplation of so frightful an accumulation of human suffering, and by the consideration that this is not a mere passing calamity, how terrible soever, but a *uniform and chronic state of human agony*, induced by our own acts, and of regular and permanent recurrence! And all this was done by the British Legislature, with the facts fully before them, with the whole consequences distinctly before their eyes, and without a single expression of dissatisfaction from the numerous urban constituents of the majority! The humanitarians were silent; the mighty religious party which had convulsed the country in 1834, when emancipation was forced through,

IMPORTED FROM WEST INDIES.

Years.	Sugar. Cwt.	Molasses. Cwt.	Rum. Gallons.	Coffee. Pounds.	Cocoa. Pounds.	Pimento. Pounds.
1847.....	3,199,814	531,171	5,253,449	6,763,163	3,026,381	1,358,560
1848.....	2,794,987	335,484	5,653,840	5,075,123	2,602,309	2,326,576
1849.....	2,840,531	605,628	4,329,640	3,590,339	3,159,036	2,273,956

—PORTER, p. 303.

† SUGAR IMPORTED FROM CUBA, PORTO RICO, AND BRAZIL INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM.

Years.	Cuba and Porto Rico. Cwt.	Brazil. Cwt.
1845.....	348,529	825,359
1846.....	609,670	302,067
1847.....	1,157,299	701,693

SUGAR EXPORTED FROM CUBA AND BRAZIL.

Years.	Cuba. Tons.	Years.	Brazil. Tons.
1840.....	145,000	1846.....	66,276
1850.....	270,000	1849.....	99,629

—Returns, May 3, 1852.

‡ BRITISH AND FOREIGN SUGAR IMPORTED INTO GREAT BRITAIN IN THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1852, 1853, AND 1854.

Years.	British. Cwt.	Foreign. Cwt.
1852.....	2,944,186	877,404
1853.....	2,413,943	1,547,406
1854.....	2,534,735	2,560,554

—Parl. Returns, 1856.

The exports of British produce and manufactures to

the West Indies, since the lowering of the duties, have undergone a great diminution—viz.:

Years.	Years.
1846..... £3,253,420	1851..... £2,433,665
1847..... 2,102,577	1852..... 2,031,856
1848..... 1,434,477	1853..... 1,906,639
1849..... 1,821,146	1854..... 2,008,380
1850..... 1,924,376	1855..... 1,979,956

—PORTER, 366, 367.

The increase of our exports to Cuba has been as follows:

Years.	Years.
1846..... £844,112	1851..... £1,550,210
1847..... 836,554	1852..... 1,629,752
1848..... 733,169	1853..... 1,124,860
1849..... 1,036,153	1854..... 1,638,159
1850..... 1,241,673	1855..... 1,059,606

—PORTER, 366, 367.

The imports of Great Britain from Cuba and Brazil alone have now come almost to equal those from the whole West Indian Islands put together.

Years.	Cuba.	Brazil.	Total foreign.	West Indies.
1854....	£3,369,444	£2,033,603	£5,403,047	£6,180,816
1855....	2,332,753	2,278,819	4,611,572	5,962,996

—Parl. Returns for these Years.

did not give a symptom of life; consistency, abashed and ashamed, slunk away. Humanity, patriotic spirit, religious zeal, all were stilled by the awful consideration of a rise of a penny in the pound on the price of sugar!

Struck with astonishment at so extraordinary an instance of indifference to human suffering, and inconsistency on the part of a people professing such strong religious and humane sentiments, the whole foreign writers have recourse to what affords, it must be confessed, at first sight, a very satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon. One and all of them say that the English people were not in the slightest degree inconsistent, but, on the contrary, were perfectly consistent throughout. In the first instance, they lent a willing ear to the assertions of the professed humanitarians, who assured them that free labor was much more economical and productive than forced; and emancipated their slaves in the belief that by so doing they would be able to undersell all the world in the production of sugar, and thus secure every market for their own colonies. Finding that they were mistaken, and that free labor could not compete with slave in the production of that tropical production—and that its price was rising on their hands in consequence of their own acts—they immediately turned round, and with equal zeal sought to lower it by the cheap admission of foreign slave sugar, regardless alike of the ruin of their own sugar colonies and the augmentation of the foreign slave-trade. The English people, it is said, were not inconsistent; on the contrary, they were entirely consistent throughout. On both occasions they were actuated only by interested motives, and sacrificed every thing at the altar of selfishness.

Plausible as this explanation of the phenomenon undoubtedly is, and widely as it has obtained credit among foreign nations, there is no man can have lived through both periods in Great Britain without being conscious that it is fallacious. The British people have many faults, but hypocrisy and dissimulation are not among the number. Their faults are those of large bodies of men or of governments ruled by their influences. The character assigned by the poet to the fairest part of creation is much more descriptive of them; not less than beauty itself, "*varium et mutabile*" is their true designation. Their determination in 1846 was directly the reverse of what it had been in 1833; but nevertheless on both occasions they were perfectly sincere. On the first, they had been worked up to a perfect frenzy by the long-continued efforts of a numerous and respectable religious party in favor of negro emancipation, and they were resolved to have it without the smallest regard either to the lessons of experience or the councils of wisdom; on the last, they had been worked up to a similar frenzy in favor of free trade by the declamations of the cheapening party, and the long-continued distress produced by the contraction of the currency, and they were resolved to have it, come what might of emancipation and the entire negro race. The conclusion to be drawn from this is, not that the British people are hypocritical, and that their zeal for emancipation was a mere cloak to selfish designs, but that, like all numerous bodies of

men, they are subject to sudden gusts of passion, which for a time obliterate their reason and deprive them of all power of rational direction, and that the necessary effect of popularizing our institutions has been to imprint a character of vacillation and instability on our national conduct.

But this flagrant and most disastrous instance of vacillation suggests another most important consideration, with which the maintenance of our colonial empire in future times is entirely wound up. This is the proof it affords how completely the Reform Bill had *disfranchised the colonies*, as well as the producing classes generally through the empire. That the lowering the duties on foreign slave-grown sugar would destroy the West Indian colonies was self-evident, and hardly denied by the supporters of the measure. What they said was, that this consideration, how serious soever, must yield to the imperious necessity of procuring an adequate supply of what had now become a staple of food for a large part of our people. The House of Commons accordingly passed a bill, which they well knew would destroy the West India colonies, by a majority of 180. Could this have happened under the old constitution, when the West India interest, let into the House by the close boroughs, was the strongest separate one in Parliament, and could muster eighty votes? This, as well as the preceding decision on the Corn-Laws, illustrates the lasting and all-important effect of the Reform Bill in *disfranchising the producing interests, whether at home or in the colonies*, and vesting the government of the country in the *boroughs actuated by an adverse interest*. To produce cheap and sell dear was the interest of the former; to buy cheap and sell dear, the interest of the latter. Unobserved amidst the strife of parties, unnoticed by the aspirants for power, this was by far the most important effect of the Reform Bill; and unless remedied by subsequent legislation, by a larger admission of producing interests in the centre, and the admission of *direct colonial representation* from the extremities, will, beyond all doubt, in the end, dissolve the British empire.*

* In the debate on the sugar bill, Mr. Disraeli observed: "I do not oppose the resolutions of Ministers merely because they are antagonistic to our previous arrangements for the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade; I oppose them because they are *antagonistic to the fragment left of the old colonial system of England*. I venture to predict that the House will soon retrace its steps, and reconstruct that now almost annihilated system. I say so because the history of England is a history of reaction. I believe the prosperity of England may be attributed to this cause, not that it has committed less blunders than other countries, but the people are a people more sensible of their errors. What have you not done, and what steps have you not retraced? You destroyed your church establishment, and you replaced it; you destroyed your ancient monarchy, and you re-established it; you destroyed the House of Lords, and now you are obliged to take up your bills to them for their sanction. You even abolished this very House of Commons, and yet we are here in it debating a great question. What are you doing now but retracing your steps on a vital question, and confessing to the people of England that after having labored for forty years, and spent £50,000,000 to destroy the slave-trade, you find it now necessary to re-establish it?"—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. p. 164, 165. Mr. Disraeli was right as to reaction in matters of *opinion or passion*; they are often the subject of most extraordinary changes among men. But it is by no means equally clear that reactions will take place against *vested interests*; or whether a particular class of men, once become possessed of power, will ever voluntarily share it with

Another important subject powerfully arrested the attention of the British people and Legislature at this period, and on flogging in that was the matter of flogging in the army. The immediate cause of the excitement on the subject was the melancholy end of a private soldier named White, who died a few days after having received a very severe flogging at Hounslow, though whether from the effects of the punishment, or from it combined with an organic disease in the sufferer, was rendered doubtful by the medical evidence on the subject. The case came before Mr. Wakley as coroner of Middlesex, and was very ably conducted by that gentleman through an investigation which extended over several days. The harrowing details brought out in the evidence strongly affected the public mind, to which the continuance of this degrading torture in a noble service had long been matter of abhorrence; and as the case went on, the excitement became so strong that the subject was brought forward in more than one motion in the House of Commons, and terminated ere long in a humane and judicious regulation of the Duke of Wellington's, which has removed the most flagrant evils connected with this mode of punishment.¹

Captain Layard brought this painful matter before the House by a motion for an address to her Majesty, praying for an inquiry how far the introduction of limited service would improve the efficiency of the army. From the returns to which he referred, it appeared that in the last ten years the number of recruits had been, on an average, 12,000 a year, and that of desertions 5300; that fully two-thirds of these deserters had been recovered and rejoined the service, and a third were unaccounted for; and that, during five years preceding 1845, £17,000 had been paid for the apprehension of deserters, and £54,500 for the maintenance of men in confinement. Another return showed that, from 1st January, 1839, to 31st December, 1843, a period of five years, 3355 had undergone corporal punishment, and 28,190 sentences of imprisonment had been pronounced.* From these facts, which were cer-

others, or use it for any other purpose than the forwarding of its own immediate interests. Certain it is, that whatever may be the case in future, there has hitherto been no reaction whatever in the British constituencies in favor of this obvious colonial injustice, but rather the reverse. A very able man and sagacious observer, Mr. Justice Halyburton, observed with truth, in a public speech delivered at Glasgow on 25th March, 1857, in the midst of the turmoil of the elections going on in every part of the empire at that period, that amidst all the opinions delivered by candidates, and the questions put to them by constituents, there had not been one which had reference to the colonies of Great Britain, though they have become so considerable as to have taken off in 1854 no less than £34,000,000 out of the entire £97,000,000 exports of the empire.

* COST OF APPREHENSION OF DESERTERS, AND OF SOLDIERS IN CONFINEMENT, FROM 1840 TO 1845.

Years.	Cost of Apprehension of Deserters.	Cost of Soldiers in Confinement.	Rank and File in each Year, exclusive of India.
1840-'41	£2,634	£10,364	82,013
1841-'42	4,385	10,779	80,971
1842-'43	3,959	10,189	84,140
1843-'44	2,874	10,218	83,787
1844-'45	2,163	11,975	83,261
Total.	£17,020	£54,500	

—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. 290.
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tainly sufficiently surprising, he argued that there must be something wrong in the constitution of the army, or the class of men from which it was recruited, and that recruiting for a limited period would materially improve the character and condition of the soldier. His proposal was to enlist for ten years only, and that, after twenty-one years' service, the soldier should be entitled to the old pension of tenpence a day, and one shilling if disabled, instead of the present reduced pension of sixpence a day after twenty-five years' service. The Secretary at War, Mr. Fox Maule, resisted the motion, and explained that the great majority of the desertions were in Canada, where the facility of escaping into the States, and the demand for labor there, presented so many temptations to the soldier to leave his colors. He referred also to the many improvements recently introduced into the service, especially for the education and amusement of the men. Captain Layard did not press his motion to a division, it being understood that the Commander-in-Chief had a regulation on the subject in preparation. On the 7th August, Lord John Russell announced the change he had made, which consisted in a general order, that, by no court-martial, general, special, or regimental, should a sentence be pronounced ordering more than fifty lashes to be inflicted. This was accompanied by minute directions that every precaution should be taken to ascertain the health of the person who was to suffer the punishment, and any circumstance, as heat or cold, taken into consideration, which might either aggravate his sufferings, or augment the danger of the punishment. Notwithstanding this great modification, Dr. Bowring brought forward a motion, a few days after, for the total abolition of corporal punishment in the army, but it was negatived by a majority of 97 to 37; and the Duke of Wellington's regulation has ever since continued to be the law to regulate the practice of the army.*

The question of the length of time for which soldiers should be enlisted is one of comparatively easy solution, and has, since Captain Layard's motion, been put on a most satisfactory footing. Enlistment is always made for ten years only; with the provision, that if the man, after getting his discharge at the end of that period, shall re-enlist, and serve for eleven years more, he shall then be entitled to his discharge, with a pension for life, which, if unfit for further service, is a shilling a day. This system meets every requirement on the subject; for, on the one hand, the enlistment for ten years only avoids the appearance of perpetual servitude, while, on the other, so easy is the life of a soldier, compared to that of ordinary workmen, that nine-tenths of those who get their discharge at the end of ten years find daily toil insupportable, re-enlist at the end of a few months, and voluntarily serve out the remaining eleven years, so as to become entitled to their retired allowance. But

* The Duke said, in his brief characteristic way, upon learning of the unfortunate occurrence at Hounslow: "This shall not occur again: though I believe that corporal punishment can not be dispensed with, yet I will not sanction that degree of it that shall lead to loss of life or limb."—*Per Mr. Fox MAULE, Ann. Reg.*, 1846, p. 200.

the question of corporal punishment is surrounded with much greater difficulties; for the Duke of Wellington's regulation has introduced a limitation greater in appearance than reality. The severity and danger of flogging arises much more from the weight of the instrument used than the number of lashes: it is well known that twenty-four strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails in the navy, where it is much heavier, is a severer punishment than two hundred and fifty with the ordinary one used in the army. There is seldom more than twelve strokes inflicted by the knout in Russia, and yet the infliction often occasions death; and it is in the power of the executioner, by four or five blows inflicted in a particular way, to destroy the victim. Notwithstanding this, the Duke's restriction has proved most salutary, and has nearly terminated the complaints formerly so frequent on the subject. There have been no deaths, at least that are known of, from the effects of flogging since it was issued; in many regiments, at least on home service, corporal punishment has been unknown for a number of years; in none is it ever now inflicted except for insubordination or disgraceful offenses, such as theft; and in all, the number of the inflictions, in peace at least, has been most materially diminished.

In considering this subject, which doubtless, at some future period, will again come to occupy the attention of the Legislature, there are two considerations which must be constantly kept in view, if a correct conclusion is to be arrived at on the subject. The first of these is the entirely different *class of men* from whom our army is drawn, and that of which all those of the Continental States are composed. In France, the German States, and Russia, the army is raised by conscription, which embraces, without exception, the whole population, but compels the soldiers only to a few years' service. In Russia the period is twenty years, after which the soldier becomes a freeman, and is entitled to his discharge; but in France, Austria, and Prussia, the military force is kept up by forced service, exacted from the whole male inhabitants in early life for three years, reserving to those who acquire in that time a taste for a military life to embrace it as a permanent profession. In Great Britain, on the other hand, conscription for the regular army has been unknown for half a century; and even for the militia, though authorized by law, during the late war, it was never put into execution. Thus the whole force requires to be enrolled by voluntary enlistment, and this, unless in periods of uncommon excitement, confines the recruits to the lowest ranks of society, chiefly drawn from the inhabitants of great towns, and often inveigled into the service in a moment of intoxication, or induced to enter it to escape from creditors, or the claims of bastard children. This difference in the composition of the force necessarily occasions a vast difference in the means by which its discipline is to be enforced. If the whole nobility and gentry of England were obliged to serve in the army, with a musket on their shoulders, alongside of their tenants' and laborers' sons, for three years, discipline might be preserved in a very different way from what has been found necessary when the privates are

exclusively drawn from the most reckless, and often previously irregular, classes of the community.

The second is, that however frightful may be the torture inflicted by flogging, and however anxiously every friend to mankind may wish to have it entirely abolished, it must always be retained as the *principal method of coercion in the field*. In presence of the enemy no other mode of preserving discipline is practicable. It is impossible, as the French do, to shoot our soldiers for trifling offenses; that would seriously weaken our small military force, if no other consideration forbade the infliction of so extreme a penalty. Nearly three thousand cases of flogging occurred in the Crimea: could you have shot all these men? Then, if shooting is out of the question, except for the gravest crimes, what are you to do with the offenders who invariably multiply so rapidly with the first license of military operations? Prisons there are none in the tented field: if there were, the sentence of imprisonment in such circumstances is a punishment not to the culprit, but to his comrades, for it excuses him from fatigue and danger, and exposes them in his place to both. Extra drills, and the like excellent substitutes in home barracks, are out of the question when every man is worked in marches or watches to the uttermost of his strength, and often far beyond it. Death itself loses its worst terrors to those who have it daily before their eyes, and see their comrades in the field or the hospital incessantly melting away. In such circumstances punishment is absolutely indispensable, and, to be effective, it must be speedy—such as neither burdens others, nor disables the culprit himself for any length of time, and yet so serious as to excite his apprehensions and those of his comrades. When these different requisites are taken into consideration, it will probably be found that flogging, as restricted by the Duke of Wellington, combines them all in a remarkable degree, and that the utmost that can be hoped for is, that it may gradually fall into disuse in pacific quarters, and be reserved only for the rude discipline of the field. Accordingly, when Lord William Bentinck, by a general order in 1834, abolished flogging in the Indian army, the relaxation of discipline which ensued in consequence proved to be so serious, that some years after, during Lord Hardinge's administration, it was found necessary formally to re-establish it.*

A very important minute was presented to the Cabinet during this summer by Lord Palmerston, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the defenseless state of the country. This subject was naturally brought under his notice from the narrow escape which the na-

* It was stated by the Duke of Wellington, in a conversation on this subject in the House of Lords: "This experiment of abolishing flogging has been tried and failed in India, the troops having mutinied in the most disgraceful manner, in consequence of which Lord Hardinge has been obliged recently to restore it. The fact is, that it is impossible to carry on the discipline of the British army without some punishment of that description, which the individual shall feel. I will continue to do what I have always endeavored to do, that is, to diminish the punishment as much as possible; and I hope to live to see it abolished altogether."—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxviii. 539, 600.

tion had made within a few years from a rupture with France, in consequence of the dispute about Queen Pomare in Tahiti, and the still more recent coldness which had arisen on the subject of the Spanish marriages, which will be explained in the succeeding chapter. The facts he adduced were most important, and though little interesting to the unthinking many, with whom future dangers can seldom be made an object of consideration, they were of overwhelming force to the thinking few. From this statement it appeared that the whole regular force of the empire, exclusive of India, was only 88,000 men, of whom a half were absorbed in the colonies, leaving only 44,000 for the defense of the British Islands. Of these, 24,000 were required for Ireland, leaving only 20,000 for Great Britain, one half of whom were required for the garrisons of Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham. These 10,000 regular soldiers were all that could be relied on to defend England, and preserve London and Woolwich, the great arsenals of the empire, from destruction! This was at a time when France had 800,000 regulars on foot, besides 2,630,000 National Guards, and Russia 578,000 soldiers in arms.* Nor was the obvious danger

* The Duke of Wellington added his valuable testimony as to the same state of things. His Grace said, in his celebrated letter to Sir John Burgoyne:

"I have in vain endeavored to awaken the attention of different Administrations to this state of things, as well known to our neighbors, rivals in power, at least former adversaries and enemies, as ourselves. We ought to have in garrison, at the moment when war is declared, in

	Men.
The Channel Islands, besides the militia of each.	10,000
Plymouth	10,000
Milford Haven	5,000
Cork	10,000
Portsmouth	10,000
Dover	10,000
Sheerness, Chatham, and the Thames	10,000
	65,000

"I suppose that one half of the whole regular force of the country would be stationed in Ireland, which half would give the garrison of Cork. The remainder must be supplied from the half of the whole force at home stationed in Great Britain. The whole force stationed at home in Great Britain and Ireland would not afford a sufficient number of men for the mere defense and occupation, on the breaking out of a war, of the works constructed for the defense of the dock-yards and naval arsenals, *without leaving a single man disposable.*

"The measure upon which I have earnestly entreated different Administrations to decide, which is constitutional, and has been invariably adopted in time of peace, is to raise, embody, and discipline the same number of militia for the three kingdoms as during the late war. This would give an organized force of a hundred and fifty thousand men, which we might immediately set to work to discipline. This amount would enable us to establish the strength of our army; and with an augmentation of the regular army, which would cost £400,000, would put the country on its legs in respect to personal force, and I would engage for its defense, old as I am. But as we stand now, and if it be true that the exertions of the fleet alone are not sufficient to provide for our defenses, *we are not safe for a week after a declaration of war.*

"I shall be deemed fool-hardy in engaging for the defense of this country with such a force as the militia. I may be so. I confess I should infinitely prefer, and feel more confidence in, an army of regular troops. But I know that I shall not have these. I can have the others; and if an addition is made to the regular army allotted for home defense, of a force which would cost £400,000 a year, there would be a sufficient disciplined force in the field to enable him who should command it to defend the country.

"Our magazines and arsenals are very inadequately

of this state of things lessened by a consideration of the state of the navy; for at that period the whole ships of the line around Great Britain were only thirteen, of which not more than one half were fit for sea, and even they only half-manned. On the other hand, the French had sixteen sail of the line in commission, one half in the Channel, and 55,000 men in the *Levee Permanente*, produced by the maritime conscription, constantly ready to man them; and Russia had twenty-eight sail of the line in the Baltic, and thirty frigates constantly equipped and ready for sea. These two powers could at any time, within a fortnight of the time when their respective ambassadors left London, have thirty sail of the line and forty frigates or war-steamers in the Channel, against which Great Britain could only oppose, at the very utmost, half the number, and those manned by crews hastily got together, and altogether untrained to warlike operations. And all this existed at a time when, in consequence of our immensely extended empire, Great Britain was constantly brought into collision with foreign powers, and had, within these few years, been repeatedly on the very verge of a rupture with France, Russia, or America.¹ Aug. 1846, MS.

Probably there was no member of the Cabinet to whom the facts stated in this able

and important state paper failed in carrying conviction; but the position of the Ministry, only a few weeks in power, and with a House

of Commons composed of such heterogeneous materials that it had carried the Ministry through the greatest triumph recorded in recent times, and hurled it from power at the same time by nearly equal majorities, rendered it impossible at the moment to undertake so hazardous a step as any addition to the army estimates. But the Duke of Wellington, who had long and earnestly labored, though in vain, to impress upon successive Cabinets the perilous state of the country, from the evident inadequacy of its military and naval forces, now devised and carried into execution a plan which was extremely well conceived for making, at a very trifling cost, a very considerable addition to the military resources of the State. This consisted in organizing the military pensioners throughout the empire, and the dock-yard men in the naval arsenals, in fencible battalions, which were called out and drilled regularly for a few weeks in the year, and were liable to be called out by lord-lieutenants in counties, or mayors and provosts in boroughs, if the public peace was seriously endangered. Upon the dock-yard men, being for the most part novices in the military art, little reliance could be placed; but the pensioners, being all old soldiers, easily retained their habits

provided. This deficiency has been occasioned by the sale of arms, and of various descriptions of arsenal stores, since the termination of the late war, to diminish the demand of supply, to carry on the peace service of the ordnance; in part, by the fire in the Tower some years ago, and by the difficulty under which all Governments in this country labor in prevailing upon Parliament in time of peace to take into consideration measures necessary for the safety of the country in time of war. I am bordering on seventy-seven years of age passed in honor. I hope that the Almighty may protect me from being again the witness of the tragedy which I can not prevail on my contemporaries to take measures to avert."

—WELLINGTON to Sir J. BURGOGNE, April 11, 1846.

of actual service, and constituted a most admirable force, at once regular and disciplined, constantly accessible either to support the civil magistrate in cases of domestic tumult, or to form reserve and garrison battalions in the event of actual warfare. This force amounted to 20,000 in Great Britain, and 10,000 in Ireland; and it proved of the most essential service in a perilous social crisis, as will be narrated in the course of the present chapter.*

* Sir Francis Head, who published a most interesting work at this juncture on the military defenses of the State, gives the following *vidimus* of the military resources of the principal European powers, which is of the more importance as it was framed on official sources of information, and exhibits their state when serious wars were approaching in every quarter:

I.—FRANCE.

<i>Regulars.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Infantry.....	301,224
Cavalry.....	58,932
Artillery.....	30,166
Engineers.....	18,298
Regular.....	408,620
National Guards.....	2,630,800

II.—RUSSIA.

<i>Regulars.</i>	
Infantry.....	408,000
Cavalry.....	85,000
Cossacks.....	20,000
Regular.....	573,000
Guns.....	1,020
Garrisons and Reserves.....	150,000
Cossack Irregulars.....	10,000

III.—AUSTRIA (IN WAR).

<i>Regulars.</i>	
Infantry.....	434,240
Cavalry.....	54,560
Artillery.....	26,104
Engineers, etc.....	56,549
Regular.....	626,543
Reduced in peace to.....	378,552
Landwehr.....	200,000

IV.—PRUSSIA.

<i>Regular and Landwehr.</i>	
Infantry.....	265,530
Cavalry.....	49,662
Artillery.....	23,400
Engineers, etc.....	40,800
Regular.....	379,392
Guns.....	1,163
Landsturm.....	222,416

V.—GREAT BRITAIN.

IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

<i>Regulars.</i>	
Great Britain—Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery.....	37,845
Ireland.....	24,006
British Islands.....	61,840
Colonies.....	61,453
Total Regulars.....	123,298

Irregulars.

Pensioners.....	30,000
Dock-yard men.....	8,000
Yeomanry.....	13,441
Channel Island Militia.....	4,700
Total Irregulars.....	56,141

—HEAD, *Dangers of Society*, 5-36.

IN COLONIES.

European Colonies.....	7,951
American Colonies and West Indies ..	19,835
Africa.....	3,703
	81,453
India.....	80,000
	61,453

How strongly soever the Whig leaders may have declaimed in the House of Commons against Sir R. Peel's coercion act for Ireland, they soon felt, when they came into power, the necessity of some such measure to protect life and property in some of the disturbed districts of that country. No sooner, accordingly, were they installed in office, than they themselves brought forward a new coercion bill, under the name of an "Arms Bill," differing from the one which proved fatal to their predecessors only in being even more rigorous, and in some respects oppressive. The purport of it was to render the possession as well as carrying of all arms illegal in the proclaimed districts, unless the names of the persons were previously given in and registered by the Government authorities. There can be no doubt that this bill, how stringent soever, was loudly called for by the state of the country, especially in the five disturbed counties; and the frightful increase which took place, during the next winter and spring, in offenses against property too clearly proved its necessity. So great was the distaste of the Irish members, however, to any such measure, and so entire the dependence of Ministers on their parliamentary support, that they were under the necessity, after the bill had been read a second time in the Commons, by a considerable majority, to abandon it altogether, and leave Ireland, on the eve of the most terrible famine recorded in history, to the passions and the sufferings of its dense and miserable population.¹

The measures of Sir R. Peel for the relief of this suffering, though trifling in comparison of what was done after his relinquishment of office, had been very judicious. They consisted chiefly in the purchase of Indian meal by Government commissioners, after it had come to this country, but before it got into the hands of fore-stallers, so as to retail it at a moderate price to the people. This proved a most seasonable relief, and, combined with public works on a small

NAVAL FORCES OF THE DIFFERENT POWERS IN 1850.

I.—ENGLAND.

Ships of the Line and building, of which 65 are serviceable.....	93
50 to 70.....	39
Frigates.....	110
War Steamers.....	56

II.—FRANCE.

Line.....	48
Frigates.....	50
War Steamers.....	102

III.—RUSSIA.

Line.....	45
Frigates.....	30

IV.—AMERICA.

Line.....	11
Frigates.....	14
War Steamers.....	14

—*United Service Gazette*, Dec. 1850. *Almanac of Sax-Gotha*, 1851, 415, 461.

The ships in commission around the British Islands were: Line, 13; Frigates, 9—one half of which alone were serviceable.

The whole French navy could be speedily rendered serviceable, as their naval conscription amounted to 56,000 men. The British navy was manned by voluntary enrollment.

scale, set on foot by the Government, enabled the country to tide with comparative ease over the first months of the summer of 1846, which, it was feared, would prove the most formidable of the whole year, from their embracing the interval between the end of the old and the coming in of the new potato-crop. The potato disease proved, as had all along been asserted by the Protectionists, however formidable in particular localities, very partial in its ravages; the crop of oats was immense; and the stock of potatoes remaining over from the former year was much larger than was supposed. Thus, generally speaking, food was not wanting; but nevertheless, in particular districts, where the peasants' little crops had disappeared, absolute famine stared them in the face, unless they could obtain *some employment to enable them to earn wages to buy the food.* To aid in effecting this most desirable object, Government, in the end

of the session of 1846, passed a 19 & 10 Vic-
toria, c. 1. "Public Works Act," in virtue of

which the Lord-Lieutenant was empowered to require special barony sessions to meet, in order to make presentments for the employment of the people;* the whole of the money requisite for their construction to be, in the first instance, supplied by the Imperial Treasury, but to be afterward repaid with interest at 3½ per cent. by long-dated assessments, by the districts benefited by the advances. This Act was well conceived in principle, for it went to provide a remedy for the one thing wanted in Ireland, which was not food, but employment; but when applied in practice, it was found to labor under several defects. In particular, the presentments for roads were so numerous, that they threatened to involve the Treasury in an expenditure of a million sterling on a species of improvement which really was unnecessary, and which the Prime Minister, when Parliament met in November, justly characterized as "not wanted." It is well known to every traveler that the roads of Ireland are in general excellent—superior to those either of England or Scotland. Government, therefore, as the danger increased, and the crisis became more imminent, courageously, and as became British Ministers in the circumstances, deviated from the Act, trusting to an indemnity, which they immediately received in the next session of Parliament. A far more effective

relief was afforded by the Drainage Act,² which authorized the Lords of the Treasury to issue £1,000,000 to Ireland, and £2,000,000 to Great Britain, for the purposes of drainage. This Act proved of the most important service, especially to Scotland, by which country the greater part of the loan destined to Great Britain was taken up. This was the last Act of any importance in the session, which was closed by her Majesty in person on the 28th August.³

We now approach the most awful and memorable catastrophe in modern times; that in which the most appalling destruction of human life took place, the greatest transposition of man-

kind was induced, and in which the judgments of the Almighty were most visibly executed upon the earth. It had been anticipated by several sagacious observers, in particular by Sir James Graham, that the disease in the potato would be far more wide-spread and formidable in 1846 than it had been in the preceding year, from the circumstance of a large portion of the seed being planted with the disease in it.* This prediction was too fatally verified in the succeeding year. In addition to the cause here mentioned, there was another which augmented in the most fatal manner the ravages of the disease. The summer, which had been warm and genial in the earlier months, became suddenly overcharged with moisture and electricity in the last weeks of August. Heavy rains fell for above a fortnight together, accompanied by six violent thunder-storms; a peculiarity of the weather which has always been observed in the seasons when the potato disease has been remarkably wide-spread and virulent. The work of destruction was fearfully rapid; in one or two nights it was complete, and a blooming crop was converted into a noisome mass of putrefaction.† The consequences were disastrous in the extreme, not only in Ireland, but in most parts of Great Britain. In the former country and in the West Highlands of Scotland, where it formed almost universally the staple food of the people, the potato crop failed almost entirely. Often in a single night, or at most in two or three days, entire fields of this crop became a mass of putrefaction, accompanied by a most noisome smell, which was felt for a long distance round. The disease was much more violent in the western parts of Great Britain than the eastern, and in rich and highly cultivated localities than in those more recently brought into cultivation, or where the soil was poor. From Aberdeen to Inverness, where the soil was in general sandy or gravelly, and great part of it had been newly brought into cultivation, the disease was unknown; but in the West Highlands, abreast of this district, it was all but universal, and had almost totally destroyed the crop.¹

What rendered this calamity the more distressing in Ireland and the West Highlands of Scotland was the want of any adequate or efficient system of parochial relief. In both these countries poor-laws had been of re-

* "The difficulty arising from the failure of the present crop is hardly felt at this time. It will be progressive, and become more intense as the season advances. The proportion which seed bears to an average crop is very large; it has been estimated at not less than an eighth; and when we consider that a considerable portion of this year's crop in Ireland is already destroyed, and that the remainder, if it be saved, must supply food for nine months as well as seed for next year, it is obvious that no ordinary care is required to husband a sufficient quantity of sound potatoes fit for planting in the spring. Unless this be done, the calamity of the present year is but the commencement of a more fatal series."—Sir JAMES GRAHAM to LORD HYTESBURY, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Oct. 25, 1845; *Peel's Memoirs*, ii. 181.

† "In one week, in the end of July, I had passed over 32 miles of potato-fields in full bloom. The next time, on 3d August, I beheld with sorrow a wide waste of putrefying vegetation. The stalk remained a bright green, but the leaves were all scorched black. It was the work of a night. Distress and fear were painted on every countenance; there was a general rush to dig and sell, or consume the tainted crop by feeding pigs, before it became

* These are resolutions for the undertaking of public works, as roads, bridges, etc., which the Sessions of Justices are empowered to set on foot and levy a rate for their completion.

¹ Personal knowledge; Disraeli, *Life of Bentinck*, 406.

² Deplorable and alarming state of the country.

cent introduction, and in neither were the administrators of them armed with sufficient power to overcome the stubborn resistance to assessment almost universal among the landed proprietors. In Scotland the Sheriffs could put claimants on the roll, but the Court of Supervision at Edinburgh alone could award them an adequate alimment, which, from the distance of the Hebrides, proved a most inadequate mode of reviewing the decisions of the Parochial Boards, and the able-bodied had no claim for relief. In Ireland matters were much worse. The Poor-Laws, as established in 1837, had been so defective in power, from providing only for *in-door relief*, and so strongly resisted, that although the Government commission had reported that in ordinary seasons 2,835,000 people required public relief for nearly half the year, the whole poor-rate levied on a rental of £18,000,000 was £306,000, being about 5*d.* in the pound on the real rental, a sum which would not maintain the now famishing multitude for one month; and this rate, trifling and inadequate as it was, was only levied with extreme difficulty, and in some cases by armed force.* And the fact that the vast majority of the persons thus suddenly deprived of the produce of their little potato-crofts, their sole means of subsistence during nine months in the year, were without either employment or wages to buy food, afforded a melancholy presage of the devastation which must ensue if Government did not come forward promptly and largely for their relief. The mere furnishing of food was, comparatively speaking, of little importance, for it existed in sufficient quantities in most parts of the country, and was even exported to England to a considerable extent during the famine;† it was employment and wages to above half a million of Irish, starving laborers which was the one thing needful!

In this awful emergency the conduct both of the Government and of Parliament was in the highest degree courageous and liberal, and such as entitles them to the lasting admiration of posterity. That some errors should have occurred in the mode of grappling with so dire and unprecedented a calamity was inevitable; but the measures, upon the whole, were judicious, so far as the relief of destitution went, and conducted on such a scale as mitigated to a very great extent its most agonizing features. It is

totally unserviceable." — Captain MANN'S *Narrative*. NICHOLLS'S *Irish Poor-Law*, 310.

* The rental of Ireland in 1842 was . . . £18,253,825
The rental of England and Wales . . . 62,546,003
—*Order of House of Commons*, 8d May, 1842.

The assessments for the relief of the poor, and persons relieved in Ireland, in the undermentioned years, had been as follows, relief being then administered only in the work-houses:

Years.	Number in Work-houses.	Sums paid.
1840	5,468	£37,057
1841	15,246	110,377
1842	31,572	231,238
1843	35,515	244,374
1844	39,175	269,530
1845	42,068	316,026
1846	94,433	435,001

—NICHOLLS'S *Irish Poor-Law*, 282, 311, 322.

† The grain exported from Ireland to Great Britain during the year 1847 was 963,000 quarters.—PORTER'S *Progress of the Nation*, p. 345.

only to be regretted that some more durable and productive form could not have been discovered than merely covering good roads with additional loads of metal in return for the splendid liberality of the British Government. It was not the fault of Ministers, however, that this was the case. A crisis had arrived which defied all prudential considerations, and set at naught the most sagacious foresight. Notwithstanding their obvious inability even to repay the enormous advances in course of being made by the Treasury, three hundred out of the three hundred and sixty baronies into which Ireland is divided had held presentment sessions, and sanctioned the employment of several millions sterling. The laborers employed on the works, who in September were only 40,000, rapidly increased with the increasing necessities of the country, until, when Parliament met in January, they had reached the enormous number of 570,000, representing with their families at least 2,000,000 human beings. This number swelled in the month of March to the still more appalling figure of 734,000, representing nearly 3,000,000 souls.* The pay weekly distributed to these laborers in October was £200,000 by the hands of 500 pay-clerks; there were 74 inspectors, 36 engineers, 385 assistant surveyors, 3000 check-clerks, and 7000 overseers! The men got from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 10*d.* a day after task-work was introduced, which at first met with the most strenuous resistance, but at length was every where established. As these wages were more than double of what the people had ever been accustomed to, there was a prodigious run upon them, and farmers holding thirty and forty acres were to be seen on the roads breaking stones like common laborers. As might be supposed in so extreme a case, great abuses crept in, and no inconsiderable part of the magnificent advances of the British Government were wasted on unworthy objects. The tendency to misapply public funds to private purposes, strong in all, but especially so in Ireland, broke forth in the most remarkable manner; numbers received Government pay who did not require it, and great part of those who did loitered about doing nothing; all the efforts of the overseers were unable to keep the huge swarms of idlers in active operation. Worse still, the attraction of much pay for little work proved an irresistible magnet which drew men from all other employments; the Board of Works became the centre of a colossal organization which threatened soon to absorb all the labor of the country in unproductive work;† the fields were deserted, while the roads were covered with metal, and the foundation of another

* NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED ON GOVERNMENT WORKS.

		Expenses per Month.
1846, September	48,000	£78,123
" October	114,000	198,024
" November	285,000	498,212
" December	440,000	637,310
1847, January	570,000	723,192
" February	708,000	928,000
" March	734,000	1,050,772

—NICHOLLS'S *Irish Poor-Law*, 315, 316.

The greatest number of persons employed on public works to 15th August, 1846, had been 97,000, and the sum distributed was £380,372 to that date.—*Ibid.* 312.

still more terrible famine was rapidly being laid in the means adopted to allay the first.

Yet great as were the efforts made by the British Government, largely aided by splendid subscriptions from every part of Great Britain, which soon reached £470,000, and were admirably administered by a Central Board, the magnitude of the distress even exceeded them, and seemed to baffle all the efforts of humanity for its relief. So sudden was the calamity, so appalling its universality in some districts of the country, especially in the south and west, that before any measures of relief could reach them, or they could reach the public works set on foot by Government or the local authorities, great numbers of persons of both sexes and all ages perished. Parochial relief was as yet only afforded in the work-houses, and the aversion of the people was at first extreme to entering these gloomy abodes; but stern famine ere long broke down all these feelings, and their doors were besieged from morning to night by crowds beseeching to be taken in, whose wan cheeks and sunken eyes revealed too clearly the extremities of hunger they had already endured. All the orders, and they were most stringent, issued by the Poor-Law Commissioners to limit the number of admissions, so as to avoid overcrowding, were overpowered, as barriers often are in a dense crowd, by the pressure of the starving multitude, and numbers who got in brought with them the seeds of contagious disorders, which, spreading with frightful rapidity, again thinned the work-houses by the stern hand of death. Yet, with all these dangers before their eyes, the crowds at the doors of the work-houses were immense, and every where increasing. The description given by the admirable Chief Commissioner, Mr. Nicholls, was universally applicable. "Possessed of a work-house capable of containing only a few hundred inmates, the guardians are looked to with hope by thousands of famishing persons, and are called on to exercise the mournful task of selection from the distressed objects who present themselves for admission as the last refuge from death. It was no longer a question whether the applicants were fit objects for relief, but which of them would be rejected and which admitted with the least risk of sacrificing life."

¹ Nicholls, 324, 325.

All that the imagination of Dante has figured, all that the pens of Thucydides or Boccaccio have described, all that the pencil of Reynolds has pictured of the terrible and the pathetic, was realized, and more than realized, in that scene of unutterable woe. Often, when a cottage was observed to be deserted, and the wonted smoke no longer seen to issue from its roof—when the anxious neighbors opened the door, they found the whole family lying dead in a circle, with the new-born infant still locked in its mother's arms, having drained the last drop of nutriment in the dying embrace. Numbers of peasants dropped down on the wayside from pure exhaustion, when striving to reach the work-house or the nearest Government works. A faithful dog was sometimes found beside the body, emaciated and weak, but true to its trust even in death.

"Nor yet quite deserted, though lonely extended,
For, faithful in death, his mute favorite attended,
The much-loved remains of his master defended,
And chased the hill-fox and the raven away."

A mournful scene was very frequently presented at the farm-houses during the winter, especially in the remote parts of the country, where the cattle, deprived for long of their wonted meal, were to be seen standing in silence round the deserted door, occasionally giving a low moan at the long-continued absence of the well-known hands that were wont to nourish them, and whose prostration had been so sudden that they had neither strength to feed nor to slay them. The wail of starving children was to be heard on all sides, begging in vain of their parents the slender pittance on which they had long supported life. A melancholy feature of the times was exhibited in the long trains of convoys with provisions which traversed the country on their way from the sea-ports to the coast, guarded by long files of infantry and cavalry, round which the weeping villagers, with their children, crowded supplicating for a handful of meal to stay the pangs of hunger. The scenes exhibited far exceeded in horror any thing yet recorded in European history; for, in the nervous words of Lord John Russell, it was a "famine of the thirteenth which had fallen on the population of the nineteenth century."

Nicholls, 325, 326; Personal knowledge.

In the midst of these unparalleled disasters, Parliament met on the 19th January, 1847, and her Majesty in person addressed the following observations to her Parliament: "It is with the deepest regret that, upon your again assembling, I have to call your attention to the dearth of provisions which prevails in Ireland and in some parts of Scotland. In Ireland especially the want of the usual food of the people has been the cause of severe suffering, of disease, and of greatly increased mortality among the poorer classes. Outrages have become more frequent, chiefly directed against property; and the transit of provisions has been rendered unsafe in some parts of the country. With a view to mitigate these evils, large numbers of men have been employed, and have received wages in pursuance of an Act passed in the last session of Parliament. Some deviations from that Act, which have been authorized by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in order to promote more useful employment, will, I trust, receive your sanction. Means have been taken to lessen the pressure in districts which are most remote from the ordinary sources of supply. Outrages have been repressed as far as was possible by the military and police. It is satisfactory to me to observe that, in many of the most distressed districts, the patience and resignation of the people have been most exemplary. The deficiency of the harvest in France and Germany, and other parts of Europe, has added to the difficulty of obtaining adequate supplies of provisions. It will be your duty to consider what further measures are required to alleviate the existing distress. I recommend to you to take into your serious consideration whether, by increasing for a limited period the facilities

86.
Her Majesty's speech on opening Parliament. Jan. 19.

for importing corn from foreign countries, and
 1 Ann. Reg. by the admission of sugar more free-
 1847, 8; ly into breweries and distilleries, the
 Parl. Deb. supply of food may be beneficially
 lxxxix. 1, 2. augmented."¹

The debate which followed upon this speech
 37. turned, as might have been expected,
 Ministerial entirely on the Irish famine, and the
 plan for the means to be adopted for its relief.
 Irish relief.

It was conducted on both sides with
 great temper and moderation, and an entire
 abstinence from party feelings or ambition. The
 magnitude of the calamity had banished all such
 motives, and inspired a universal desire to hurry
 forward to its alleviation. Ministers admitted
 that the Government's first plan of employing
 the poor on public works had broken down, or
 rather become impracticable; not so much from
 any defect in its original conception as from the
 prodigious numbers who had flocked for employ-
 ment, threatening to drain away nearly all the
 labor of the country from productive occupa-
 tions, and amounting even then to above 500,000
 persons. Add to this that great numbers of the
 most destitute had, from long-continued scarcity
 of food, fallen into such a state of debility that
 many of them died before reaching the public
 works, and such as did reach them were still
 more frequently unable, from sheer exhaustion,
 to do any thing. Labor was no longer a test
 of destitution; on the contrary, things had come
 to such a point that the capacity to endure its
 fatigue was rather the reverse. In addition to
 this, the work expended on the roads, during
 the four preceding months, had been so im-

mense that all useful employment on
 1 Parl. Deb. them had long since come to an
 lxxxix. 2, end; and the only effect of now
 47; Ann. continuing it would be "to render,"
 Reg. 1847, in the words of one of the Govern-
 10, 12; Dis- ment inspectors, "good roads im-
 raeli, Life of passable for public conveyances."²
 Bentinck, 867, 869.

Upon these grounds, Ministers justly declared
 38. that they regarded the misfortunes
 Description of Ireland as an imperial calamity,
 of the calam- which could no longer be regarded
 ity by Lord as affecting that part of the empire
 Brougham. only, or capable of being relieved
 from its resources. The magnitude of the evil
 was such that the whole empire must contribute
 to its relief, and the resources of it all would be
 strained to the uttermost to effect it. Lord
 Brougham, when the subject was first mooted
 in the House of Lords, gave the following strik-
 ing description of the state of Ireland, and the
 impossibility, by any effort, of legislating calmly
 or wisely for its relief. "I hold it to be indis-
 pensable," said he, "to draw a line of demar-
 cation between temporary and permanent meas-
 ures. It is impossible, when the cry of hunger
 prevails over the land—when there is the mel-
 ancholy substance as well as the cry—when the
 country is distracted from day to day by ac-
 counts of the most heart-rending spectacles I
 have ever heard or read of—when there is a
 deep misery and distress prevailing in and per-
 vading Ireland, rendered only the more heart-
 rending because the more touching by the ad-
 mirable and almost inimitable patience with
 which it has been borne; that at a time when
 this grievous calamity exists, when there are
 scenes all over those unfortunate districts which

nothing can be found to surpass in the page of
 history, disease and death ever following in the
 train of famine; to which nothing exceeding is
 to be found in the page of Josephus, or on the
 canvass of Poussin, or in the dismal chant of
 Dante—that at this very time, and under the
 pressure of these sights, from which, with in-
 stinctive horror, we avert our eyes, but which
 we are compelled, by a more reasonable hu-
 manity, to make an effort to relieve—that at
 such a moment, with such feelings pervading
 millions in both islands, we should
 be able calmly and deliberately to
 take up a question of permanent pol-
 icy, I hold to be utterly and neces-
 sarily impossible."³

Notwithstanding the almost insuperable diffi-
 culty thus forcibly stated by Lord
 Brougham, the measures of Govern-
 ment were vigorous and energetic,
 and, in the circumstances, among the
 best that could be adopted. They
 consisted of two parts. The first was directed
 to facilitating the introduction of foreign grain
 and food of all kinds, by the removal of all re-
 strictions on its entrance, and lessening the cost
 of its transit; the second, of means to insure its
 conveyance to the starving population of Ireland.
 Under the first category was included the im-
 mediate repeal of all the remaining duties on
 grain of every kind, even the shilling duty on
 wheat being for the time taken off, and an en-
 tire suspension of the Navigation Laws, so as to
 give every facility for the importation of food of
 all kinds from foreign countries. The latter
 measure was based on the statement that, to
 supply the deficiency of food in the British Isl-
 ands, at least 6,000,000 quarters of grain would
 require to be imported, being about 850,000
 tons; and that for the carriage of so large a
 quantity the whole commercial navy of Great
 Britain, large as it was, would not suffice. In
 addition to this, an Act was proposed modify-
 ing the duties on rum and sugar, so as to equal-
 ize them with those on grain used in distilleries;
 the effect of which, it was hoped, would be at
 once to give some relief to the West India pro-
 prietors, and diminish the pressure on the grain
 resources in Great Britain. These
 measures, as well as an Act legal-
 izing the deviation from the Public-
 Works Act of the preceding session,
 under the pressure of necessity, all
 passed both Houses without any op-
 position.⁴

The second class of measures intended for the
 relief of Ireland consisted of an ex-
 tensive modification and extension of
 the Poor-Law, and an establishment
 of committees to distribute relief, in-
 dependent of work, to such persons
 as might require it, to be provided for
 partly by rates and subscriptions, and
 partly by grants from the public exchequer. It
 directed that a relief committee should be ap-
 pointed in every electoral division, consisting of
 the magistrates, a clergyman of each persuasion,
 the Poor-Law guardian, and the three highest
 rate-payers, and a finance committee appointed
 of four gentlemen of character and knowledge
 of business, should be formed to control the ex-
 penditure of each Union. Inspecting officers

1 Parl. Deb.
 lxxxix. 50,
 51; Ann.
 Reg. 1847,
 6, 7.

39.
 Ministerial
 plan for re-
 lief of Ire-
 land.

1 Parl. Deb.
 lxxxix. 210,
 278, 275,
 281, 481,
 609, 1220;
 Ann. Reg.
 1847, 21,
 52.

40.
 Amended
 Poor and
 Temporary
 Relief Act,
 10 and 11
 Victoria,
 c. 7.

were also to be appointed, and a central commission, sitting in Dublin, was to superintend and control the working of the whole system. The expense incurred was to be defrayed out of the poor-rates, and when these failed they were to be reinforced by Government loans, to be repaid by rates subsequently levied. The guardians of the poor were REQUIRED to give relief, either in or out of the work-house, to the aged and infirm, and to all who were permanently disabled. The work-houses were to be retained as a test, so far as they could be applied, of real destitution; but in cases where accommodation could not be afforded to all who crowded to the doors, relief was to be administered, not in money, but in food, whether the applicants who could not be taken in were able-bodied, thrown out of work, or not. The great and important principles established by this Act were, that the administering relief to the destitute was rendered compulsory, and enforced by public boards and commissioners appointed for the purpose, and that the relief was to be extended to out-door applicants and the able-bodied unable to find employment. And of the necessity of this change in the administration of the Poor-Laws no better proof can be furnished than was afforded by the barony of Skibbereen, in the south of Ireland, where nearly the whole population, consisting of eleven thousand persons, perished of famine, and the deaths in the work-houses were a hundred and forty in a single month; and yet the rated rental of the Union was £80,000 a year, the real rental £100,000, and the rate of assessment only 6d. on the pound, while the average of all England was 1s. 7d.!

With truth did Lord John Russell say, in introducing this bill, that "in Ireland there was a very great deal of charity, but it was not of the rich to the poor, but of the poor to the very poor."

Under authority of this Act, and of the Temporary Relief Act, relief was administered, with a most unsparing hand, in the year 1847;* and the rapid rise in the sums levied as poor-rates in that year afforded incontestable evidence of the scandalous neglect and parsimony with which it had formerly been administered. Dépôts of corn and meal were formed, relief committees established, mills and ovens erected, huge boilers, specially cast for the purpose, sent over from England, and large supplies of clothing provided. In July, 1847, the system reached its highest point; for "3,020,712 persons received separate rations, of whom 2,265,535 were adults, and 755,178 were children." Three millions of human be-

ings, a larger population than the whole inhabitants of Holland, fed by public charity! History affords no parallel to so magnificent a display of human beneficence. The supplies of all sorts imported into the country were on a corresponding scale. The quantity of all sorts of grain imported in the first six months of 1847 was 2,849,847 tons, equal to the support of six millions of people for a whole year. The price of Indian corn, of which the greater part of this immense importation consisted, fell in consequence so rapidly, that while in the end of February it was at £19 per ton, by the middle of August it had sunk to £7 10s. The price of ordinary provisions, though higher than usual, was by no means extraordinary, and not nearly so high as it has been in several years since, when no scarcity whatever was experienced. That of wheat varied from 54s. to 66s. the quarter; the average of the whole year was 62s. 9d.* That of the preceding year had been 54s. 8d., that of the succeeding was 50s. 6d. Happily the next harvest was abundant, and the potato crop free of disease. By the middle of August food was generally abundant, and labor in demand. Relief out of the work-house was discontinued in one half of the Unions, and it ceased altogether, under the Temporary Relief Act, on the 12th of September.

Although, however, the circumstances of the country were so ameliorated that the extraordinary support administered under the Temporary Relief Act ceased, yet the pressure, especially for out-door relief, was only thereby rendered the greater upon the Poor-Law Unions. It soon became excessive upon them, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in separating the deserving from the undeserving, and preventing nearly the whole working classes falling as a burden on the poor-rates. The work-house test was first applied, but it soon failed, from the impossibility of finding accommodation in these gloomy abodes for the multitudes which thronged their gates. The labor test also failed, from the experienced difficulty of getting any profitable work out of the crowds of persons, many of them old or infirm, who required to be employed upon public works. Provisions gratuitously distributed were found, in too many instances, to be exchanged for drink: the shape in which they were found to be most beneficial was when cooked, in the form of porridge or "stirabout," because it became soon sour, if not consumed on the spot, or near it. In spite of every disposition to resist it, out-door relief on a very large scale was fairly forced upon the Poor-Law Commissioners; and the number of indigent persons so relieved increased in an alarming ratio when the Temporary Relief Act came to an end in August, 1847. The number of these reached its highest point in March, 1848, when the in-door paupers were 140,536, and the out-door 703,762, making together 844,298 persons living on eleemosynary aid. This was independent of 200,000 children at the same time provided with food and clothing by the British Association — making in all

* EXPENDED ON THE POOR IN IRELAND, AND NUMBERS RELIEVED BY UNIONS.

Years ending 29th September.	Number in Work-houses on 29th Sept.	Total Relieved.		Expenditure on them.
		In-door	Out-door.	
1845	42,068	142,068	....	£316,026
1846	94,437	316,928	....	435,001
1847	86,376	417,139	....	....
1848	124,003	610,463	1,433,482	1,835,631
1849	141,030	932,284	1,210,482	2,177,651
1850	155,173	805,702	368,563	1,430,103
1851	140,031	707,443	47,914	1,141,047
1852	111,515	504,864	13,232	833,267

—NICHOLLS'S Irish Report, 395.

* The average of the harvest years, September, 1847, to September, 1848, was much higher; it was 72s., and for some weeks it was as high as 110s., and even 120s.

1,044,298 supported at one time by public or private charity, being above an eighth part of the entire population of the Island. And the Commissioners, in their report on this year, say that "they can not doubt that of this number a large proportion are by this means, and this means alone, daily preserved from death through want of food." The history of the world will be sought in vain for a parallel to a visitation of Providence of such magnitude so energetically met by the efforts of public and private beneficence.¹

Notwithstanding all these exertions, the number of poor persons who died in Ireland during the calamitous years when the famine or its effects lasted, either from starvation or the diseases consequent on insufficient or unwholesome nourishment, was deplorably great. From the tables published by the Census Commissioners, in their deeply interesting sixth report, it appears that the average mortality of Ireland before the dearth was 78,000 annually. From the time, however, when the potato famine began, the number of deaths rapidly increased, and in the year 1847 they reached their highest point, being 249,335. The total deaths from the beginning of 1846, when the scarcity began, to the end of 1850, when its effects may be said to have ended, so far as mortality is concerned, were 985,000, from which, if we deduct 390,000 for the probable average mortality of the period, there will remain 595,000, which may fairly be ascribed to the famine, or the diseases consequent in its train.* A dreadful loss of life, and perhaps unparalleled in recent times in European story, yet not a quarter of what it would in all probability have been had not Providence granted an abundant harvest and crop untainted with disease in 1847, and had not the British Government and people met the visitation, when at its worst, with Christian beneficence and a noble patriotic spirit.

And truly the pecuniary sacrifices and efforts made in Great Britain to mitigate the calamity were on a scale proportioned to its magnitude, and altogether unparalleled in the previous history of the world. When disease and fever appeared, as they did with fearful virulence in the beginning of 1848, three hundred hospitals and dispensaries were established entirely at the expense of Government, which afforded accommodation to twenty thousand patients, and administered out-door relief

* DEATHS IN IRELAND FROM 1842 TO 1850.

Years.	Deaths.
1842.....	68,782
1843.....	70,499
1844.....	75,055
1845.....	86,900
	<u>301,186</u>
Average of last three years.....	77,754
1846.....	182,889
1847.....	249,335
1848.....	208,252
1849.....	240,797
1850.....	164,093
Deaths in five years, first two being of famine.	<u>985,366</u>
Deduct average deaths of three years preceding, 78,000 a year.....	<u>390,000</u>
Died of the famine and its effects.....	<u>595,366</u>
—Census Commissioners' General Report, No. VI., p. 51.	

to above double the number for a very long period. The total sums advanced by the British Government to Ireland in aid of the rates, or as a free gift, in 1846 and 1847, were £7,182,268, of which £3,754,789 was to be repaid in ten years, and the remaining £3,377,529 was a free gift. To meet these immense demands upon the Treasury, which were felt as the more distressing, as, from the violence of the monetary crisis, which simultaneously set in in Great Britain, the public revenue was becoming very much embarrassed, a loan of £8,000,000 was authorized by Parliament, and borrowed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at 8½ per cent. These immense public grants were independent of £470,000 raised by private subscription, one-sixth of which was applied to Scotland, and of £168,000 collected by the "Society of Friends," and distributed for the most part in clothing and provisions. Thus, between public grants and private subscriptions, nearly EIGHT MILLIONS STERLING were in two years bestowed by Great Britain upon Ireland—an example of magnificent liberality unparalleled in any former age or country, and forming not the least honorable feature in its long and glorious annals. The portion of the grant which was nominally to be repaid has since been converted, with the entire approbation of the nation, into a free gift.^{1*}

Great as was the devastation produced in the Irish population by the famine and its consequent pestilence, it was as nothing compared with the effects of the emigration from Ireland, produced by it, combined with the results of free trade, upon that agricultural island. Incalculable has been the influence of these combined causes on the people of Ireland, and, through them, on the destinies of the world. The first caused them to lose all confidence in the potato, hitherto their sole means of subsistence; the last deprived them for several years of the profitable market for their cereal crops which Great Britain had hitherto afforded, and which was their chief means of paying the rents of their little possessions. The first effect of this universal panic was a migration from Ireland into the adjoining island of Great Britain on a scale unparalleled even in its long annals of suffering. Liverpool and Glasgow were the two points which principally attracted the immigrants, and on them the inundation of Irish paupers was excessive. In the first nine months of 1847, 278,000 immigrants from Ireland landed in Liverpool, of whom only 123,000 sailed from thence to foreign parts, leaving 155,000 as a lasting burden upon its inhabitants. For a long period the Irish paupers who landed were 800, sometimes as high as 1100, in a day.† It was considered

* SUMS ADVANCED UNDER THE DIFFERENT ACTS.

1. Under Public Works Act, 9 & 10 Vict., c. 1.....	} £476,000
2. Under Labor Rate Act, 9 & 10 Vict., c. 107.....	
3. Under Local Purposes Act, 9 & 10 Vict., c. 2.....	} 180,000
4. Under Temporary Relief Act, 10 Vict., c. 7, 22.....	
	<u>1,676,268</u>
	<u>£7,182,268</u>

† "Liverpool was so inundated that in eleven days they were compelled to afford relief to 148,000 cases in addition to their own poor."—LORD BROUGHAM, LXXXIX. 771.

matter for public thankfulness when the number sunk, in the end of the year, to 2000 a week. The inundation into Glasgow at the same period, though not so great, was still on a scale of unprecedented magnitude. Between the 1st November, 1847, and the 1st April, 1848, it was ascertained by an official enumeration, that no less than 42,800 Irish immigrants had landed at the Broomielaw, besides those who came by the railway from Ardrossan, who were about half as many more. Many of these immigrants were in the last state of destitution, and not a few bore with them the seeds of contagious fever, which rapidly spread among the dense population, and not a little aggravated their suffer-

ings in the disastrous year which followed. Upon the whole, it is no exaggeration to say, that in the course of the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, not less than *five hundred thousand persons* came to the British shores from Ireland, the great majority of whom never again left them, and formed no inconsiderable part of the apparent increase of British population in the census of 1851.¹

The actual value of the crop destroyed in 1847 was estimated by Lord Lansdowne in Parliament at £11,850,000 in potatoes, and £4,600,000 in oats, or in all about £16,000,000.² This amount, though very large when compared to the agricultural produce of Ireland itself, was inconsiderable when set beside that of the whole empire, which at that time was estimated in the British Islands at £300,000,000 annually. But, coming as it did upon a population left almost entirely for half the year without wages, and supported solely by the produce of their little patches of ground, and combined as it was with the repeal of the Corn-Laws in England, which lowered to two-thirds of its former amount the average price of grain of every kind in the English market, it induced that despair in the minds of all classes which tore up all the attachments, heretofore felt as so strong, of home and country, and sent them in willing multitudes into the emigrant ships to flee from that land of woe. The emigration to foreign countries,* especially America, Canada, and Australia, in consequence became such that no

parallel to it is to be found in the whole annals of the world. From the authentic records collected by the Irish Census and Emigration Commissioners, it appears that the total number of *Irish-born emigrants* who left the country between the 30th June, 1841, and the 31st December, 1855, amounted to the *enormous and almost incredible number of 2,087,856 persons*, of whom 75 per cent. were between 10 and 40 years of age, that is, in the prime of life with reference to the means of increase. Only 272,828 of the immense multitude had emigrated before 1846, leaving 1,814,928 who had departed subsequent to the introduction of free trade and the commencement of the famine. Of this number 1,600,758 had emigrated to the United States; 411,680 to Canada; and 74,708 to Australia; and only 715 to all other places. History may be searched in vain for a parallel to so extraordinary a deportation of the human race in so short a time.¹

The consequences of this prodigious exodus upon the destinies of the British empire, and the fortunes of the New World, have been great and lasting; and we are still too near the time of its occurrence to be able to estimate

them at their real amount. But the effect of it on the population of Ireland itself has already been accurately ascertained; and this presents a result which may fully be considered as unparalleled in modern times. The population of Ireland, by the census of 1841, was 8,175,124 souls, and by that of 1851 it had sunk to 6,552,385, exhibiting a decrease of 1,612,739 persons. Great as this diminution is, it exhibits less than the real diminution of the population which has taken place since 1846. It is justly observed by the Census Commissioners, that "applying the English rates of 1 birth to every 31 persons, and 1 death to every 45, to Ireland, and supposing the immigration and emigration to be equal, there would have been in Ireland, in 1846, no less than 8,558,084 persons; and in 1851, 9,018,799." But as the population in 1851 was found to be only 6,552,385, it follows that between 1846 and 1851, a period of only five years, there had been an actual decline of the inhabitants to the extent of 2,000,000, of which number 1,700,000 can be easily accounted for. This number, how great soever in so short a time, will not appear at all surprising when the extent of the emigration and deaths, above the average number already given, is taken into consideration, which amounted to about an equal number. And the Census Commissioners estimate the decline of population since 1851, when the census was taken, "including emigration, at 475,102 persons, to the 31st December, 1855; so that it is probable that at the present time the population does not much exceed 6,000,000; and this number is still diminishing, owing to the emigrants from the country continuing to be greater in amount than the assumed excess of births over deaths." That is, IN TEN YEARS AFTER THE INTRODUCTION OF FREE TRADE, AND THE COMMENCEMENT

* IRISH-BORN EMIGRANTS FROM JUNE 30, 1841, TO DECEMBER 31, 1855.

Years.	United States.	Canada.	Australia.	Total.
1841.....	11,524	1,755	8,678	16,376
1842.....	49,300	39,442	937	89,686
1843.....	23,420	18,573	509	87,509
1844.....	37,269	16,484	520	54,289
1845.....	50,206	24,718	50	74,969
1846.....	68,028	37,888	39	105,955
1847.....	116,868	97,392	1,138	215,444
1848.....	153,589	22,724	1,840	178,159
1849.....	176,648	30,735	7,041	214,425
1850.....	180,542	24,465	4,045	209,054
1851.....	215,600	29,812	4,797	249,721
1852.....	199,585	21,617	6,266	220,428
1853.....	156,970	22,402	12,746	192,620
1854.....	111,095	22,922	16,202	150,223
1855.....	57,164	6,251	15,500	78,999
Total..	1,600,758	411,680	74,708	2,087,856

—Census Report, No. VI., p. lv.—The influence of the gold discoveries in Australia, which first came into play in 1853, in increasing the emigration to Australia, and

of the Russian War, which broke out in April, 1854, in diminishing the general exodus, is very apparent in this very interesting table.

¹ Irish Census Report, Part vi. lv. : General Report.

^{47.} Effects of this exodus on the Irish population.

² Sixth Census General Report, lviii.

OF THE FAMINE, THE POPULATION OF IRELAND HAD DIMINISHED BY 2,500,000 SOULS.*

Struck with consternation at so unprecedented and melancholy a catastrophe, a large and influential party in Great Britain have done their utmost to represent it as the result, not of the change of commercial policy introduced in 1846, but of the mortality and consequent panic produced by the potato rot, and famine thence arising which ensued in the close of that year. Without disputing what is self-evident, that the terrible nature of the malady in that year must have produced a very great feeling of distrust in the minds of the Irish peasantry in their favorite root, a very little consideration must be sufficient to show that, however powerful at first, this influence soon ceased to operate; and if we would find the cause of the long-continued exodus of the Irish people from 1847 to 1856, we must look for it in the gloom thrown over the prospects of their agricultural industry by the immense importation of foreign grain which followed the changes of 1846, and lowered the price of their staple produce so much, as made the people despair of being able either to pay their rents or cultivate their land, so as to be able to maintain themselves and their families. The crop of every kind in 1847 was so fine, that by orders of Government a public thanksgiving was returned for it; and the seasons from that time to 1856, with the exception of 1853, were favorable, as is proved by the prices-current of those years, quoted below,

* DECREASE OF POPULATION IN IRELAND FROM 1847 TO 1851.

Year.	Emigration.	Estimated ordinary Deaths.	Estimated ordinary Births.	Natural Increase of Population.
1847....	315,444	192,030	273,038	80,760
1848....	178,159	194,016	281,038	87,020
1849....	214,475	195,948	234,468	85,500
1850....	200,654	197,930	237,174	89,287
1851....	240,731	192,519	292,131	91,512
Total..	1,000,004	872,303	1,421,233	447,509

Summary.

Extra deaths from famine—supposed	805,308
Ordinary deaths	872,303
Estimated immigration to Great Britain..	500,000
Emigration abroad.....	1,000,004
Total	2,184,479
Deduct ordinary births.....	1,421,233
Visible decrease	1,712,547

—*Irish Census Report*, p. 16, 17; *General Report*, p. 51.

which were, till 1853, when the gold came in, extremely low. Some more general and lasting influence must therefore be looked for, if we would discover the real cause of this prodigious exodus, amounting, between 1846 and 1856, to 1,800,000, and which for several years rendered population declining in the whole empire. And if we look at the immense importation of foreign grain throughout the period, the fall in the exports of Irish during the same years, the prices-current of agricultural produce, and the proved diminution of Irish cereal cultivation, we shall have no difficulty in seeing what the cause really was.†

It is not to be imagined, from all that has been said, that the Irish people are destitute of charitable feelings, or that the poor were driven out of the country by the voluntary failure of the industrial and affluent classes to maintain them. There is no country in the world in which the poor are more kind and humane to each other. Previous to the introduction of the Poor-Laws in 1837, the destitute, who exceeded 2,000,000, were maintained almost entirely in this way, and their support, it was computed, cost the industrious poor £1,500,000 a year. If the land-owners were apparently deficient in that duty, it is to be ascribed mainly to the unhappy, distracted state of the country, which rendered absenteeism almost unavoidable with all who had the means of leaving it; and the enormous amount of their mortgages, the interests of which absorbed £9,000,000 out of the £18,000,000 rental. This prodigious burden was mainly owing to the circumstances that the habits of expenditure were contracted during the high prices of the war, and the debt remained under the halved rental produced by the contraction of the currency during the peace. But the effect of it, of course, was that the whole public burdens fell on the clear rental of £4,000,000; and when the poor-rates amounted, as they did in 1847, to £2,000,000, they absorbed half, and in many of the Unions the whole, of the landlord's income. Amidst this scene of reckless extravagance and industrial suffering, there is one noble and redeeming feature, which should be recorded to the eternal honor of the Irish character. How destitute soever the great majority of the emigrants may have been when they first set out, the strength

Voluntary relief in Ireland, and causes of its small amount.

† PRICES AND IMPORTS OF GRAIN, AND IRISH EXPORTS AND ACREAGE IN GRAIN FROM 1845 TO 1856.

Year.	Average of Wheat per Quarter.	Imports of Grain into Great Britain.		Total Importation—Foreign.	Export of Irish Grain to England.	Irish Acres under Cereal Crops.	Irish Emigration.
		Wheat and Wheat-meal.	Other Grain.				
	s. d.	Quartons.	Quartons.	Quartons.	Quartons.		
1845.....	50 10	1,141,000	1, 100	2 100	2,751,000	2,	74,960
1846.....	54 8	2,340,000	2, 100	4 100	1,814,809	2,	100,805
1847.....	69 9	4,460,000	7, 100	11 100	900,000	2,	315,444
1848.....	50 6	2,090,000	4, 100	7 100	2,346,000	2,	172,159
1849.....	44 8	4,800,000	6, 100	10 100	1,438,000	2,	214,475
1850.....	40 8	4,830,000	4, 100	9 100		2,	200,654
1851.....	38 6	5,330,000	4, 100	8 100		2,	240,731
1852.....	40 9	4,100,000	2, 100	7 100		2,	200,478
1853.....	66 8	6,230,000	2, 100	10 100	(No re-ports.)	2,	192,030
1854.....	73 6	4,470,000	3, 100	7 100		2,	180,739
1855.....	74 8	2,210,000	2, 100	6 100		.....	75,309
1856.....	69 2	5,307,147	4,122,878	9, 100		.....	79,000

—*Tables on Prices*, v. 468, *FOSTER*, 345; *Census Report*, No. V., p. 54; *Agricultural Report*, 1852, v.

This very interesting table speaks to the eye, and speaks volumes. As regularly as the importation of foreign grain, and especially wheat, increased, did the Irish exports of grain sink, and the emigrants from that country increase. When the importation of foreign grain had turned 10,000,000 quarters annually, the export of Irish grain sunk a half, and the emigration turned 300,000.

of the domestic affections among them was such, that from the time when the great exodus began, the sums they remitted to bring their relations out to the land of promise were so large that they rose from £460,000 in 1848 to £1,850,000 in 1853. To the immense fund thus provided by the strenuous industry and undying affection of the Irish poor on transatlantic shores, for their relations left at home, the magnitude of the continued stream of emigration which has since that time left the Irish shores, and the wonderful subsequent improvement wrought in the country, are mainly to be ascribed.*

Such are the details of the Irish famine of 1846, and its effects in subsequent years, the most terrible calamity in modern times, and which, in the rapidity with which it mowed down the

human race, greatly exceeded any thing recorded in the annals either of war or pestilence. Even the Moscow retreat, or the siege of Sebastopol, occasioned while they lasted a much less destruction of mankind. If to this we add the astonishing fact of an emigration having taken place from the country to the extent of above 2,000,000 souls in eight years after, it may safely be affirmed that the calamity, both in present magnitude and ultimate importance, is unparalleled in authentic history. It demonstrates in the most striking manner the enormous extent of the social evils under which Ireland labored, when Providence adopted such awful means to remedy them, and strikingly illustrates the limited extent of human vision on the subject, when narrowed by party ambition. All that the collected wisdom of the nation in the House of Commons could suggest during forty years had been to admit forty landless Catholics into Parliament, give every starving peasant with £5 a year a municipal vote, and take £200,000 a year from the Church to devote it to the purposes of secular education. But if both governors and governed were grievously at fault in the conduct of Irish affairs before the visitation of Providence fell upon them, yet it must be added, to their honor, that both nobly redeemed their errors when it arrived. Never did Government meet a great national calamity in a more intrepid and generous spirit; never did the distant and the affluent aid them more nobly in their efforts to mitigate it; never did the sufferers bear their pains with more patience and magnanimity, or evince a more magnificent proof of domestic affection, than in the efforts made by such as survived to extricate their relatives from the scene of woe. If the former period, whether as regards the rulers or their subjects, makes us blush, the present makes us proud of human nature; and in this, as in so many other pages of history, we may discern the intentions of Providence in what appear at first sight its darkest dispensations, and learn that it is sometimes well for nations as well as individuals to be in affliction. It will be the

pleasing duty of the annalist in a future chapter to show that the virtues elicited during this fiery trial were not without their reward even in this world, and to trace, in the rapid rise of Irish prosperity in subsequent years, the direct consequences of the sufferings undergone during a period when the country seemed crushed to the earth in affliction.

Ireland was not the only country by which the potato blight was experienced 51. at this period. Scotland also shared Potato famine largely, though not so universally, in Scotland at the same calamity. Symptoms this period. of the disease appeared in the autumn of 1846, but not so generally as to excite any serious alarm; but in August, 1847, they became so common as to prove that nearly the entire crop, especially in the Highlands and Western Islands, had perished. As the potato furnished food for at least two-sevenths of the entire population of the country, and that the most destitute portion of it, this afforded the most serious ground for alarm, the more especially as, from the simultaneous occurrence of a still greater calamity in Ireland, there was little chance of any effective support being received from England. But in this extremity Scotland, though left to her own resources, was true, as she had so often been in former periods of her history, to herself. She did not demean herself by supplication, nor humble herself by lamentation. She neither asked for nor received succor from the Government of her richer and more powerful neighbor. She boldly looked the calamity in the face, and herself set about combating it.

Subscriptions to relieve the destitution in the Western Highlands were immediate- 52. ly set on foot in all parts of the coun- Meanstaken try: that in Glasgow alone, in a few in Scotland weeks, exceeded £30,000. Corn and to combat it meal were instantly bought up and dispatched by sea to the afflicted quarters; committees were appointed both to collect subscriptions in the richer, and distribute the succors in the famishing districts. Fortunately the poor-law machinery, established two years before over the whole country, afforded the means both of collecting information as to the wants of the people and distributing the charity. The landholders generally acted in the most liberal and patriotic manner, and the advances made under the Drainage Act for Great Britain, the greater part of which the Scotch had the sense to take up for themselves, afforded in many places both the means of employing the poor in the mean time and permanently improving the country. The assessment for the poor-rate was largely augmented, in proportion to the necessities of the case;* and the splendid sum of £77,683 remitted by the British Association, being one-sixth of the sum they had collected, was thankfully received, and proved of essential service. By these means, aided by two dépôts for the sale of corn established by Government in the Western Islands, the crisis was surmounted, and that without any external aid but what the Scotch owed to the generous benevolence of

* SUMS REMITTED HOME BY IRISH EMIGRANTS FROM 1848 TO 1854.

1848.....	£460,000	1852.....	£1,250,000
1849.....	540,000	1853.....	1,349,000
1850.....	957,000	1854.....	1,234,000
1851.....	990,000		

—*Irish Census, Sixth Report*, lvi.; and Mr. EVERETT'S *Letter to Lord MALMESBURY*, Dec. 1, 1852.

* POOR-RATE LEVIED IN SCOTLAND FROM 1846 TO 1850.

1846.....	£295,232	1849.....	£577,044
1847.....	433,915	1850.....	581,553
1848.....	544,344		

—*NICHOLLS'S Scotch Poor-Law*, 269.

their southern fellow-countrymen. Yet was the suffering endured intense and long-continued, for the potato crop failed to a certain extent for several years after, and it led to a very general emigration on the part of all who could get away, which added to the immense flood of human beings which in those years flowed across the Atlantic to the land of promise in the New World.¹

So completely did the all-engrossing subject of the Irish famine absorb the attention both of the Legislature and the public during this disastrous year, that scarcely any other subject for a long period occupied the attention of Parliament. The debates on the subject, however, which were full, earnest, and full of patriotic and philanthropic feeling, have lost much of their interest in consequence of the publication of the authentic records and parliamentary tables, of which an abstract has now been given. One project advanced on the subject deserves particular attention, both from the energy and talent with which it was supported, and the immense accumulation of facts bearing on the state of Ireland which it brought to light. LORD GEORGE BENTINCK had meditated deeply on the condition of Ireland, and the means of affording it relief; and it appeared to him that these means were to be found in the extension to that country of the causes which had relieved Great Britain in 1841 and 1842. England was then in nearly as deplorable a state as Ireland was at this time. Fifteen hundred thousand persons were then maintained by the poor-rates, of whom 483,000 were able-bodied laborers. What, then, absorbed this immense mass of starving *prolétaires*, and induced in its stead the vast demand for labor and general prosperity of 1845 and 1846? It was ridiculous to ascribe this to the tariff and reduction of import duties. So great a change could never have been produced by lowering the price of bread a penny, and that of meat three-halfpence a pound, or cotton five-sixteenths of a penny. It was something affecting the *demand for labor*, not the price of commodities, which must have caused the change, and what this something was could admit of no doubt. It was railway enterprise which effected the prodigy: it was the expenditure of from fifteen to twenty millions on the wages of labor annually, for a course of years, which at once absorbed the unemployed poor, raised the remuneration they received, and, by adding immensely to their means of consumption, caused that general rise of prices which diffused general gladness and cheerfulness among all who dealt in them. It was by the extension of a similar system to Ireland that the general distress was to be mitigated, and labor employed in a permanently useful and durable form. But the poverty of the country precluded the possibility of this, except by the aid of Government.²

Impressed with these ideas, Lord George was engaged during the whole autumn of 1846, with the characteristic energy of his character, in collecting information on the subject, and obtaining from prac-

tical men the knowledge requisite to put his project in an intelligible and practical form; and on the 4th February, 1848, he introduced it in an elaborate speech in the House of Commons. "It is not my intention," said he, "to make a long preface on the state of Ireland. Suffice it to say, there are 500,000 able-bodied men in that country living upon the funds of the State, commanded by a staff of 11,587 persons, and all employed upon works which have been variously described as 'worse than idleness;' by the yeomanry of Ulster as 'public follies;' by the inspector-general of these works himself as 'answering no other purpose but that of obstructing the public conveyances.' How long is this to continue? Is the immense array now living at the expense of the State to be permanently employed in works of no earthly utility? The first requisite of labor is to be productive; and the relief afforded by the employment, even on the greatest scale, of the laboring poor, will be evanescent if it is not realized in some works which may add to the funds for its future maintenance."

"Doubtless a great calamity is hanging over Ireland; but we who, in former times far less rich than the present, have seen £103,000,000, on an average of three years, annually spent by the State, are not to be cast down by a loss of agricultural produce which may be estimated at £10,000,000. On the contrary, I trust that good will come out of evil, and that, instead of lying down and weeping over our misfortune, like children lost in a wood, we shall have the spirit to look our difficulties fairly in the face, and be resolved to exercise a firm determination to overcome them. I can not forget that, in very recent times, England, though burdened, conjointly with Ireland, with two millions of Irish poor, did support from her parish rates 1,427,000 poor, of whom 490,000 were able-bodied laborers, who were sustained by the parish. If we look at Great Britain as she was in 1841 and 1842, we shall both be filled with hope as to the future of Ireland, and discern the means by which, under Providence, its amelioration is to be brought about. What has brought England out of that woeful state of depression into its present state of affluence and prosperity? It is not the reduction of five-sixteenths of a penny on the duty on cotton—it is not the admission of 27,000 head of horned cattle free of duty, or of timber at a reduced rate, which has done this; it is railway enterprise which has effected the prodigy. It is the employment, for a course of years, of 13,000,000 on home railways; it is the employment of 200,000 laborers, at 22s. a week, who have been called from the parish and the work-house to execute them, which has done the thing, and occasioned that rise in the price of commodities of all sorts which is the surest sign of general prosperity, and that increased consumption of articles of comfort, which is so agreeable to the Chancellor of the Exchequer."

"So far back as 1836, the royal commission, of which Lord Devon was the head, charged with inquiry into the condition of Ireland, reported that a system of railways should be carried out in the country, and that it should be done at the public expense. This has so far been acted upon,

¹ Nicholls's Scotch Poor-Law, 200, 201, 204, 241; Sir J. M'Neill's Report, 1851.

^{53.} Lord George Bentinck's project for Irish railways.

² Disraeli, Life of Bentinck, 338, 339.

^{55.} Continued.

^{56.} Continued.

that within the last few years Acts of Parliament have been passed for 1582 miles of railroad; but of these, from want of capital in the country, or of enterprise, only 123 miles have been completed. In England, during the same time, 2600 miles of railway have been completed, and 4000 more are in course of being so. The population of Ireland is not much inferior to that of England, and the most experienced persons consider population as the first element in railway success. Let Government, then, come forward at once, and boldly, to aid railway enterprise in Ireland, and we may confidently hope ere long to see the same resurrection of Ireland which we have recently witnessed with so much success in Great Britain.

“The plan I propose is this: Let Government engage, for every £100 provided by a railway company, to give £200 from the public funds, at the same rate of interest at which they themselves borrow it, which at present may be taken at 3½ per cent. There is not a railway in Ireland which would not produce at least £7 for every £200 advanced by Government, so that the security will be ample, and the State will not lose a shilling by the adventure. Such a system would put an immense mass of laborers in motion in every part of the country, and would, at the same time, set free the capital of the shareholders, so as to enable them to devote it to the improvement of their estates. Such would, to a certainty, be the improvement of the land adjoining these railways, that it might be calculated upon adding £23,000,000 in twenty-five years to the value of land in Ireland, besides giving bread for four years to 500,000 laborers, which would go far toward surmounting the evil effects of the famine. The sum proposed to be advanced by Government is £16,000,000, in addition to £8,000,000 provided by Irish capitalists; and the lines constructed, 1500 miles. We have the authority of a most competent observer, Mr. Smith of Deanston, for the assertion, that the improvement on the land, for a mile on each side of the railways thus constructed, would be so great that it would ere long pay the whole cost of construction. The loan is to be repaid in thirty years by installments; the first payment commencing seven years after a certificate has been given of the completion of the railway.

“Indirectly, Government will be benefited; and that, too, to the full amount of the interest of the loans expended by such an outlay. On comparing the amount paid to Excise overhead by the Scotch above the Irish, we find it is £1 0s. 2d., or, deducting soap and brick duties, not paid in Ireland, 16s. 3½d. Now if, by means of this expenditure of £16,000,000, we have 500,000 laborers employed at good wages, such as are earned in England, it is not unreasonable to presume that their expenditure on excisable articles will come up to the Scotch. This would give £447,448 additional revenue from the Excise alone to the Government. Then in the Customs, there is a difference of 7s. 4d. a head between Scotland and Ireland; and this would represent a sum of £202,000. Thus between the two there will be an addition to the revenue of £649,000, or 3½ per cent., on £18,000,000. It is a gross calumny to say that Irish loans are never re-

paid; many instances exist to the contrary: the Devon commission has reported the reverse. If by this measure I can fill the bellies of the Irish people with good beef and mutton, and their cottages with fine wheat and sound beer, and their pockets with English gold to purchase the blankets of Wiltshire, the fustians of Manchester, and the cotton prints of Stockport, I, though a Saxon, will answer with my head for their loyalty, and will lead through their warm hearts and sympathies, not to sever, but to cement, the Union of Ireland and England.”

So obviously well-founded were the allegations, and so reasonable the proposals in this very remarkable speech, and so entirely did it coincide with work out the manly and patriotic efforts of the Government to combat the great prevailing calamity, that if it had been brought forward at an earlier period, and before the plans of Ministers had been matured, it is probable that it would have been readily embraced by the Administration. As it was, they did not oppose the leave given to bring in the bill, and it was for some time hoped that the Cabinet would adopt the measure. But, unfortunately, before it came the length of a second reading, commercial embarrassments had so much increased in Great Britain, owing to the immense import of grain, that Government, not unnaturally, shrunk from the responsibility of going into the money market, and still farther increasing the pressure, by borrowing £16,000,000, in any form, to set the undertaking on foot. Perhaps, too, there was a less excusable jealousy on the part of Ministers to substitute for their own plan for Irish relief that propounded by the Protectionist chief. The result was, that without opposing Lord George Bentinck's bill on its first introduction, they mustered all their forces to throw it out on the second reading; and on this occasion Sir R. Peel lent them his aid in a very powerful speech.

“The state of the country,” said the Right Honorable Baronet, “is this: Last year there was a balance of receipts in exchequer over expenditure of £2,800,000. It is impossible to expect for the present financial year, or the next, a more favorable state; and if the necessary and agreed-to expenditure for the relief of Irish suffering is taken into consideration, which will probably amount to £10,000,000 sterling, we shall at the very least, by the end of next year, be landed in a deficit of £6,000,000 or £7,000,000. Is this a time when it would be either prudent or expedient to go into the market for an additional sum of £16,000,000, which must either be contracted for in a direct way or in a fresh issue of exchequer bills to that amount? It is a mere delusion to say you can pledge the credit of Government to commercial undertakings without subjecting the country to any risk whatever. How is the money to be raised without entailing a burden for its interest upon the country? It is very easy to say the sum expended will enrich the country to as large an extent as itself. Very possibly it may, but will that relieve Government of the burden of £600,000 a year required for the interest of the

1 Parl. Deb. lxxxix. 774, 802; Ann. Reg. 1847, 54, 58.

It is opposed by Ministers.

2 Disraeli, Bentinck, 889, 891; Ann. Reg. 1847, 60, 64.

60. Sir R. Peel's speech against the measure.

exchequer bills on loan by which it is provided? Will such a proceeding not tend to injure public credit, and cripple the finances of the State, if required by unforeseen exigencies to be applied to other purposes? The credit of the State is one of the elements of our national strength, and you can not impledge it to commercial speculations without foregoing its application in some other direction, which may be still more indispensable, and it is in fact the same thing as applying the sums raised by direct taxation in the same way.

“It is said that the expenditure of this money will increase the value of land in Ireland to as great an amount as the sum expended. Twenty-three millions is to accrue to the Irish landlords in consequence of railway enterprise! Then why do they not themselves attempt it? Lord Granby tells us the fishermen of Chaddagh will be able to fish up £4000 a night if the railroads are made! Are not these precisely the commercial considerations which should induce the Irish themselves to enter into them? But it is said they have no money; but is there not that whence, when it really exists, money is so easily raised in this country, the prospect of gain? If land is difficult to be got by the railway companies, by all means simplify the acquisition of it in the country by Act of Parliament; but do not on account of any such technical difficulty involve Great Britain in a serious financial embarrassment, the consequences of which, in the present state of the country, no man living can foresee.

“The proposed grant to Irish railways is worse than useless; it would be pernicious. If the Government are to hold the doctrine that Ireland is different from other countries, that it is not fit to be intrusted with its own concerns, and that the Administration must do every thing for it, rely upon it, its industrial inactivity and religious animosities will continue, and the very springs of improvement in the country will be dried up. She must be left to her own energies if she is ever to be righted. ‘Aidez-toi et le ciel t’aidera,’ applies to her as well as to all other countries. I firmly believe that if you do not overpower Irish commercial enterprise by English Government interference, that effect will take place. Hitherto grants of public money to Ireland, given with no unsparing hand by this country, have led only to endless jobbing, profligate expenditure, and an entire failure of the ends for which they were given. It is by the salutary interference of private and local interest in the administration of the money to be expended that this inherent propensity can alone be checked. I call on the Irish landlords to put their own shoulders to the wheel, and by their own energy and self-reliance to work out the improvement of their own country. If they will do this—if, forgetting religious and political differences, they will seek in good faith the mitigation of the calamity under which their country is laboring—if they will do this, my firm conviction is that they will do more to promote the interests of their native land than if, resigning themselves to sloth, idleness, and despair, they place all their confidence in Gov-

ernment grants, and all their hope in Government patronage.”

This speech, which was loudly cheered by the House, and was too agreeable to a Ministry which already foresaw a very serious financial embarrassment approaching at no distant period, not to be implicitly adopted by them, proved decisive against the proposal of Lord George Bentinck, which was thrown out on the second reading by a majority of 204, the numbers being 322 to 118. The English Protectionists alone supported it; not only the whole Whigs, Peelites, and Liberals, but the *whole Irish Catholic members*, including young O’Connell, Mr. Sheil, O’Connor Don, and Mr. Smith O’Brien, voted against it! Yet it is now evident that the majority composed of this strange coalition was decidedly in the wrong, and that the proposal was the one best calculated to combine present relief with ultimate benefit to Ireland. The arguments urged on the other side by Sir R. Peel, and so loudly cheered by the majority of Liberals and Irish Catholics, were so obviously sophistical, that it is impossible not to suspect that so powerful a mind as his was inflamed rather by a feeling of political animosity against the mover than influenced by the real merits of the question at issue in bringing them forward. The considerations he adduced were perfectly well-founded in the abstract, but they were wholly inapplicable to the question at issue. It was no doubt true that in the general case it is inexpedient to engage Government in mercantile speculations; but what application has that rule to a case when a country is threatened with a calamity far worse than any foreign war, and is utterly destitute, without Government support, of the means of averting it? It was mere mockery to call on the Irish landlords to put their shoulder to the wheel, when it was well known that nine millions out of the thirteen millions which constituted their rental were absorbed by the interest of mortgages, and that more than half of what remained would be drawn off in poor-rates, even supposing, what could not be expected, that it was, amidst the general failure of the potato crop, all collected. It was mere exaggeration to represent Lord George Bentinck’s bill as adding sixteen millions to the sum already proposed to be borrowed for Ireland, when he knew that eight millions of it was already agreed to, and that the only question was, whether it would not be more expedient to extend the sum to sixteen millions, and thereby render it all productive, than retain it at eight, and thereby keep it all in an unproductive form. These considerations are so obvious that they could never have escaped so acute a mind as Sir R. Peel’s, though, like a skilled debater, he carefully kept them out of view; and they lead to the conclusion that his opposition to this well-conceived project was founded on personal hostility, and intended as a requital for his own ejection from office by the noble mover, by throwing out an equally well-founded bill, on which he had staked the existence of his administration. And thus within a year were two bills, alike salutary in their operation, and called for by the circumstances of Ireland, sacrificed to the rivalry of parties in the British Senate!

¹ Parl. Deb. xc. 66, 86; Ann. Reg. 1847, 66, 67.

It is observed by Mr. Disraeli, in his very interesting *Life of Lord George Bentinck*, that the common saying, that when great men arise they have a mission to accomplish, and do not disappear till it is fulfilled, is not always true.

After all his deep study, and his daring action, Hampden died on an obscure field before the commencement of the mighty struggle which he seemed born to direct. In the great contention between the patriotic and the cosmopolitan principle, which had hardly begun, and on the issue of which the fate of these Islands, as a powerful community, depends, Lord George Bentinck appeared to be produced to represent the traditional influences of our country in their most captivating form. Born a natural leader of the people, he was equal to the post. Free from prejudices, his large mind sympathized with all classes of the realm. His courage and constancy were never surpassed by man. He valued life only as a means of fulfilling duty, and truly may it be said of him that he feared nothing but God. Upon calmly reviewing the course of his unfortunately too brief career, history must ratify this warm eulogium pronounced by an attached friend. His mind is not only interesting as an extraordinary example of the success of energy and perseverance in overcoming great natural disadvantages, but as the finest type of a character which has now become purely historical, from society having changed so much, at least in these Islands, that its reproduction has become impossible.

Born of the ducal house of Portland, he inherited from his long line of ancestors the genuine Whig principles by which they have always been distinguished. Early in life he was for three years private secretary to Mr. Canning, who was married to a sister of the Duchess of Portland, and under his tuition he combined with the old principles of his family the wide philanthropic views so eloquently supported by that brilliant parliamentary leader. He was accordingly a warm supporter of civil and religious liberty, desired not only emancipation, but even state establishment, for the Roman Catholics in Ireland, and he advocated the Reform Bill from having shared, as so many other of the Whig leaders did, the strange delusion that it was an aristocratic and conservative measure, which would prove protective to the great producing interests of the State. But no sooner did the reverse appear, and it became evident that Sir R. Peel, at the head of the commercial and urban interests of the empire, was about to make war on the agricultural and productive, than he went over with Lord Stanley to the other side, and became the determined opponent of the new free-trade policy now adopted by the Government. This at once made a change in his position in Parliament. Though he had sat through eighteen years as the representative of King's Lynn, yet he had never taken an active part in the debates, and was almost entirely engrossed by sporting pursuits, of which he was passionately fond. But on the breaking up of the Conservative party by Sir R. Peel's proposal to repeal the Corn-Laws, he was in a manner forced to the front by the desertion of its natural leaders; and his political friends, to whom his great

abilities and indefatigable energy were well known, ere long gladly conceded to him, or rather compelled him to accept, the honorable position of leader. In the strife on the breach, or when the vessel is drifting on the breakers, the most capable seldom fails to find himself at the head.

It was the vigor and energy of his mind, joined to the fearless determination of his character, his quiet perception and prompt decision, which procured for him this honorable distinction. He was, comparatively speaking, inexperienced in debate, was little skilled in oratory, and was by no means gifted by nature with the physical qualities which are generally so powerful in ruling popular assemblies. His person was tall, his figure fine, and his air commanding; but his voice was shrill and feeble, and when he began to speak he generally labored under what was to his auditors a painful hesitation in expression. But these impediments, which would have been fatal to an ordinary speaker, were in his case, as they had been in that of M. de Villèle, compensated, and more than compensated, by the vigor of his understanding, the tenacity of his memory, the intrepidity of his character, and the indomitable energy of his will. Fearless of the consequences, he threw himself into the breach, when so many others more practiced than himself held back, or retired in despair, and, supported by a sincere love of his country, and an entire devotion to its cause, renewed the conflict, when to all appearance it was hopeless, and soon acquired the lead of the Opposition, from the universal feeling that he deserved it.

The great thing which so quickly gave him, though a young man, such an ascendancy among the veterans on both sides by whom he was surrounded or opposed, was that his mental qualities precisely suited the wants at that period of the House of Commons. He was a great statistician, and devoted the energies of his mind and his immense powers of research to deducing from the facts which he had collected the conclusions most serviceable to the industrial interests of his countrymen. He was therefore an invaluable advocate for the agricultural, West India, and shipping interests, which were threatened with invasion during the brief period of his active Parliamentary career. The pains which he took, and the labor which he underwent, in collecting and digesting from private sources information which he produced in his speeches, were almost inconceivable, and beyond all doubt brought him prematurely to the grave. He had one admirable quality, which is by no means universal among speakers and writers on statistical subjects: he was not only scrupulously correct in his facts, but still more cautious *not to overstate his case*, and even ready to mention on his own side all the considerations which went to diminish the weight or lessen the amount of the figures which he brought prominently forward. Thus he not only acquired a character for accuracy, and came to be referred to as an authority on matters of detail, but he deprived his opponents of the advantage, often so considerable in debate, of pointing out an unintended exaggeration, or an unobserved opposite consideration.

His private character and turn of mind had procured for him the warm friendship of a large circle of private friends, composed of the first young men in the country. On the turf, to which in early life he was so much devoted, he was regarded as the model of honor, insomuch that many of the most delicate disputes between sporting characters were referred to his decision. In private life he was simplicity itself; he had the unassuming modesty which, when accompanied by great talents, is the invariable mark of a magnanimous mind. Utterly devoid of vanity, he was, as such men generally are, naturally proud; he could not stoop to conquer; and sometimes, by the unbending character of his mind, was obliged to forego advantages that might otherwise have been within his reach. His countenance was a model of manly beauty—his face oval, the forehead high, the nose aquiline and delicately moulded, the upper lip short, the eye keen and flashing. He sold his magnificent stud of racers, one of which soon after won the Derby, when he felt himself called on to engage in the greater race of political life, in defense of what he regarded as the best interests of the nation. Kind and affectionate in all the relations of domestic life, and indifferent to the ordinary excitements of society, he was absorbed in his last years entirely in the great contests going on in Parliament. Like Mr. Pitt, he was married to his country, and, like him, he fell a victim, while still in the vigor of manhood, to his unceasing devotion to its cause.¹

The Budget of 1847, brought forward on the 22d February, and based on the experience of the current financial year, which was to expire on the 5th April next, was much more favorable than might have been anticipated, and was remarkable chiefly for the utter insensibility to the approaching danger by which it was distinguished. "The current quarter, the first of 1847," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Feb. 22, "exceeds the corresponding quarter of last year by £500,000, and although circumstances obvious to the most unreflecting mind lead to the conclusion that we have arrived at the period when our onward progress may be checked, as it had been in the years 1825 and 1836, yet *nothing warrants the belief that it will be attended with any thing like the revolution which occurred on these occasions.* The experience of the past has not been lost upon us, and trade is conducted now on sound, not on speculative principles. We have now truer notions of currency, and, instead of purchasing Mississippi stock and Pennsylvania bonds, have been investing our capital in works of great importance at home. I am therefore confident that no such results as had occurred formerly will follow any temporary check on our onward progress. Bullion, indeed, has been exported for the purchase of food, and that in its turn has produced a temporary pressure on the money market, which has checked enterprise. The demand for bullion, however, has not been very formidable, for there is only £1,200,000 less gold now in the Bank than there was on the 13th February last year. I therefore conclude

that we have paid for the corn in manufactured goods; a circumstance on which I congratulate the country, as well as on the better position which the Bank of France has lately assumed—an event which must always be of importance to this country. On the 5th January there was a balance in the Treasury of £9,000,000, and, in consequence, for the first time in the memory of the oldest financier, it has been unnecessary to have recourse to deficiency bills, and the quarterly balance in the Exchequer has been sufficient to pay the dividends."²

The income of the financial year 1847-'48 the Chancellor of the Exchequer took at £52,065,000, and the expenditure at £51,576,000, exhibiting a probable surplus of £500,000.* In this statement, however, no mention was made of the advances to Ireland, which required to be provided in the year, and which were of the most formidable amount. The sum hitherto advanced for Irish work was £2,000,000; and a farther advance of £8,000,000 would, to all appearance, be required. No taxation, no increase of the property-tax, could provide so large a sum, and therefore it was indispensable to go into the money market; and it was deemed advisable to supply the deficiency at once in the form of a loan rather than disturb the Bank by requiring farther advances from its coffers. The large balance in the Exchequer at the beginning of the year would be all drained away by the advances to Ireland, and to England and Scotland, under the Drainage Acts, which were beginning to tell seriously. Nothing remained, therefore, but a loan, and it was at once agreed to. The terms on which it was contracted were, considering the circumstances of the times, more favorable than could have been expected. They were, £89 10s. for £100 stock—the interest to be at 3½ per cent. In the course of his speech on this subject, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the extraordinary fact, that while Great Britain was making such efforts for relief of Irish distress, "Ireland has hitherto, whatever she may hereafter do, *paid nothing* except the poor-rate, which was £390,000 last year" (1846), being not 5d. in the pound on the rental of the country, while in England the average was 1s. 8d.† The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave some interesting details on the increased

* ESTIMATED INCOME AND EXPENDITURE.

INCOME.	
Customs.....	£20,600,000
Excise	13,700,000
Stamps.....	7,000,000
Land and assessed Taxes.....	4,270,000
Property Tax.....	5,800,000
Post-office.....	845,000
Crown Lands.....	120,000
Miscellaneous	330,000
Total.....	£52,065,000

EXPENDITURE.	
National Debt.....	£28,045,000
Charges on Consolidated Fund....	2,700,000
Army.....	6,840,074
Navy	7,561,876
Ordnance	2,679,127
Miscellaneous	8,750,000
Total.....	£51,576,077

—Parl. Deb., xc. 324, 326.

importation of some of the chief articles of consumption between 1845 and 1846, under the combined influence of reduced duties and the railway expenditure :

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.
Coffee	50,031,293	51,351,377	54,514,065	55,751,251
Butter	148,305	150,005	240,119	255,100
Cheese	108,500	219,300	338,948	327,400
Currants	384,797	308,110	300,700	320,310
Sugar	4,077,321	4,120,000	4,107,000	4,321,345
Tea	40,304,407	41,300,004	44,100,100	45,700,000

—*Port. Deb.*, 22. 300, 300.

But whatever pains Government might take to convince the House and the country that all was safe; that the nation had learned wisdom by experience; and that, under a wise system of currency laws, no danger of a monetary crisis was hereafter to be apprehended—they were soon taught by woeful experience that those hopes were altogether fallacious, and that a commercial storm of the most violent kind was not only rapidly approaching, but was already on them. The causes of this were twofold, and what is very singular, they arose partly from the prosperity on which Ministers justly prided themselves, and partly from the disaster against which they were making such extensive provision. The great increase of imports, which had advanced from £64,000,000 in 1841 to £98,500,000 in 1846, had not been attended by any proportional augmentation of exports, which had only increased, during the same period, from £51,000,000 in the former year to £52,849,000 in the latter.* Thus the foreign commerce of the nation had run into a heavy balance of imports over exports, which had latterly come to be from £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 a year. This balance, of course, required to be paid in cash; and though the drain might for a time be averted, or rather postponed, by bill transactions, yet in the end it inevitably fell upon its metallic treasures, and produced a serious chasm in the bullion of the Bank of England,† which had sunk from £16,500,000 in June, 1845, to £14,800,000 in the beginning of 1847, and £9,200,000 on the 24th April of that year, and in the October following it fell to £8,800,000.

This immense balance of imports over exports always must, in a great commercial country, arise under a free-trade system, after a few years of more than ordinary activity and prosperity, for

* *REPORTS AND INCREASE FROM 1841 TO 1846.*

Year.	Imports.	Exports.	Balance against the Country.
1841.	64,000,000	51,000,000	13,000,000
1842.	67,000,000	52,000,000	15,000,000
1843.	67,000,000	52,000,000	15,000,000
1844.	67,000,000	52,000,000	15,000,000
1845.	67,000,000	52,000,000	15,000,000
1846.	98,500,000	52,849,000	45,651,000

—*FINANCIAL PROGRESS OF THE NATION*, 224.

† *BULLION IN THE BANK OF ENGLAND IN NOTE DEPARTMENTS.*

	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.
January . . .	16,500,000	16,700,000	15,200,000	14,800,000
June	16,500,000	16,700,000	15,200,000	14,800,000
On April 24, 1847			9,200,000	
On October 24, 1847			8,800,000	

—*TOOKES ON PRICES*, iv. 644, 645.

this plain reason, that the rich and old State can consume much more of the rude produce of the poorer one, from whom it is derived, than they, from their poverty, can take off of its manufactured productions. But without doubt this natural tendency was much aggravated in this particular case by the Irish famine, which occasioned so prodigious an importation of foreign grain, both in the years when it occurred, and those which immediately followed. The imports of foreign grain into Great Britain and Ireland, which in 1843 had been only 1,370,000 quarters, rose in 1847 to the enormous amount of 11,900,000 quarters, of which no less than 4,400,000 was of wheat and wheat flour, and this high rate has not yet been diminished in any material degree.* The cost of the importations from June 30, 1846, to November 30, 1847, was £63,000,000; and as the greater part of this large sum required to be paid in specie, because it came from nations which would take nothing else, it is easy to see to what cause this extraordinary drain upon the Bank of England, and the severity of the monetary crisis during the last panic months of 1847, is to be ascribed.†

This drain first became serious in the beginning of April, 1847, being the time when the bills drawn to pay for the Progress of great importation of grain and flour, the panic in the November and December preceding, became payable; in consequence of which the Bank raised the rate of its discounts to 5 per cent., it having been at 3½ in the beginning of the year. In the course of the year that establishment changed the rate of its discounts thirteen times; and on the 5th August it was advanced to 5½, at which rate it continued till 25th October. At this time there was no undue speculation in any department of commerce or manufacture; the drain arose entirely from the immense balance of imports over exports which the Irish famine had so fearfully augmented. The crisis, especially in the end of April, was, however, dreadfully severe; it was afterward stated in Parliament that the 27th of that month was the most fearful day ever known in the city. Mr. Baring mentioned the case of a gentleman who was possessed of

* *IMPORTS OF WHEAT, WHEAT-FLOUR, AND OTHER GRAINS INTO THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM 1842 TO 1848.*

Year.	Wheat and Wheat-flour.	Other Grains.	Total.
1842.	1,000,000	570,000	1,570,000
1843.	1,200,000	1,000,000	2,200,000
1844.	1,100,000	1,700,000	2,800,000
1845.	2,300,000	2,410,000	4,710,000
1846.	4,400,000	1,600,000	6,000,000
1847.	2,000,000	4,400,000	6,400,000
1848.	4,000,000	2,200,000	6,200,000
1849.	4,000,000	4,100,000	8,100,000

—*TOOKES AND KUPFELBERG*, vi. 451, 452.

£60,000 in silver bullion, who was unable to obtain the slightest advances upon it. The Bank directors, true to the principle of the Act of 1844, resolutely threw out the paper even of the richest and most respectable houses; and every other bank in the country immediately did the same. Mr Langley mentioned in the House of Commons, that in the north of England 25 per cent. was given for money. The effects were immediate and decisive. Consols, which had lately been at 93, fell to 85; Exchequer bills, recently at 14 premium, were at 4 discount; mercantile paper even of the very highest class could nowhere be discounted. The panic was universal and unprecedented.¹

The crisis was unlike any other that had ever occurred, and well illustrated the working of the new law on the subject. There was no overtrading; there was no commercial embarrassment irrespective of the monetary pressure; the credit of the Bank of England was above suspicion; there was no run upon the other banks; capital was abundant, and more than equal, as the events of the following years demonstrated, to all the undertakings which were in hand or in contemplation. There was simply and only a want of currency to make the advances with, because the Bank, restrained by the Act of 1844, could not lend money with a few hundred thousand pounds only in the banking department, though in the other end they had above £8,000,000 in the issue department! But nevertheless the pressure

was such, from this cause, that all undertakings of every kind were brought to a stand, the first houses were on the verge of bankruptcy, and society, like a vast machine in which the moving power of steam is suddenly withdrawn, was all at once stopped, and every wheel dependent on its expansion ceased to revolve.²

This deplorable state of things excited, as well it might, the utmost solicitude, both in Parliament and among the public, and a very interesting and important debate took place on the subject in the House of Commons on the 10th May. On that occasion it was observed by Lord G. Bentinck and Mr. Baring: "The usual rate of discount in London and Liverpool for the best paper, which had only sixty days to run, is 8 per cent.; a state of things altogether unprecedented in this country, and which calls for very different plans of relief from the temporary expedients proposed by Government. Wheat had risen that day to 120s. the quarter; the stocks of all kinds of produce, both at home and abroad, are unusually low; the imports of last year were £10,000,000 below those of the preceding; while the export of gold was to an unprecedented extent. The only remedy which Ministers could propose for this long catalogue of disasters was to put on the bank screw, and thereby force back the gold. But supposing that method of getting back specie to be effectual in attaining the desired end, how does it effect it? Why, by palsy-

ing all mercantile operations, stopping the orders for grain, provisions, and cotton when on the verge of famine, and starving the country from one end to the other, both in the means of subsistence and the materials for industry. Surely there must be something wrong in a monetary system which can only secure the retention of gold by such desperate and suicidal measures.

"The case of the country is such as to require prompt and immediate remedies.

We are brought to a dead-lock for want of money, while the credit of the Bank is yet good, and it has still £9,000,000 in its coffers, which the Bank Act forbids it to touch. Ought we not, then, to remove those restrictions on our currency, which keep us in a manner starving in the midst of plenty, and are ruining the trade and credit of the country, and starving the people, in order to feed with gold that idol of some parties, the Bank Charter Act? It has already become apparent that free trade and a restricted currency can not work together; and since we have made our election to have the first, let us lose no time in repealing the last. We have seen the ruinous consequences of leaving the people to supply themselves, and trusting to the dogma that industry will right itself. There is now only alarm and panic in this country, but in a few weeks it may turn into a sad reality; for under the present system we are every day getting nearer a still more fearful state of things, the effects of which may be so disastrous that nothing like it has been experienced in Europe. How is such a calamity to be averted? Experience tells us how this is to be done in the clearest manner. In 1793 our trade was in difficulties; Mr. Pitt at once relieved it by an issue of £5,000,000 to the mercantile interest. In 1816, when there were two thousand bankruptcies within the year, Government postponed for three years the resumption of cash payments, which was equivalent to a large supply of notes to the money market, and the country immediately revived and enjoyed prosperity till 1819, when cash payments were resumed, and immediately the most fearful distress followed. From this the country was rescued by an issue in 1822 of £1 and £2 notes, and an obligation to allow them to circulate for ten years. Then came the terrible crisis of 1825-'26, when the country was within twenty-four hours of barter: the crisis was stopped, not by any supply of gold, but by the accidental discovery of one million £1 notes in an old box in the vaults of the Bank of England, the issue of which immediately satisfied the wants of the country. Resting on these precedents, I think myself justified in calling on the House to set the Bank of England free, and restore confidence to the mercantile world. I would apply to the Bank Charter Act, which had not produced any good fruit, the language which had been applied to the barren fig-tree: 'Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?'

"There is at present, and has been for ten days, a total want of the means of obtaining accommodation by the most solvent houses upon undoubted security, and that because the Bank of England by its charter is unable to afford it. I know an instance where it was found impossible to raise a penny upon £60,000 worth of silver, a precious

¹ Ann. Reg. 1847, 97; Disraeli, 897, 898; Parl. Deb. xlii. 629, 626.

² Difference between this and former crises.

³ Mr. Baring; Parl. Deb. xlii. 634, 637; Ann. Reg. 1847, 97, 101; Disraeli's Bentinck, 898; Tooke and Newmarsh, iv. 330, 333.

⁴ Lord George Bentinck's and Mr. Baring's argument on the subject of the crisis. May 10, 1847.

⁵ Continued.

⁶ Continued.

metal which is a legal tender in most parts of the civilized world. It was not a question of price with the Bank, but a question affecting its own safety. The Bank could only issue notes on silver to the extent of one-fifth of the bullion in the Bank; and that they had not, so they could not purchase the silver. When we come to a drain of gold to meet an unavoidable want, there must be some means of avoiding measures by which the commerce of the country will be dislocated. That commerce is carried on almost entirely on a system of credit. If you drive it to a ready-money system, you at once paralyze it in the manufacturing districts. What is required is to give facilities for exports, in order to be able to pay for the corn which we must import in manufactured goods instead of bullion. But the houses in Manchester can not carry on their trade on four months' bills, which are valueless, as they now are, when they take them for discount into Lombard Street. How can the mercantile interest carry on the export trade, which must be conducted on credit, when all accommodation was refused them? The country has exported perhaps £700,000 of gold, and the effect of this export has been to destroy property to the extent of £100,000,000! Is there any necessary connection, or any connection other than that founded on arbitrary regulation, between these two things? Foreign countries will take gold to any extent at once, but manufactures they will only take as they want them, which is during a course of years. Therefore you must give them time for the demand to grow up, and the supply to be furnished. But how is either to arise, when a system is pursued in this country which is bringing all our manufactures to a state of bankruptcy?*

78. Concluded. "It is in vain to ascribe our present difficulties either to the extent of railway enterprise, or the imprudent conduct of the Bank of England. Where were the difficulties arising from railways in August last, when the Bank was discounting bills at 2½ per cent., though bills involving an expenditure of £120,000,000 had passed Parliament? The true cause of the present embarrassment is the vast exportation of gold which has taken place, partly to purchase grain, partly to pay for the balance of unrestricted imports. It is the Bank Act which is grinding the trade and commerce of the country, by forcing the bank directors to contract their issues, against their wish, and against the evident interests of the country, whenever an adverse state of the exchange drives gold out of the country. It has been said that 'corporations have no souls;' but if it is so, I am sure that cabinets have no hearts. What can be so monstrous as to make the credit, enterprise, and industry of a country teeming with all the three, stagnate and go to ruin merely because the Bank can not retain in their coffers gold, the most mercurial and evanescent of earthly things? It can be no more right that the Bank of England should be tied down beforehand to a particular amount of issues, under various circumstances, than it would be right to pass a law obliging ships in all weathers to carry either studding-sails or foresails. By this law we are put in the extraordinary position, that

though trade is in danger of being destroyed for want of the assistance of the Bank, and the Bank is both most willing and able to give that assistance, she is shackled and prevented from doing so by the operation of this law. It is just as if, when one strong man was standing on the bank of a river in which another was drowning, the law were to step in and bind the willing and ready arms of him on the bank, so as to make it impossible to save the other who was drowning."¹

On the other hand, it was argued by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Cardwell) and Sir R. Peel: "We must take care lest, in seeking relief from the repeal of the Act of 1844, we incur the risk of aggravating incalculably the present difficulties of the country. We are now suffering from an unexpected deficiency of food, from a spirit of speculation which had run riot in 1845, and from an extraordinary failure of the cotton crop, which has increased to an unprecedented degree the price of the raw material of one of the staple manufactures of the country. There is no country exposed to the triple pressure of three such causes which would not feel it most severely, no matter what modification may be made in the charter of the Bank, or what amount of £1 notes it might have in circulation. Are the gentlemen who urge such measures aware of the state of the law which would be restored if the Bank Charter were repealed? Are they prepared to let in again the law by which all country banks were at liberty to issue notes to any extent, and the Bank of England might do the same on its own responsibility, and without reference to the state of the exchanges? In that case, what security will exist against a recurrence of the disorders of 1838 and 1839? The main object of the Act of 1844 was to prevent these disorders, and it proposed to do this by rendering perpetual the convertibility of paper into gold. This must at all times limit the circulation, because the consciousness of the impending necessity to pay in gold will check imprudent advances. On the other hand, this risk will be instantly augmented by an issue of inconvertible paper to any amount, because the immediate effect of that will be to open the way to fresh speculations and undertakings, which can end in nothing but an increased run on the Bank for gold."

"The slightest consideration of the causes which, independent of the Act of 1844, have been acting, not only upon this country, but on the whole civilized world, must convince us that it is in them, and not in the operation of that Act, that the real cause of the distress under which the country is now laboring is to be found. We have it on official authority that the destruction of the potatoes and cereal crops in Ireland alone has been to the extent of £16,000,000. It is difficult to overestimate the effect of such a sudden abstraction of capital, especially when it is caused by such a calamity as a scarcity of food. Nor has the calamity been confined to this country. Scotland, France, Belgium, Holland, have also in some degree suffered under it, and the countries on the banks of the Rhine are sustaining extreme pressure in consequence. All these

* The preceding paragraph is taken from Mr. Baring's speech.—*Parl. Deb.*, xcii. 635, 636.

¹ *Parl. Deb.* xcii. 618, 634; *Ann. Reg.* 1847, 99, 101.

^{79.} Answer of the Government and Sir R. Peel.

^{80.} Continued.

countries are looking to the United States as the only source from whence food is to be derived. What effect must not that have had in paralyzing our trade, in deranging our ordinary commercial speculations, and depriving us of the usual markets for our manufactures? Mr. Baring has said that there never was a year when speculation ran riot as it did in 1845. Well, if men will speculate and run riot, depend upon it, whatever legislative measures you may pass respecting the currency, they will inevitably suffer from the consequences of their actions. Thus, in addition to the failure of food, you have speculation running riot, and such an investment in railways that, in the course of last year, applications were made to Parliament which, if all acceded to, would have required £840,000,000 to meet the undertaken engagements. In addition to all this, there was a very great failure of the cotton crop, which has enhanced enormously the price of the raw material of the great staple of our manufacture. How absurd, then, to charge the effects of these great and manifold calamities against the Bank Charter Act!

“Are those who are now so ready to throw the blame of every disaster on the
 81. Bank Charter Act aware that, in
 Continued. 1814, 1815, and 1816, when we had an inconvertible paper currency, 240 private banks failed? Recollect what took place in 1839, when the Bank had the power of issuing notes irrespective of the exchanges. Why, the Bank was then reduced to £1,600,000 in gold, and there was every prospect of its being unable to fulfill its engagements. Always bear in mind what was the object of the Act of 1844. The main object of that Act was to insure the convertibility of paper into gold, and to prevent, in times of difficulty and distress, the temptation to which it is so easy to yield, of giving accommodation by issuing paper without reference to the exchanges, and thereby purchasing temporary ease by afterward aggravating the commercial pressure by a panic which leads to a demand for gold in exchange for paper. It is of the utmost importance that, in those periods of commercial difficulty, we should not be exposed to that other difficulty which so much aggravates the first—a run upon the bank, in consequence of doubts of its ability to pay its notes in gold. What would be the state of affairs now if, in addition to the state of things so strongly dwelt on on the other side, we had a pressure on the Bank for gold? What would have been the state of things if the Act of 1844 had not been passed? Suppose there had been on the part of every country bank, while this riotous speculation in railways existed, a power of fostering it by uncontrolled issues of paper. Would the state of affairs have been as advantageous as it is? Severe as I admit the pressure to be, and deeply as I regret it, yet can any man deny that the Act of 1844, controlling the issues by country banks in a time of rash speculation, affords security for ultimate solvency? Would not speculation without that check, even now admitted to have run riot, have precipitated us to the verge of ruin?

“It is said the Government should possess a dispensing power to authorize the
 82. Bank, under extraordinary circum-
 Concluded. stances, to increase their issues. We

were decidedly of opinion, when the Bank Charter Act was passed, it should possess no such power. The whole objects of the Act would have been frustrated if it was known that such a dispensing power existed in any quarter. If any functionaries—as the first Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer—possessed any such power, application would be made to them from all quarters calling on them to exercise it, the precaution which individuals ought to take would be neglected, and every mere temporary pressure would be declared irremediable otherwise than by the exercise of the power so possessed by the Government. We were well aware of the memorial of the London bankers, which recommended the adoption of such a discretionary power by the Government; but we declined to embrace it, being desirous to leave the responsibility of its banking operations to the bank directors, and to control them absolutely, as we have done, only in the issue department. If I thought that any relief would be afforded to the country by a relaxation of the Bank Charter Act, no pedantic adherence to formerly expressed opinions would prevent me from recommending it. But as it is my firm belief, founded on the information at present in my possession, that any relaxation of the Act authorizing the issue of £2,000,000 of notes on Exchequer bills would only aggravate the evil, and purchase present relief by future suffering, I feel it my duty to give it my most decided opposition. Depend upon it, if you attempt to purchase present relief by endangering the convertibility of paper, you will inflict a severe blow on the prosperity of the country—you will shake all confidence in the medium of exchange, and depreciate the value of property of every description.”
 Parl. Deb. xcl. 658, 690; Ann. Reg. 1847, 108, 109.

No resolution of the House followed on this debate, as, in truth, a motion of a mere formal nature was alone before it when it took place. The decided opinion, however, expressed by Ministers and Sir R. Peel against any modification of the Bank Act had a great effect, and encouraged the directors of the Bank in that steady refusal of accommodation which, while it averted the danger from themselves, did so only by spreading it fearfully throughout the community. Some gold arrivals, however, came opportunely at this time, which postponed the risk; and the Bank directors, encouraged by this circumstance, at the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, considerably augmented their discounts, which had the effect of materially relieving, in the mean time, the pressure on the money market, and postponing, till the end of autumn, the catastrophe which was approaching.

This debate, however, is highly interesting, not merely as containing an admirable summary of all that either was or could be advanced on either side of this all-important subject, but as evincing a striking instance of the rhetorical skill of the very eminent statesman who took so prominent a part in defense of the Bank Charter Act. It is not easy to say which is most to be admired—the cogency of the arguments adduced on his own side of the question, or the skill with which

he evaded every consideration which tended to the other side. Sir R. Peel observed, with truth, that one cause of the monetary crisis of 1847 was the country having "run riot" in 1845 with railway speculations; but he forgot to add, what was equally true, that that very "running riot" had been induced by his own measure in reducing the deposits on railway shares from 10 to 5 per cent., and the effect of the Bank Act itself, which immediately threw down the rate of discount from 4 to 2½ per cent. He dwelt with justice and force on the aggravation which the railway mania would have received from an unlimited issue of notes by irresponsible country bankers when it was going on; but he seemed to be insensible to the far more serious aggravation which it had received from that Act, which compelled the Bank to purchase every ounce of gold brought to its doors, and thus rendered inevitable the efflux of notes, whether required or not, simultaneously with the influx of foreign treasure. He dwelt on the vehement excitement and excessive undertakings of the last three years; forgetting that this excitement, and the demand for labor consequent on it, had been the subject of constant and just self-congratulation by him when it was going on, and was ascribed by him entirely to his own free-trade measures. He described, with force and justice, the grievous nature of the deficiency of £16,000,000 in agricultural produce, which had arisen from the potato rot in Ireland, and the necessary derangement of the currency which resulted from the purchase of so large a part of the national subsistence with gold; forgetting that this casual and passing calamity was what his free-trade measures had rendered the chronic and settled malady of the country. He dwelt on the inconveniences arising from the high price of cotton, in consequence of a shortcoming of the crop in 1846;* forgetting how much the effects of that scarcity had been aggravated by the free-trade measures which had rendered the importation of that article so immense in the two preceding years.

The crisis having by these means been postponed, Parliament had leisure to attend to various matters of lesser but still great importance. The first of these was the Navigation Laws, which

were violently assailed by the Liberal party, with Mr. Ricardo at their head, as prejudicial to British shipping, and in an especial manner inconsistent with the spirit of the free-trade principles and cheapening system which had recently been introduced. The motion for a committee was strongly opposed by Mr. Liddell, who contended that the Navigation Laws were the main stay of our commercial superiority, and the only secure bulwark of our national independence. The

motion was supported by Sir R. Peel, and carried by a majority of 155 to 108; *Ann.* 61—an ominous division, and which first rung the knell of that shipping system which Sir R. Peel admitted

to have been "much older than the Protectorate, and almost simultaneous in origin with the military and commercial marine of the country."

Inferior in general importance to the vast question of the Navigation Laws, another of still more pressing interest to a large and interesting portion of the community was happily brought to a close during this session of Parliament. The FACTORY QUESTION, involving as it did the number of hours when operatives, and especially children, were to be employed in manufactories, had been long and warmly agitated in the country; but the extreme anxiety which it excited on both sides, and the great interest at stake in the issue, had hitherto prevented any satisfactory arrangement being effected on the subject. Mr. Fielden, however, brought the matter to an issue by a motion, brought forward on the 6th February, which was to the effect that "the labor of young persons between the ages of thirteen and eighteen be limited to twelve hours a day, allowing two hours out of the twelve for meals—that is, to ten hours per day of actual work, for five days in the week, and eight hours on Saturdays. This alteration to be carried out by restricting the hours of actual labor to sixty-three hours in the week until May 1, 1848, and after that to fifty-eight hours; and that these restrictions shall apply to females above eighteen years of age." "I ask for this change," said Mr. Fielden, "because the people employed in factories have long wished for it, and have long petitioned the Legislature to concede it to them, and because the ministers of religion, medical practitioners, and, indeed, all classes who have opportunities of observing the consequences of the present system, deprecate it as destructive of the moral and physical condition of a vast and most important class in the community. It is a question which involves the very existence of thousands, who are, I am afraid, annually sacrificed for the want of those due and sufficient regulations, without which, the late Sir Robert Peel asserted, an improved machinery would become our bitterest curse."

Parl. Deb. lxxxix. 487; *Ann.* 489; *Reg.* 1847, 110, 111.

In support of this motion Mr. Fielden quoted several most important facts, disclosed

in the Registrar-General's Reports, bearing with decisive force on the present question. "The population of the extra-metropolitan districts of Surrey was, in 1841, 187,868; and the population of the town sub-districts of Manchester was 168,856; and yet in Manchester, with less population, the deaths registered in seven years (1838-'44) were 89,922, and those in Surrey only 22,777, making a difference of 16,165. The population of Surrey exceeded that of Manchester, yet in seven years 16,000 persons died in Manchester over and above the deaths in Surrey. The difference between the mortality of young children in the two districts is still more alarming. There were, in 1844, 28,523 children under five years of age in Surrey, and the deaths of children of that age in the same period were 7864; the children in Manchester were in the same year 21,152; the deaths, 20,726. In the seven years, 13,862 children in Manchester alone fell a sacrifice to known causes, which, it is believed, may be removed to a great

* COTTON WOOL IMPORTED FROM AMERICA.

Years.		Years.	
1841.....	£358,240,000	1845.....	£626,650,000
1842.....	414,030,000	1846.....	872,401,949
1843.....	574,738,000	1847.....	864,599,000
1844.....	517,918,000		

—POSTER'S *Parl. Tables*, 1841-50, 170.

extent; and the victims in Liverpool were not less numerous. Other parts, and particularly the towns of England, are similarly affected." The Registrar-General adds: "The returns of the first quarter prove that nothing effectual has been done to put a stop to the disease, suffering, and death by which so many thousands perish. Thousands of the men and women themselves perish of the diseases formerly so fatal, for the same reasons, in barracks, camps, jails, and ships. Children suffer from every kind of neglect while the mother is employed in factory labor, while their health is undermined by the use of opiates and by the ill-kept state of their homes. These results exceed the horrors of war, and can not be justified on any assumed plea of necessity."

"In May last, when the subject was under discussion, Mr. Cobden said, that, if ^{88.} the measure were put off for a year, ^{Concluded.} the feelings of the working classes on the subject would change. The measure has been put off for a year; but the only effect of that delay has been, not a weakening, but a strengthening of their convictions on the subject. The only argument adduced on the subject is the 'tyrant's plea'—the plea of necessity. But even that plea fails here: nay, it is rolled over to the other side. The only effect of working the factory girls and women to death is over-production, which speedily necessitates a diminution of supply to arrest the fall of prices; and thus the pendulum oscillates between over-labor and under-time. All the mills at Manchester are now at short time—some six, some eight, some ten hours. Would this have been the case if a uniform ten-hours bill had been introduced last session? You have limited the labor of the slaves in the West Indies to forty-five hours a week; can you refuse to restrain that of your own female operatives to fifty-eight hours—that is, thirteen hours more? Is the white slave, toiling in rooms at 80° of Fahrenheit, less our object of pity, or less entitled to protection, than the black slave, working in the open air under a similar temperature? It is in vain to allege that the market for the produce of our factories will be injured if this bill passes. The same thing was said when the agitation first began in 1815, at which time the children were working from twelve to fourteen hours a day. It was said, 'We shall be ruined if you prevent the children working fourteen hours a day.' Well, the thing was done; the working hours were reduced from seventy-nine hours a week to sixty-nine hours for adults; working young persons in the night was prohibited, and young children were not allowed to work more than six hours a day. And yet the cotton trade, so far from being thereby injured, has enormously increased, and 25,000,000 pounds more of cotton yarn were exported last year than in any previous year. After such an example, it is idle to speak of the present bill as having any tendency to lessen the market for our cotton manufactures."¹

Government was at first undecided what course to follow on the subject; but at length, on the second reading, Lord John Russell gave the bill his support, although the Cabinet were divided upon the subject. From the first, however, it

was vigorously opposed by Sir R. Peel, Sir James Graham, Mr. Hume, and the whole free-trade and cheapening ^{89.} party in both Houses. It was argued ^{Answer of Sir R. Peel, Sir J. Graham, and Mr. Cobden.} by them: "The opponents of the bill are the true friends of labor. If you diminish the hours of labor, you increase the cost of production. This additional expense must either increase the price of the article, or it must form a deduction from the profits of the manufacturer or the wages of the workmen, or be divided between them. This argument has never yet been met, and if foreign competition is as formidable as is supposed, the effect of the change will be to drive us from the foreign markets. The bill will affect the four staple articles of manufacture—cotton, woollen, linen, and silk. These four articles comprise £87,000,000 out of the £51,000,000 of our exports. The price of food is now higher than it has been for several years; and at such a time it is proposed, for the first time in the history of our manufactures, to limit the running of machinery in these four branches. That the cutting off of two hours' work in a day will augment the cost of production, if it is not compensated by a reduction in the wages of labor, is self-evident; and is this a time, when provisions are so high, and distress every where staring us in the face, to introduce a measure which, if it does not drive us from the foreign market, will undoubtedly have that effect?"

"What are the three securities for the present prosperity of our manufactures? ^{90.} They are our capital, our machinery, ^{Continued.} our labor. Now we are every day exporting our machinery; there is nothing to prevent increased investment of our capital in foreign countries; the increased facilities of locomotion and communication enable the working man to seek employment at pleasure abroad. It is under such circumstances that it is now proposed to restrict, nominally, the labor of women and children, but practically that of adult men, for they can not work without them. Labor is to be restricted to five days out of six. Such a change appears in the highest degree dangerous. If it passes into law, you will lower the wages, and abridge the comforts of the working men, at the very time when you are making every exertion to increase their intellectual cultivation. If you do this, their enlarged information will only become a source of danger to themselves and the State. We should all work to this one point, whether by sanitary improvements or otherwise, to elevate the character, brighten the prospects, and enlarge the comforts of the working classes: the future peace, prosperity, and happiness of the country are indissolubly wound up with such measures. But how are we to do this if we curtail their wages? and what is a reduction of the hours of labor by a sixth in a week but an income-tax to that extent laid exclusively upon the working classes? Rather let us allow them to continue as they now are, and by honest industry lay the foundation, like the honorable ¹ ^{Parl. Deb. xc. 774,} member for Salford (Mr. Brother- ^{814; Ann. Reg. 1847,} ton), of a fortune which hundreds ^{116, 118.} have acquired."

Plausible as these arguments were, they did not prevail with either House of Parliament,

The bill passed the House of Commons by a majority of 104 to 46: the Peers, by 53 to 11. It was evident from these figures that some great change had taken place from former years, when the bill had been rejected in the Commons, first by a majority of 138, then by one of 10. Nor was it difficult to see what this change was. In the interim the Corn-Laws had been repealed, and the county members were now determined to retaliate on the mill-owners. The whole Protectionists in both Houses voted for the bill. Lord Brougham, who strongly opposed it in the House of Peers, ridiculed the idea of its having a tendency to afford the working classes leisure for mental improvement. "After ten hours' work," said he, "a man is too tired to read; if the Saturday is taken as a holiday, it will be spent in the public house. I have been trying to educate the peasantry these twenty-five years, and the competitor and antagonist by which I have always been defeated is Sleep."

Notwithstanding this sweeping and characteristic denunciation of sleep by the learned lord, there can now be no doubt that the measure was a wise and judicious one, and that the philanthropic men who had so long and so strenuously labored for its support—Lord Ashley,* Mr. Fielden, Mr. Brotherton, and Mr. Oastler—are to be regarded as the permanent benefactors of mankind. Experience has now demonstrated this in the most unequivocal manner; it has declared in favor of the Ten Hours Bill as clearly as it has against instant negro emancipation. So far from the cotton manufacture having been injured by this abridgment of the hours of labor, its progress since the change has been unexampled: considerably greater than it was before the alteration took place.† Nor is it difficult to see how this effect has taken place, and how so great a boon as the cutting off a sixth from the hours of weekly labor has been conferred on the working classes without any diminution in the amount of the national production. The steam-engine has done the whole. It has compensated, and more than compensated, this diminution in human toil by the increased power of machinery. The working classes have gained two hours more a day of nature's best friend—sleep, and the national industry has not been in the slightest degree injured. Since the Ten Hours Bill was passed, so unanimously petitioned for by the working classes, the agitation on this subject has entirely ceased; a clear proof that the remedy introduced had hit the proper medium between over-exertion on the one hand and over-relaxation

on the other. And of the necessity of legislative interference on the subject no better proof can be afforded than the fact, unhappily too well known to all who are conversant with the subject, that the young women and children, whom the bill was principally intended to protect, were not in reality free agents, and that the tyranny against which law was required to protect them was that of their own parents. Incredible as it may appear, it was proved in evidence before the parliamentary committee on the subject, that at the age of six years a child can be profitably employed in factories; and instances were not wanting, before law interposed on the subject, of parents' bread having been earned by children only three years of age.*

But while every friend of humanity must rejoice at this great step having been gained in behalf of the working classes, yet it must not be supposed that it removed either the whole or the most serious part of the evils under which they labor in great towns. On the contrary, though it has doubtless lessened one great cause of suffering in them, others not less formidable remain behind, and exercise an important influence on the happiness and increase of the human species in the later stages of every opulent and commercial society. The delusion so stoutly maintained and so steadily adhered to by the commercial party, that population increases faster in great towns and manufacturing districts than rural, has been now completely demolished by what the *Times* calls "the unpitiable logic of the Registrar-General." There is, indeed, in the former a greater number of marriages in proportion to the population than in the latter, and those marriages are more prolific. Nature, it would appear, strives to maintain her ground amidst the numerous difficulties with which she is there surrounded; and the higher rate of wages insures a constant influx of young persons of both sexes, for the most part in the prime of life, into those great hives of industry. Thus there is generally a rapid increase of numbers for a considerable period in such localities. But it is entirely derived from extraneous sources. Such is the mortality in great towns and manufacturing districts that no amount of general prosperity, or early marriages, can enable them unaided to maintain their own numbers. While the annual proportion of deaths in agricultural districts in Scotland is from 100 to 107 out of 10,000 in the rural counties, in Lanarkshire, which is at once mining and manufacturing, it is 268. The proportion of deaths of children under five years of age, in the agricultural counties, is 29 per cent. of the whole; the average of eight great towns is 49 per cent., and in Glasgow it is generally as high as 57, sometimes 61. The general mortality of 183 town districts in Scotland, in 1855, was 261 in 10,000, or 1 in 38; in 94 rural districts it was 169, or 1 in 28. From a very curious table,

* "It has been ascertained that children as young as three years of age labor for their own bread and the bread of their parents. What does the State do on these occasions? It only says to the master, You shall not employ a child in a factory, working, as some are doing now, from five in the morning till seven at night, till it is eight years of age."—Mr. ROXBOROUGH, on 21st April, 1848, quoted in *Parl. Deb.*, xc. 771.

* Now the Earl of Shaftesbury.

† BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURES EXPORTED.

Years.	Declared Value.	Years.	Declared Value.
1840.....	£24,663,000	1847.....	£26,771,000
1841.....	23,409,000	1850.....	28,257,401
1842.....	21,647,000	1851.....	30,088,836
1843.....	23,447,000	1852.....	29,877,057
1844.....	25,805,848	1853.....	32,712,902
1845.....	26,119,331	1854.....	31,645,850
1846.....	25,599,828	1855.....	34,811,706
1847.....	23,333,225	1856.....	38,284,760
1848.....	22,081,000		

—PORTER, 178; and *Statistical Abstract of United Kingdom*, No. IV., p. 21.

compiled by the Registrar of England, it appears that the chances of life are invariably in inverse proportion to the density of the inhabitants, despite all the superior medical advantages of such as dwell in cities and crowded localities.* It is to be hoped sanitary improvements, increased temperance, and comfort in living and other

causes, may in time lessen this great disproportion. But there seems no reason to suppose it will ever be entirely removed; and it would appear to be a great law of Nature, intended to prevent the undue aggregation of mankind in particular localities, and insure the dispersion and general progress of the species.¹

The system of recruiting for the army underwent a great change in this year, in consequence of a measure introduced by Government, and which received the sanction of both Houses of Parliament. Hitherto, notwithstanding several attempts to introduce an opposite system, recruiting had been chiefly for life. On 22d March, Mr. Fox Maule (now Lord Panmure), the Secretary at War, introduced a bill, the purport of which was to limit the term of enlistment in the infantry to ten years, and in the cavalry, artillery, and engineers, to twelve. After the expiration of these respective periods, the man, if in actual service, might be detained for two years longer; and it was to be in his option to enlist again, with the benefit of his former service, for eleven years in the infantry,

* If the area of England is grouped in districts, in proportion to the density of the inhabitants, as measured by the respective proportion of the inhabitants to the square yards of the districts in which they dwell, the following curious and startling result is arrived at:

Persons to a Sq. Mile.	Proximi-ty of Per-son to Person.	Annual Deaths to 1000 living.	Persons to a Sq. Mile.	Proximi-ty of Per-son to Person.	Annual Deaths to 1000 living.
	Yards.			Yards.	
56	252	15	324	105	22
106	184	16	485	86	23
144	158	17	1216	54	24
149	155	18	1262	53	25
182	140	19	2064	42	26
202	138	20	2784	45	27
220	128	21	4134	28	28 to 36

—Registrar-General's Report, 1853, p. xvi.—Introduction.

It is chiefly the immense mortality in crowded situations of children under five years of age which occasions this extraordinary difference. The proportion of deaths per cent. of children under five years of age, in the eight principal towns of Scotland in March, 1857, was as follows:

Place.	Population in 1857. Estimated.	Deaths.	Proportion per Cent. under 5 Years.
Perth.....	27,619	64	89
Leith.....	35,807	69	45
Greenock.....	37,724	110	86
Paisley.....	48,269	116	47
Aberdeen.....	78,933	168	31
Dundee.....	90,731	183	40
Edinburgh.....	177,260	348	29
Glasgow.....	374,505	1,120	56

—Scottish Registrar's Report, March, 1857.

The deaths in England, in 1853, were 421,097, which is at the rate of 22·88 to 100 living. The proportion per cent. of the deaths under five years of age to 100 living was, in 1853, as follows:

Ages.	
2.....	7·346
5.....	7·847

Under five years, 15·193 for 100 living.

—Registrar-General's Report, 1853, xii.—Introduction.

or twelve in the cavalry or artillery. After ten years' service, the soldier might enroll himself for a deferred pension, in which case he would be liable to serve twelve days in the year, and after serving twenty-two years in that capacity, he would become entitled to a pension of 6d. a day in the same way as by eleven years of active service. The pensioners were stated by him to amount to thirteen thousand, and for all purposes, when great exertions were not required, were as fit for duty as when they fired their muskets at Waterloo.¹

The bill was strongly supported in both Houses by the members of the Government and several officers of the army, which particularly Sir De Lacy Evans and Major Layard, as tending to introduce a superior body of men into the service, and remove the objection that a man who enlisted lost his freedom, and became a serf for life. It was as strenuously opposed by Lord Londonderry, Sir Howard Douglas, and several other experienced officers, upon the ground that it would banish the old soldiers who formed the bone and muscle of the army, and lead to a constant influx of new and inexperienced soldiers into the ranks. So strongly were these apprehensions expressed, that even the veteran reformer, Lord Brougham, admitted that he shared them, and contemplated with dismay the thoughts of "touching so noble and perfect a machine as the British army." The Duke of Wellington, however, cast the balance in favor of the measure, by the observation, which experience has abundantly proved to be well founded, that after a man has been ten years in the army, he has become so habituated to military life that he is incapable of taking to any other; and thus, that nearly all the soldiers who were worth keeping would enlist anew, for the entire term of twenty-one or twenty-four years, after their first term had expired.* In agreeing, however, to the bill on this ground, he concurred in the strongest manner in the statement as to the infinite superiority of old soldiers over young ones, especially in the commencement of real warfare; and his words are alike important as containing the true wisdom on the subject, and as prophetic of the mournful disasters which their oblivion was so soon to bring upon the British nation.[†]

* This was abundantly proved by a fact mentioned by Earl Grey, in his very able speech introducing the bill into the House of Peers: "In 1829 Lord Hardinge introduced the plan of allowing men a free discharge after sixteen years of service, a period reduced to twelve years by Mr. Sydney Herbert in 1845; and from a memorandum in Lord Grey's hands, I find that the number of soldiers who, between 1830 and 1844, under the reduced service, were discharged without any gratuity, amounted to fifty-three annually in the whole British army, being less than one man for every two regiments."—*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1334. Lord Grey, on this occasion, mentioned a most gratifying fact in regard to the great diminution of corporal punishments in the army, in consequence of the wise and humane changes introduced in recent times—"that while in 1818, out of 28,900 men in foreign stations, 80 men out of every 1000 underwent corporal punishment, last year, in the same stations, the proportion was only 4 in 1000."—*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1324.

† "I am decidedly of opinion that we should do nothing to deprive the country of the services of the old soldiers; but having maturely considered this bill, I think it will not tend to any diminution of the old soldiers. Old soldiers, my lords, are, in my opinion, absolutely necessary to the very existence of an army. Although

Less momentous in its immediate results, but not less so in its ultimate consequences, the important subject of PUBLIC EDUCATION formed the subject of very interesting debates in this session of Parliament. These took place in consequence of the promulgation of certain minutes of the educational committee of the Privy Council, on which Ministers proposed to issue grants of public money for the purposes specified. These were deemed unduly favorable to the Established Church by the Dissenters, and their opposition led to animated debates in both Houses of Parliament. In introducing the subject on the part of Government, Lord Lansdowne lamented that the sectarian jealousies between the two great bodies of Churchmen and Dissenters rendered it impossible to bring forward a plan for universal education; but he gave very gratifying information as to what, under the limited system, which alone was practicable, had actually been done since the Government system had been introduced in 1833. From that time to 1846 Parliament had granted £490,000 for the purposes of education; the school-houses for which grants had been made would, when completed, accommodate 550,000 scholars, besides 150,000 more in 3500 schools which had invited inspection, without having obtained grants of public money. The chief object of the proposed grants was to extend this system of inspection, which, so far as it went, had worked well, and to grant to all the teachers power to select a certain number out of the most promising of their pupils, who were

this country has been under the protection of peace for thirty years and more, I have had under my consideration during that time military operations of great extent and importance, not only in the Mediterranean, but in North and South America, in South Africa, and all over Asia, nearly at the same time; and if you had not had the highest discipline and best troops in the world, it would not have been possible for you to have carried on these operations. Look at China. In that case it was necessary to transport troops from Australia, and land them in China, where they were called on to act on rivers, in creeks, and upon islands, in concert with the ships of her Majesty. They succeeded in effecting all that was expected of them. How was that done? It was done by the discipline of your troops—the discipline maintained by the old soldiers. They were the men who led the young ones, and, acting together, they were able to achieve any conquest. Again, one night during the operations against the Sikhs, a regiment was lying on their arms, and Lord Hardinge was on the ground at their head. The enemy opened fire upon them, and annoyed them very much, in consequence of which my noble friend ordered the men to rise and advance upon the guns. They did so, and the guns were captured. This was at night, remember. I ask, could such a feat have been performed under such circumstances by any but old soldiers? It would have been impossible. Bear in mind the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon with respect to old soldiers; remember the manner in which he employed them. Recollect, too, how they are prized by every power all over the world; and then I will once more entreat your lordships never to consent to any measure which would deprive her Majesty's service of old and experienced men, and thus pave the way for disasters which would assuredly follow when the army should come to be employed in war.

"I should be rejoiced if the measure at present under consideration should induce a superior class of men to enter the army; but I confess I very much doubt it. But putting that out of the question, I believe that, looking at all the circumstances of the case, looking at the advantages held out to the soldier in the reward for good conduct, after five, ten, fifteen, and twenty years' service, the army will suffer no injury from the measure, and that the soldiers will re-enlist after the ten years. Therefore it is that I recommend your lordships to try the measure of limited enlistment. It is my firm belief that this measure will make no difference in the number of old soldiers in the army."—*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1338.

to be trained up, under the name of apprentices, to the duties and practice of education, so as to fit them to become in their turn teachers of others. For each of these apprentices or normal pupils a certain annual allowance was to be provided, and for such as could not find situations in the Government schools employment was to be given in the revenue departments. Pensions also, after fifteen years of public service, were provided to well-conducted school-masters and school-mistresses. Lord Brougham warmly approved of the proposed measure, regretting at the same time that "no general and comprehensive plan was practicable, because society was divided into two great classes, Churchmen and Dissenters, who loved education much, but controversy more."¹*

¹ *Parl. Deb.*
xc. 1337—
xci. 940—
lxxxix. 858,
982.

Although the ministry of Sir R. Peel had been overthrown by a combination of Whigs and Protectionists on the question of the Coercion and Arms Bill for Ireland, yet experience was not long of proving that the measure, then so unceremoniously rejected, was in itself necessary and expedient, and that without some similar enactment Government had become impracticable in the sister island. So threatening did affairs become in some parts of Ireland in the end of 1846 and first months of 1847, that Ministers were themselves under the necessity of introducing a measure for the repression of crime, which was in effect almost the same as that which had been so recently thrown out in the Lower House; and the facts which Sir George Grey adduced to justify the measure were such as amply proved its necessity. It is remarkable that the increase of crime, which was so alarming, had taken place only in a few counties; over the country generally there not only was no increase of offenses, but a marked diminution, notwithstanding the universal distress which prevailed. Sir George Grey mentioned that the number of serious offenses during the whole of 1846 had been 2885; whereas, up to the end of October, 1847, they did not exceed 1035. But in some districts of the country, particularly Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, there existed a secret conspiracy, which had spread such intense dismay over the country that it became the absolute duty of Government, at all hazards, to put it down. The present, therefore, is no general indictment against a whole people; it is a measure empowering the Lord-Lieutenant to proclaim certain baronies and counties, and the effect of that proclamation was, that the carrying of arms between sunrise and sunset became illegal, and arms could only be kept legally in possession upon a license from Government;

* In the debate on this subject in the House of Commons, Mr. Macaulay observed on 19th April: "In Hertford House of Correction, out of 700 prisoners, about one half are unable to read, and only eight could read and write well. In Maidstone Prison, out of 8000 prisoners, 1300 were unable to read, and only 50 could read well. In Cold-Bath-Fields Prison, out of 8000, not one could read and write well. From the registers of marriages, we find that out of 180,000 couples married in the year 1844, 40,000 bridegrooms and 60,000 brides could only sign by a mark. What does this imply? The most grievous want of education for many of the remainder, who have been unable to sign their names. How many of the day-schools are nothing but a dirty room, with a heap of fuel on one side and a brood of chickens on the other, and the only instruments of education are a dog-eared spelling-book and a broken slate?"—*Parl. Deb.*, xci. 1016.

and the Lord-Lieutenant was authorized to send down an additional police force from the reserve at Dublin, at the expense, in the first instance, of the public treasury, but ultimately of the disturbed districts.* Sir R. Peel's triumph was now complete, and he put the finishing-stroke to his victory by himself voting, with all his followers, for the very bill which had been made the instrument of his own overthrow.

¹ Parl. Deb. xcv. 270, 273, 922; Ann. Reg. 1847, 236, 237.

So evident had the necessity of the case become, that it passed the Commons by an overwhelming majority, being 296 to 19, or 277, and in the Lords unanimously.

Parliament was prorogued by the Queen in person on the 28d July, and next day dissolved by royal proclamation. The elections were languidly conducted, and excited very little attention. There was neither any great social or national question at stake, nor any keen contest of parties to awaken the dormant energies of their adherents throughout the country. It was universally understood that the Conservatives were, for the time at least, utterly disjointed and broken up, and that any attempt to reconstruct the great body which Sir R. Peel had headed was out of the question. The Liberals were evidently destined for a long time, perhaps forever, to retain the reins of power; and though the old Whig party was nearly as much displaced from the lead as the Tories were, that did not shake the majority of English borough Liberals, Scotch Radicals, and Irish Catholics, in whom, by the Reform Bill, the government of the empire was now vested. In addition to this, the course of current events had turned men's minds to very different objects. The famine in Ireland had frozen every heart with horror; the monetary crisis in Great Britain threatened every one engaged in trade with ruin; and men, in the utmost state of alarm for their private affairs, had neither money, nor leisure, nor care to bestow on political disputes. From these causes the elections excited very little attention; the old members were in general returned without a contest, and the only difference in the result was an addition to the Liberal ranks, slight indeed, but sufficient to secure them a working majority.²

It was no wonder that the attention of the country was fixed on other objects than the hustings, for the appearances in the commercial world had now become threatening in the extreme. The panic, which had been so severe in April, had indeed passed away, chiefly from the announcement received in the beginning of May 6. May that the Emperor of Russia was about to invest a portion of his accumulated treasure, amounting to 80,000,000 silver roubles (£4,750,000), in the public funds of France and England. This was the first time

* The increase of violent crime, chiefly in Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, in the first six months of 1846 and 1847, were respectively:

	1846.	1847.
Homicides	63	96
Firing at the person.....	55	126
Robberies of arms.....	207	530
Firing into dwellings	51	116

—*Parl. Deb.*, xcv. 276.

that the gold mines of the Ural Mountains, now producing £8,000,000 annually, had been brought on a large scale to bear on the money market of Western Europe, and the effect was very considerable, chiefly by diminishing the terror of an increased demand for gold to pay for the immense importations of food which were still going on. The season also was favorable, and hopes were entertained, which were happily more than realized, of an abundant harvest in autumn. From this cause, joined to the great amount of the imported grain, the prices of food fell considerably in the end of May and beginning of June; but the pressure for money, owing to the combined effect of the immense importations and heavy railway calls, was such that no reduction of the current rate of interest took place, which still remained at 5 per cent.* The sums lent abroad in that year were £33,000,000, and the expenditure on railways £47,000,000.¹

These causes necessarily renewed the pressure, and it became very severe in August, when the rate of discount at the Bank rose to 5½, while the Bank reserve sunk to £4,704,000 against £14,000,000 liabilities; and consols, which had stood at 93 in the beginning of the year, fell rapidly to 85. These were sufficiently strong premonitory symptoms, but the Government did not take the alarm, and persisted in the belief that, under the admirably constructed self-balancing system of 1844, the currency would right itself without any serious detriment to the general interests of the community. This idea was increased by the fineness of the season and abundance of the harvest, which was so remarkable that on the suggestion of Government a general thanksgiving was returned to Almighty God for the blessing. But though this lessened a danger of one kind, it induced another hardly less serious, which was the immediate cause of bringing on the catastrophe which was approaching. The fineness of the weather and harvest, coupled with the enormous amount of the importation, which in the harvest year from September, 1846, to September, 1847, had risen to the unprecedented amount of 11,800,000 quarters, of which 5,000,000 were wheat, occasioned a prodigious fall in the price of grain of every description. Wheat, which in June, 1847, had been at 92s. 10d., sunk in August to 66s., and in September was as low as 52s., at which comparatively low figure it stood during the remaining months of the year.* This immense and rapid fall, coming suddenly upon so large a portion of the mercantile capital of the country as was engaged in the grain trade, was attended with the most calamitous results. One after another the greatest houses in the corn trade came down, and

* CAPITAL AUTHORIZED TO BE RAISED AND EXPENDED ON RAILWAYS.

	Authorized.	Expended.
1845.. { First half year	£59,000,000	£3,500,000
{ Second half year		10,600,000
1846.. { First half year	124,000,000	8,800,000
{ Second half year		26,685,000
1847.. { First half year	38,000,000	25,700,000
{ Second half year		22,800,000
Total.....	£221,000,000	£96,085,000

—*TOOKE*, iv. 814; and v. 811.

† In May the average price of wheat was 102s.; in September it was 48s.—*CHANCELLOR OF EXCHEQUER'S Statement*, Nov. 29, 1847.—*Parl. Deb.*, xcv. 386.

with them a whole host of the lesser firms engaged in the same traffic, or involved with them in business. The effect of these failures, of course, was to augment in a most serious degree both the demand for money and the general alarm. Every thing tended to the same point, and that was an augmented pressure on the Bank for advances which the Bank Charter Act left them absolutely without the means of meeting. Free trade had landed the country in a balance of imports over exports, requiring for the most part to be paid in gold, which had come now to exceed £40,000,000 a year; the Irish famine had sent half as much out of the country to buy food; railway undertakings required an expenditure at home of above £40,000,000 a year, and the great houses which had so largely imported grain were assailed by a fall in the article to little more than half of its prices three months before. Never was there a time in European history when, from the combination of so many concurring causes, large Bank advances to support credit and carry on undertakings were so loudly called for, and the Bank had ample means to meet them, for they had still £9,000,000 in their coffers. But here the Bank Charter stepped in and locked up £8,000,000 sterling, amidst the universal pressure, in the issue department. Reduced to £1,000,000 in the banking department, the directors were compelled to be extremely cautious, and accordingly on 1st October they intimated that "5½ would be charged on all bills falling due before the 15th October, and that they declined to make any advance on stock or Exchequer bills."¹

This announcement produced, as might have been expected, a fearful impression on the Stock Exchange. Consols rapidly fell from 85 to 83½; Exchequer bills were at 37s. discount; and such was the pressure for money that interest at the rate of 50 per cent. was given for the use of it for only nine days. The failure of mercantile firms of the oldest standing and the highest respectability, beginning with that of Gower, Nephews, and Co., soon became very frequent, and much exceeded in amount any thing recorded in British history, the severe monetary crisis of 1825 itself not excepted. It soon appeared that the crash was not to be confined to the grain trade, in which it had begun, but extended to other branches of business and banking firms. On 13th October, the Abingdon old bank came down; this was followed on the 18th by the stoppage of the Royal Bank of Liverpool, which was the more alarming as its paid-up capital was known to be £800,000, and it stood in the very front rank of the banking institutions of the kingdom. Consols in consequence fell to 77½; a fall of 15 per cent. from what they had been three months before, and the lowest point they reached during the crisis. Important bank failures ensued in Liverpool, Manchester, Lancashire, and Newcastle. In the last-mentioned town the banking discredit was exceedingly severe, and the most important bank in the district had a very narrow escape from a suspension of payment.² The Bank of England reserve sunk between 16th and 30th October from

£8,070,000 to £1,600,000 against £18,900,000 liabilities, and the bullion in both departments was only £8,300,000 on 23d October, while the notes in circulation still amounted to £21,200,000. In a word, the two weeks ending 23d October were an uninterrupted progression of disaster, discredit, and dismay; and at the close of the week every thing portended not merely a crisis, but a total suspension of all business and of all payments.

Still Government, supported by Sir R. Peel, stood firm. The most earnest representations were made to them as to the state of the country, and the imminent ruin which threatened the whole of its commerce if the Bank Charter Act were not suspended, without effect. A most respectable deputation from Liverpool, representing the trading interests of that great emporium, was coolly dismissed with an answer that the Bank Act must at all hazards be maintained. A highly important communication from the Marquis of Londonderry, as Lord-Lieutenant of the county of Durham, portraying the tremendous risk to which, from the suspension of credit and the want of money, the coal districts in that county were exposed, met with no better success. Even an earnest request for assistance from the Scotch banks, hitherto deemed so flourishing, failed in shaking their steady resolve to maintain at all hazards the convertibility of a Bank of England note. But at length they were assailed in a quarter where they had no defense, and the country in consequence was saved. On Friday, 22d October, the London bankers had a meeting, at which it was agreed that, if Government would not sanction a deviation from the Act on the part of the Bank, they would withdraw their whole balances from it. This was decisive. The bankers' balances in the hands of the Bank of England were £1,774,472, and the reserve in the Bank to meet this amount was only £1,600,025.* In these circumstances, submission was a matter of necessity. The bankers' resolution was communicated to Government on Saturday 23d, and early on Monday 25th the celebrated letter signed by Lord John Russell and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was sent to the Bank, authorizing a deviation from the Act.† That which neither a representation of

* "Question 2681.—Supposing the London bankers had been, from the pressure upon them, obliged to withdraw a large amount of the balance which, I believe, equaled pretty nearly the amount of your reserve on the 22d October, what would have been the effect? On the 22d October, the reserve in London was £1,600,025, and in the country £776,447, making together £2,376,472. The bankers' balances were £1,774,472. Supposing their balances had been withdrawn from us in the course of business, we should have had an opportunity of going into the market, and, by selling securities, we should have strengthened ourselves by taking notes out of the market, and then met the bankers' demand."—Mr. MORRIS'S (the Governor of the Bank of England) Examination; *First Report on Commercial Distress*, 1848, p. 221.

† "Her Majesty's Government have seen, with the deepest regret, the pressure which has existed for some weeks upon the commercial interests of the country, and that this pressure has been aggravated by a want of that confidence which is necessary for carrying on the ordinary dealings of trade. They have been in hopes that the check given to transactions of a speculative character, the transfer of capital from other countries, the influx of bullion, and the feeling which a knowledge of these

¹ Tooke, iv. 314, 315; *Economist*, Oct. 9, 1847.

^{101.} Commercial bankruptcies.

² Tooke, iv. 316, 317, 445, 446; *Economist*, Oct. 23, 1847; Chancellor of Exchequer's Statement, Nov. 30, 1847.

the impending ruin of Liverpool and the manufacturing districts of Lancashire, nor the prospect of a hundred thousand colliers being thrown out of bread in the mining districts, could effect, was at once brought about by the dread of the Bank being "checked out," in

mercantile phrase, by the drafts of the London bankers. The Bank was authorized to issue notes beyond the limit prescribed by the Act, and in the mean time the rate of interest was fixed at 8 per cent.¹

Thus did the famous Bank Charter Act, after having been three years in unrestrained operation, break down from the effect of its own provisions, but not until it had brought the country to the very verge of ruin! In the first two years of that period it had inflamed to a most perilous degree the prevailing passion for speculation, and set on foot undertakings of the most gigantic kind, which required all the disposable capital of the country to carry forward and complete. During the last year it acted not less powerfully in contracting the circulation and suspending credit, at the very time

circumstances might have been expected to produce, would have removed the prevailing distrust. Their hopes have, however, been disappointed, and her Majesty's Government have come to the conclusion that the time has arrived when they ought to attempt, by some extraordinary and temporary measure, to restore confidence to the mercantile and manufacturing community.

"For this purpose, they recommend to the Directors of the Bank of England, in the present emergency, to enlarge the amount of their discount, and advance upon approved security, but that, in order to restrain this operation within reasonable limits, a high rate of interest should be charged. In present circumstances, they would suggest that the rate of interest should not be less than 8 per cent. If this course of dealing should lead to any infringement of the existing law, her Majesty's Government will be prepared to propose to Parliament, on its meeting, a bill of indemnity. They will rely upon the discretion of the Directors to reduce, as soon as possible, the amount of their notes, if any extraordinary issues should take place within the limits prescribed by law. Her Majesty's Government are not insensible to the evil of any departure from the law which has placed the currency of the country upon a sound basis; but they feel confident that in the present circumstances the measure which they have proposed may be safely adopted; and that at the same time the main provisions of that law, and the vital principle of maintaining the convertibility of the Bank of England note, may be firmly maintained."—We are, &c., JOHN RUSSELL, CHARLES WOOD.—*Times*, iv. 469, 460.

when both were most imperatively required to carry forward the undertakings which *itself* had set on foot, and meet the effects, in the drain of gold, of the combined operation of the system of free trade recently introduced, and the Irish famine then in its full intensity. At this critical juncture, when, beyond any other recorded in British history, liberal paper advances were most called for to sustain the credit and currency of the country, now strained to the uttermost by so many concurring causes, the bank-notes in circulation in the two islands were, by the operation of the Bank Charter Act, contracted to the extent of eight millions below what they had been less than two years before. It may safely be affirmed that a more ruinous and suicidal act never was perpetrated by any government on any country, and it is no wonder that it produced the most disastrous effects. And at last Sir R. Peel and the Ministers were compelled, by sheer necessity, to repeal their own Act, and do that which had been the one thing needful from the beginning, viz., authorize the Bank Directors to "enlarge the amount of their discounts and advances upon approved security," beyond the amount authorized by law."

Never was a step taken by Government attended with such immediate and 164 beneficial effects as this was. It Great and immediate effect never required to be acted upon; of this letter. the knowledge that it had been granted was of itself sufficient to dispel the panic. The statement which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said had been constantly made to him for a few days before, "*Let us have notes; charge 10 or 12 per cent. upon them; we do not care what the rate of interest is; we do not mean to take the notes because we shall not want them, only tell us that we can get them, and that will at once restore confidence.*" In Mr Huskisson's words, on a former 165 Part Deb. occasion, "the stagnant and straitened circulation of the country wanted life and aid, and became every day more embarrassed, while each new calamity produced by such a state of things contributed to spread and increase the general apprehension." In this disastrous state of things, the knowledge that the Bank Charter Act, which was the principal cause of the embarrassment, had been set aside, acted at

¹ TABLE SHOWING THE WHOLE BANKS AND BANKERS' NOTES IN CIRCULATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, FROM JUNE, 1844, TO DECEMBER, 1851.

once as a charm in restoring the suspended vitality of the country. The barrier which cut off the bullion in the issue department from the banking department having been removed, the pressure and apprehension which had existed for some weeks, owing to a knowledge of the smallness of the Bank's reserve, and of the bullion available for banking purposes, were at once removed. Eight millions of bullion being, if required, let in to the banking department, the general terror was at an end. Hoards of bank-notes and coin which had been secreted during the panic immediately came forth; and although the high rate of interest was not immediately reduced, yet merchants in good credit no longer found any difficulty in getting their notes discounted. In a word, the crisis was at an end, and the Directors were ere long able to reduce the rate of interest charged at the Bank, till, on 27th January, 1848, just three months after Lord John Russell's letter was written, it was lowered to 4 per cent.*—a decisive proof that the previous high rates had been entirely owing to a want of currency, and not of capital; for unquestionably, as will immediately appear, during the intervening period the available wealth of

¹ Tooke, iv. 319, 330. the country, so far from increasing, had undergone a serious diminution.¹

As a matter of course, Parliament was called together, after this severe crisis, earlier than usual, both to deliberate on the state of the country, and to interpose the necessary sanction to the deviation authorized by Ministers from the Bank Charter Act.

As might have been expected, the leading topic in the Queen's speech, and in the debates which followed upon it, were the monetary crisis, and the working of that Act. The Speech said, "Her Majesty has seen, with great concern, the distress which has for some time prevailed among the commercial classes. The embarrassments of trade were at one period aggravated by so general a feeling of distrust and of alarm, that her Majesty, for the purpose of restoring confidence, authorized her Ministers to recommend to the Directors of the Bank of England a course of proceeding suited to such an emergency. This course might have led to an infringement of the law. Her Majesty has great satisfaction in being able to inform you that the law has not been infringed, that the alarm has subsided, and that the pressure on the banking and commercial interests has been mitigated. The abundant harvest with which this country has been blessed has alleviated the evils which always accompany a want of employment in the manufacturing districts. Her Majesty, however, has to lament the recurrence of severe distress in Ireland, owing to the scarcity of the usual food of the people. Her Majesty trusts that this distress will be materially relieved by the exertions

* The rate of interest charged at the Bank was reduced as follows:

25th October, 1847.....	8 per cent.
22d November, 1847.....	7 " "
2d December, 1847.....	6 " "
23d December, 1847.....	5 " "
27th January, 1848.....	4 " "
15th June, 1848.....	3½ " "
2d November, 1848.....	3 " "

—TOOKE, vol. iv. p. 230; vol. v. p. 236.

which have been made to carry into effect the law of last session for the support of the destitute poor. The Lord-Lieutenant has employed with vigor and energy the means which the law places at his disposal to detect offenders, and prevent the repetition of offenses. But she feels it her duty to ask the assistance of Parliament in taking further precautions against the perpetration of crime in certain counties and districts of Ireland."¹

Foreseeing that, in the agitated state of the commercial classes in the country, it would be impossible to prevent inquiry into the working of the Bank Charter Act, Ministers wisely resolved to take the matter into their own hands, and thereby secure the appointment of the committee of inquiry in both Houses. A long and important debate, which was continued through three nights, took place on the motion made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the appointment of a committee, but as the topics and arguments were the same as those of which an abstract has already been given on a recent occasion,² they need not be again recapitulated further than to notice the very important admission of Sir R. Peel on the working of the Bank Charter Act. The Right Honorable Baronet said: "I do not deny that one of the objects contemplated by the Act was the prevention of the convulsions which have hitherto occurred in consequence of the neglect of the Bank of England to take early precautions against the withdrawal of its treasure. I am bound to say that in that hope I have been disappointed. Looking to recent events, the depression which has since prevailed, and the numbers of houses which have been swept away, I am bound to admit that that purpose of the Bill of 1844, which sought to impose, if not a legal, at least a moral obligation upon the Bank, to prevent the necessity of extreme measures of stringency by timely precautions, has not been fulfilled. But the Bill of 1844 had a triple object. Its first object was that in which I admit it has failed, namely, to prevent, by early and gradual, severe and sudden contraction of the currency, and the panic and confusion inseparable from it. But the Bill had two other objects of at least equal importance—the one to maintain and guarantee the convertibility of the paper currency into gold, the other to prevent the difficulties which arise at all times from undue speculation being aggravated by the abuse of paper credit in the form of promissory-notes. In these two objects my belief is, that the Bill has completely succeeded. My belief is, that you have had a guarantee for the maintenance of the principle of convertibility, such as you never had before; and that, whatever difficulties you are now suffering, those difficulties would have been greatly aggravated if you had not wisely taken the precaution of checking the unlimited issue of the notes of the Bank of England, of joint-stock banks, and of private banks.

"The country is now suffering from the diminution of its capital and the extent of its speculations, and is visiting its blame on the very measure which has prevented its difficulties being ten times greater. Every body is asking for money, and

¹ Parl. Deb. xcvi. 14; Ann. Reg. 1847, 188.

^{106.} Sir R. Peel's statement on the Bank Charter Act.

² Ante, c. xlili. § 83, et seq.

^{107.} Continued.

no one is willing to lend it, and parties talk of the Act of 1844 being the cause of this state of things, *the real want being a want of capital*, which no government can supply. The increase of currency is not a multiplication of capital, but only a check on the industry of individuals. At all times, a low rate of interest has led to exactly the same results of increased speculation in the first instance, and of great embarrassment in the next. The results we now witness are ascribed by the gentlemen opposite to free trade and the Act of 1844; but the history of the last sixty years proves that, in peace and in war, under the old standard, and before it was restored in the time of an inconvertible currency, as well as afterward, a low rate of interest had always produced the same melancholy results. It was so in the panics of 1784, 1793, 1810, 1819, 1826, 1836, 1837. If you repeal the Act of 1844, you will render the operations of the Bank uncontrolled, and give back to joint-stock and private banks the power of unlimited issues. There has recently been undue speculation, a great issue of paper, and a discounting and rediscounting of bills, quite novel in the history of commerce. This country and the United States, with a small amount of the precious metals, possess a greater amount of bank-notes and promissory-notes than any country in the world. This gives great facility to enterprise, but it is accompanied by great corresponding evils. We have of late been carrying on a system of commerce far beyond our capital, and the standard ought not to be endangered for the sake of bolstering it up. In such a case, it is unjust to charge the Act of 1844 as having been the cause of the deficiency of money, when men ought to be thankful for its having prevented the aggravation of their distress by checking an unlimited issue of paper.

"The present pressure, in the main caused by undue speculation, has been most seriously aggravated by the expenditure of £33,000,000 in the last year, in the purchase of food, which has caused a great exportation of gold, and by the application of an enormous capital for the construction of railways, which, though not in the end a dead loss, is, for the present at least, unaccompanied by profit. In these causes an ample explanation of the recent embarrassment is to be found, without imputing it to the Act of 1844. I cordially approve of the conduct which Government adopted with regard to the Bank on occasion of the crisis. The remedy for the existing evils was to be found, and could only be found, in the efforts of individuals, and in the contracting of engagements. If Government had relaxed the law earlier, the exertions of individuals would have been stopped, and new engagements would have been entered into. When, however, the general distrust in the commercial world had reached the length of panic, the intervention of Government to check it was justifiable and proper. No argument, however, can be drawn from the necessity of issuing the letter

¹ Parl. Deb. xcv. 650, 674; Ann. Reg. 1847, 216, 219. of 25th October against the Act which it suspended, for panic is one of those cases in which not legislation, but the discretion of Government, must be applied."

On the other hand, it was maintained by Lord George Bentinck and Mr. Thomas Baring, the last of whom ^{109.} had at first been a supporter of the Act of 1844: "The strongest condemnation of the Act of 1844 is to be found in the facts that it had not prevented the crisis, that it had not checked it after it occurred, and that, in order to stop it, an infringement of the law had become absolutely necessary. So far from having checked undue speculation, and so prevented the crisis, it had done just the reverse. The theory on which the Bill was founded was, that the Bank would be constrained to lessen its issues of paper as the gold in its coffers was diminished, and that speculation would be checked the moment it became dangerous. Has the result corresponded to this anticipation? So far from it, the gold in the coffers of the Bank, on 12th September, 1846, was £16,354,000, and its paper in circulation was then £20,980,000. On 17th April, 1847, the gold was reduced to £9,380,000, and the circulation, so far from being diminished, had increased to £21,228,000; that is, by £246,000! So much for the working of the Bill, in giving a ¹ Parl. Deb. x. 615. timely check to undue speculation."

"The common opinion is, that if there is an overissue of bank-notes, it will drive the gold out of the country. That ^{110.} was the fundamental position of the Continued. famous Bullion Report in 1811, and it has been the basis of all our subsequent legislation on the subject. But in this case the very reverse took place; for when it was known that notes would be freely issued, *hoards* of gold immediately made their appearance, and the stock of bullion in the Bank instantly began to increase. The notes came out, and, what was directly contrary to the theory, the gold came back at the same time. The effect of the infraction of the law, according to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statement, was altogether magical; the whole panic ceased; the notes came out, the gold came in, all at the same time, and confidence was at once restored, all in consequence of the announced violation of the Bank Act. Apparently, that is an Act honored more in the breach than the observance; but what is to be said in defense of an Act which never proves beneficial till it is repealed? What is to be said as to the scourge of 8 per cent. inflicted on the commercial community, a direct tax to that amount, imposed not on income, but on *endangered capital*, which all must admit sweeps away all prospect, while it lasts, of commercial profit, and is confessedly a direct consequence of the Act of 1844?

"We are told that it is the famine in Ireland which has caused all the distress, and it is doubtless true that a great ^{111.} deal of gold has gone out of the country in quest of provisions. But the real cause of it all is the combination of free trade with the Bank Charter Act. It is not the high price of grain which has occasioned the difficulty. During the last seven years of the war the average of wheat was 94s. 6d., and yet we were able to raise £70,000,000 yearly in taxes, and borrowed £180,000,000, which was at the rate of £26,000,000 a year, and that not spent in

our own country, but in foreign lands. Were we a poverty-stricken people then? In the year 1815 we had 207,000 regulars, 80,000 militia, and 340,000 local militia in arms, besides 140,000 seamen, and we spent £131,000,000; and now with wealth and number increased by at least a half, we are told that we can not employ 300,000 laborers in our own country without bringing the country to the verge of ruin. It is very easy for Government now to decry the railways, but who set them all a going by lowering the deposit money from 10 to 5 per cent., and plumed themselves so long on the prosperity and increased consumption of taxable articles, which the expenditure on them occasioned in the country? Look around you at America, France, Belgium, Bavaria, Prussia, Russia, and every where you see the railway system extending, as much in proportion to their resources as it has done here, and yet none of them have been rendered bankrupt in consequence. Belgium and France have had the potato disease as well as Ireland, and yet in the opening speeches of the legislative bodies in both these countries the Sovereigns congratulate the Chambers on the flourishing state of their respective countries. Instead of doing as Mr. Pitt did in 1793, and other great men have done on such a crisis, and coming forward with £5,000,000 to meet the commercial distress, lent at £3 16s., you delay setting the Bank free from its shackles till you yourself are on the verge of the precipice; and when you do so, you say you will make money as money-lenders of the public necessities, and raise the rate of interest to 8 per cent. While you have been intent only on saturating the country with gold and starving it of paper by means of the Bank Charter Act, France has been contracting, not the number of her notes, but the denomination, from £20 to £8. Bavaria has established saving-bank notes on the one hand, and railway-bank notes on the other; and the Emperor of Russia, while sending away his gold, has established three new sets of bank-notes of £950,000 each. When more money is required for undertakings, they provide more; when the same takes place with you, you take away what already was there, and the consequence is that England, which in 1845, with a plentiful currency, stood

on the highest pinnacle of prosperity, presented in 1847 a lamentable spectacle of shame, bankruptcy, and disgrace."¹

No division took place on this able and interesting debate, but on the fourth night, 112 Result of the debate. on a question whether Mr. Labouchere's name should stand on the committee, Ministers had a majority of 66, the numbers being 167 to 101, while on the original appointment of the committee

the majority was still greater, being 212.² Committees were appointed accordingly in both Houses, composed of men of the greatest ability, and most acquainted with the subject of investigation. They both commenced their labors, and examined a great number of witnesses on both sides. The two committees, however, arrived at directly opposite conclusions on the subject. The Lords' committee, by a majority of 1, sanctioned a most able and luminous report, which charged

the Act of 1844 with having aggravated the commercial distress in 1847.* On the other hand, the committee of the Commons, by a majority of 12 to 10, came to the decision "that, after a lawful review of all the evidence, your committee are of opinion that it is *not expedient* to make any alteration on the Bank Act of 1844." But this result arose from the accidental circumstance of two determined opponents of the report (Mr. Herries and Mr. Thomas Baring) having been absent on the final division, whose presence would have rendered the numbers 12 to 12, and brought the issue to the casting-vote of the chairman, Sir Francis Baring. And from the opinion expressed by him in the debate on the question, as to the difference between the result of the Act on the Bank circulation and the anticipations of the authors of the Act,¹ there is reason to believe he would, to a certain extent at least, have voted for a modification of the Act. And thus the Bank Charter Act would have stood condemned by the committees of both Houses of Parliament, nominated by Ministers themselves.²

Sir R. Peel's pleading on this occasion, on behalf of the Bank Charter Act, is a model of that species of rhetorical skill in which he so much excelled, and which consisted in eluding difficulties instead of meeting them, and giving his speech an air of candor, while in fact he was throwing the whole blame of the catastrophe which had occurred off his own shoulders upon those of others. Thus he took credit to himself for the candid admission that the Bank Act had not answered his first object, which was, during prosperity, to check imprudent speculation; nay, he went so far as to quote the graphic description given by Mr. Alexander Baring (now Lord Ashburton) of the mania of 1825, as peculiarly applicable to that which had immediately followed the passing of his own Bank Charter Act.† By so doing, under the air of

* "The committee are of opinion that the recent panic was materially aggravated by the operation of the Bank Charter Act, and by the proceedings of the Bank itself. This effect may be traced directly to the Act of 1844, in the legislative restriction imposed on the means of accommodation while a large amount of bullion was held in the coffers of the Bank, and during a time of favorable exchanges; and it may be traced to the same cause indirectly, as a consequence of great fluctuations in the rate of discount, and of capital previously advanced at an unusually low rate of interest. This course the Bank would hardly have felt itself justified in taking, had not the impression existed, that by the separation of the issue and the banking departments one inflexible rule for regulating the Bank issue had been substituted by law, instead of the discretion formerly vested in the Bank. The banking department was thus considered to be absolved from all obligation but that connected with the pecuniary interest of the proprietors."—*Lords' Report on Commercial Distress*, p. 4.

† "The Bank of England, by the facilities which they afforded, had been the authors of that dangerous redundancy of money that gave rise to the wild speculations which abounded in every part of the country in 1825. It seemed as if Bedlam had broken loose on the Royal Exchange. The same frantic spirit overran the country. The bankers in London, and their agents in the country, and the customers of both, were actuated by the same universal desire to put out their money in any way they could. Then, all of a sudden, the very reverse of this system came into practice. A panic seized the public. Men would not part with their money on any terms. Men of undoubted wealth and real capital were seen walking about the streets of London not knowing whether they would be able to meet their engagements next

candor he in effect laid the responsibility of all that had occurred upon the Bank Directors for not having earlier taken precautions to check the mania. He said with truth that a low rate of interest has for long been the invariable precursor of imprudent speculation and commercial distress in the British empire; but he forgot to mention that it was his own Act, which at once flung down interest from 4 to 2½ per cent., and gave rise in a great measure to all the extravagant manias which followed. He blamed the Bank Directors for the extent of their issues of notes, forgetting that the Act *compelled* them to issue them in exchange for all gold brought to their doors, and that when it came in abundance, as it did in 1845 and 1846, then notes necessarily issued in equal numbers; and that they had no means of defraying the cost of the immense treasure accumulated in their vaults but by lowering discounts and pushing their business to the uttermost. He blamed them for not having sooner taken the alarm, and contracted their issues the moment exchanges became adverse, forgetting that this was impossible without general ruin when so large a capital was involved by his own acts in railway undertakings, which required several years of constant outlay for their completion; and that the only effect of an earlier contraction of the currency would have been an earlier commencement of the catastrophe. He boasted that, at least in the general crash, the convertibility of the Bank of England notes had been preserved, insensible to the fact that that convertibility had been maintained by a nation's ruin, and that to peril commercial existence on the retention of gold, the most difficult of earthly things to be retained, is the same thing as to render the national subsistence entirely dependent, as in Ireland, on one, and that the most precarious, species of food.

Parliament was prorogued on the 20th December till 3d February, 1848, and 114. Ministers flattered themselves that the Great distress in the country from the monetary crisis. worst was over, and that, as the Bank interest had now been lowered to 4 per cent., commercial enterprise would revive, and manufacturing industry resume its wonted activity. They were never more completely mistaken. It is as easy to bring on a monetary crisis as it is to cut down a tree; but long years of growth and suffering are required to obviate its effects. The four years, from 1848 to 1851, barely sufficed to restore the credit and enterprise of the nation; and in fact it never was completely restored till the gold discoveries

day. All confidence was lost, and scarcely one man could be found to trust his neighbor. Men were known to seek for assistance—and that too without effect—who were known to be worth £200,000. Thus far Lord Ashburton. "These words," said Sir R. Peel, "with almost equal fidelity, describe the state of affairs in 1846."—Sir R. PEEL'S *Speech*, Dec. 8, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xc. 663.

came into operation, which in 1852 changed the face of the world. The bankruptcies in the United Kingdom, which in 1845 had been 1263, rose in 1846 to 1729, and in 1847 to 2136. In 1848 the number reached the unparalleled amount of 2370, being nearly double of what they had been three years before. It was computed that in the three last months of 1847, before the interference of Government, the failures in Manchester and the surrounding manufacturing districts of Lancashire amounted to £15,900,000.* In Glasgow, Liverpool, and Birmingham things were not less disastrous; and not even in the worst period of the crisis of 1826: Ann. Reg. and 1839 had the pressure in the of these metropolis been so wide-spread and years: Pub. severe.¹ Doc.

But these figures, great as they are, give but a faint idea of the disasters of this melancholy period. It is computed 115. by the best-informed writers on the the railway subject, on the Liberal side, that up and mercantile losses. to October, 1848, £200,000,000 had been called for to pay up the calls on railway shares, for which the holders had given up £250,000,000, and that at that date the whole was not worth more than £150,000,000; so that £100,000,000 had, in a year after the crash of October, 1847, been lost on these investments alone. Consols had fallen from 93 to 79½, at which last figure very large sales had been made to meet the demands consequent on the crisis, involving a loss of at least £100,000,000; and as stock of every description, whether of other shares or goods, had fallen within the same period on an average 30 per cent. also, it is not unreasonable to estimate the entire loss of that commercial crisis at the enormous sum of £300,000,000—"a tolerably high price to pay," as was well observed by one of the ablest members of the House of Commons, and the best informed and enlightened 2 Tooke on Prices, v. on the subject of the currency, "for 234; Economist, Oct. the convertibility of the Bank of En- 21, 1845. gland's note."²†

Three circumstances conspired to augment the distress of this disastrous period, which were in a great measure independent of the monetary crisis in Great Britain, though both the indirect

* "In July two houses became insolvent, the joint amount of whose liabilities was £100,000; in August sixteen gave way for a total amounting to £2,639,000; in September twenty-six broke down for £6,520,000; and in October thirty-five went for a total of £6,840,000—in all, from July to the period when her Majesty's Ministers interfered, £15,969,000."—LORD STANLEY, Dec. 2, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xc. 495.

† Edward Stillingfleet Cayley, Esq., M.P. for the North Riding of Yorkshire. "Such," said he, "had been the results of a system which was called sound and stable, and which, to secure the convertibility of about £10,000,000 bank-notes into gold, had sacrificed about £300,000,000 of property."—MR. CAYLEY, Dec. 2, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xc. 477.

TABLE OF PRICES OF THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF COMMERCE, 1845-'51.

Years.	Wheat. Per Quarter.	Cotton. Per Pound.	Iron. Per Ton.	Sugar. Per Cwt.	Tea. Per Pound.	Silk. Per Pound.	Coffee. Per Cwt.
1845.....	46s. 7d.	3½d. to 4d.	£9 15s.	33s. 6d.	11d.	16s.	84s.
1846.....	54s. 8d.	3½d. to 5d.	10 0	35s. 0d.	9d.	15s. 6d.	85s.
1847.....	63s. 9d.	6d. to 8d.	10 0	33s. 10d.	8d.	12s.	82s.
1848.....	50s. 6d.	4½d. to 6d.	8 0	21s. to 29s.	8d. to 18d.	10s. to 16s.	25s.
1849.....	44s. 3d.	4½d. to 5d.	6 0	23s. to 27s.	8d. to 21d.	12s. to 17s.	20s.
1850.....	40s. 3d.	5½d. to 6½d.	6 0	23s. to 27s.	10d. to 21d.	18s. to 26s.	85s. to 100s.
1851.....	80s. 6d.	5½d. to 6d.	5 10	18s. to 26s.	8d. to 18d.	14s. to 19s.	85s. to 80s.

—TOOKE *On Prices*, iv. 415, 427, 435; v. 265, 266; and *Statistical Abstract*, No. VI., p. 80.

effect of similar measures in other countries.

116. The first of these was the great rise in the price of cotton, which took place at the very time when the crisis was at its height, in consequence of the diminished supply of that article in the United States of America, from the effects of the crash produced there by the insane crusade of General Jackson against the banks of that country, the details of ¹ Ante, c. xxxvii. § 7, which have already been given.¹ The effect of this had been to produce such ruin among the cotton-merchants of the Southern States, that cotton fell from 6d. to 8d. a pound; and for several years cultivation of that great article of produce could scarcely be carried on at a profit, and the greater part of those engaged in it were rendered insolvent. The effect of this great reduction of the supply, of course, was ere long attended by a corresponding rise in its price; and accordingly, Georgia cotton, which in 1845 was 8½d. the pound, had risen, in 1847, to 6d. and 8d. This great enhancement of the price of the raw material must have proved a great clog upon manufacturing enterprise and success, if occurring at any time; but it became doubly severe from its occurring at the very time when accommodation had been rendered so difficult from the sudden contraction of the currency in the last months of 1847, and the simultaneous occurrence of internal and external disasters, at the same period, in the British Islands, and on the continent of Europe.^{2*}

The next circumstance which came to aggravate most seriously the general distress arising from the monetary crisis was the extreme variations which occurred in the course of the year in the price of provisions. Wheat, which in February had been at 102s. the quarter, was selling in November at 48s., and all other species of grain in proportion. The effect of this prodigious change, the consequence of the Irish famine and vast importation, besides involving almost every person engaged in the grain trade in ruin, was to expose the working classes, during the first half of the year, to all the suffering produced by famine prices, and to subject all those engaged in the cultivation of the soil, in the latter part of it, to severe distress, arising from the difficulty, with such reduced prices, of paying rents and poor-rates. The effect of this was very serious; for it at once spread the embarrassment from the commercial to the agricultural classes, who for some

years had enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity; and thus reopened the old divisions arising from the repeal of the Corn-Laws, at the very time when the united efforts of all classes were required to stem the flood of misfortune with which the nation was from other causes overwhelmed.

Contemporaneous with this evil was another of still greater magnitude, which for the whole of 1848 seriously affected the export trade to several countries of Europe, and produced a considerable diminution in the general exports of the country. This was the FRENCH REVOLUTION IN FEBRUARY, which overturned Louis Philippe, induced for a brief season a republican government, and was the harbinger of numberless calamities to every part of Europe. Previous to that great event there had been a very severe monetary crisis in France in the latter part of 1847; but the convulsion of the succeeding year paralyzed commerce in that country so completely that the British exports to it fell at once to considerably less than a half of what they had been in the preceding year, and did not recover for some years after. The same was the case in a lesser degree with Germany, to both of which countries the convulsion rapidly spread, and the effect, combined with the monetary crisis in Great Britain itself, was to lower the general exports of the country six millions.† This was not a very great decline on an export trade at that period amounting to £58,000,000; but coming as it did at a period when the country was already overwhelmed by difficulties arising from other causes, it proved a very serious aggravation of the general distress.

Serious as this source of embarrassment was to the classes engaged in the export trade to Europe, it yet yielded in importance to the effect of the prodigious inundation of Irish poor which flowed into all the western counties of Britain, at the same period, from the effects of the famine in Ireland. The numbers which, impelled by hunger and the dread of starvation, then crowded every vessel from the ports of Ireland to those of Britain, would be deemed incredible if not attested by contemporary evidence, and ascertained by authentic inquiry. It has been already mentioned that such was the influx of Irish poor into Liverpool in December, 1847, that in eleven days the parishes of that city had to furnish relief to 198,000 paupers in addition to those of their own; and that it was deemed a subject of general thankfulness when the number was only 2000 a week.¹ And it was ascertained by an official inquiry, set on foot in the latter city by the magistrates and sheriff, that between November 1, 1847, and April 1, 1848, no less than 42,800 Irish landed at Glasgow, almost all in a

118. Pernicious effect of the French Revolution of 1848.

119. Immense influx of destitute Irish into Western Britain.

* Subsequent to 1839, from the great monetary pressure in England, the price of cotton had fallen in England to about half of what it was in 1838, so that it became more profitable to cultivate maize, sugar, and coffee, than cotton. From this cause our cotton manufactures have been suffering from a scarcity in the raw material, in these fabrics, and a rise in its price.—Mr. CAYLEY, Dec. 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, xcv. 6, 75.—Mr. Cayley's speech on this occasion was the best delivered in either House of Parliament, and so Lord J. Russell admitted.

† *Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1842-'56, p. 18.

BRITISH EXPORTS FROM 1846 TO 1849.						
Years.	France.	Germany.	Prussia.	Italy.	Naples and Sicily.	To all the World.
1846.....	£2,715,963	£8,326,210	£544,035	£919,173	£993,731	£57,796,876
1847.....	2,554,283	6,007,366	553,969	637,748	663,690	58,242,377
1848.....	1,025,521	4,668,269	404,144	751,953	695,666	52,849,445
1849.....	1,951,269	5,396,246	428,749	777,273	1,115,200	68,596,025

state of destitution, and not a few bringing with them the seeds of contagion and death. The magnitude of this burden will not be duly appreciated unless it is kept in view that in Glasgow and its immediate vicinity there were in the latter month 89,000 persons out of employment, involving at least 100,000 more in utter misery.¹ It is not going too far to say that, during the winter and spring of 1847-'48, half a million of Irish poor migrated into, and settled permanently, in the provinces of Western Britain, then suffering severely under their own causes of disaster—a transposition of the human race unparalleled in modern times, and which resembles the era, twelve centuries before, when the myriads of the migratory northern nations poured into the decaying provinces of the Roman Empire.

One circumstance which had never before occurred rendered this monetary crisis, beyond any other, long continued and severe, especially to the middle classes. This was the immense sums which, during the prosperous years 1845 and 1846, had been invested in railway shares, chiefly by those classes in towns; undertakings which not only required a very great expenditure of capital, but a very long time for their completion. The sums requisite to finish the railways which had been undertaken were little short of £300,000,000; and in Dec. 1845, there had been paid up of this sum £100,000,000, the shares corresponding to which were worth £160,000,000. But two years after—in Dec. 1849—the aspect of things was totally changed. The sum paid up was then no less than £230,000,000; and the market price of the whole was only £110,000,000, showing a loss on the *paid-up capital* of £120,000,000; and on the market value, compared with Dec. 1845, of £150,000,000. The effects of this immense change were to the last degree disastrous. As has been well observed by Tooke, “During 1844 and 1845, every person engaged in railway speculation grew richer and richer, and from 1847 to 1850, every person holding railway shares grew poorer and poorer.”² The consequence was, that great numbers of the railway undertakings were abandoned, and those which were continued were carried on only at the cost of an incredible amount of suffering and ruin to the persons engaged in them.* What rendered the demands for payment of the calls on these shares so eminently disastrous was, that unless they were paid up, the whole money previously advanced upon them was lost; that a great proportion of them had become unsalable, and none could be disposed of but at a ruinous loss; and that, at the very time when the calls upon them were most urgent, the banks, one and all, sternly refused all accommodation, even on the most ample security. The contraction of the currency by eight millions at a time when an extension of it was most loudly called for, rendered such refusals on their part a matter of absolute necessity. In these circumstances, the calls on

¹ Personal knowledge, founded on official inquiry.

^{120.} Extreme severity of the pressure on the middle classes.

* Tooke, v. 272.

¹ “In December, 1845, the official list of the London Stock Exchange quoted no less than 280 different kinds of railway shares; in December, 1849, the number had fallen to 160.”—TOOKE and NEWMARSH, v. 371.

the railway shares, which in 1848 and 1849 were not less than £100,000,000, had to be provided most entirely from the incomes and savings of the unfortunate shareholders, who were chiefly found in the middle and wealthier classes; and when it is recollected that this occurred during a period of a severe monetary crisis, great foreign anxiety, and absolute famine in the neighboring island, it may be conceived what ruin and suffering they necessarily occasioned,* and at what a sacrifice to the nation the magnificent net-work of railways, with which it is now overspread, has been constructed.¹

Yet has the vast, and to the individuals concerned, too often ruinous expenditure on these railways, been attended with important benefits, both immediate and ultimate, to the country. In the first instance, it *forcibly prolonged* a great, and to the working classes profitable, outlay on the wages of labor, under circumstances when, but for the peculiar nature of these investments, it would have been entirely stopped. It is evident that when the ordinary banks refused to grant any further accommodation, and most of those set up to make advances on shares had become bankrupt, if the shareholders of the railways had not been forced to go on with their undertakings, they would either have abandoned altogether, or at least suspended in the mean time, their prosecution. Then the whole laborers employed on the works themselves, being 300,000, besides at least double the number engaged in preparing iron or other articles necessary for their completion, would have been thrown out of employment. But fortunately for the public, though unfortu-

* “From the fall of dividends on all the lines, and continued pressure of calls, the distrust of all railway property became such, that toward the autumn of 1849 large masses of it were practically unsalable. The retrospect of the third quarter of 1849 is the most dismal picture it has ever been our duty to lay before our readers. Gloom, panic, and confusion appeared to have taken full possession of the railway market, and a commensurate depression in the value of all lines, good, bad, and indifferent, has been the result. A glance at the market will suffice to convey a knowledge of the overwhelming depreciation which now exists—a depreciation including even the principal lines, the main arteries of the internal traffic of the country. Within the last few weeks the stock of the London and Northwestern Railway has fallen 20 per cent. In some of the Journals, the loss in September, 1849, sustained by the then holders of railway shares, has been estimated at so large an amount as 180 millions sterling.” —*Railway Times*, Sept. 20, 1849.

The following table exhibits the variations on the price of the stock of the leading railways, from Jan. 1846, to Jan. 1852, when the gold discoveries set in:

	JANUARY 1.						
	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	1850.	1851.	1852.
London and Northwestern.	215	196	150	121	100	123	118
Great Western	195	150	105	93	58	77	86
Southwestern	150	170	120	94	61	66	87
Midland	150	130	107	100	45	47	57
Brighton	135	118	87	62	50	87	95
Southeastern	190	120	90	70	57	68	64
York and North-Midland..	210	190	144	140	84	44	44

—TOOKE and NEWMARSH, v. 360, 361.

Thus, even after the lapse of seven years, the prices of railway stock, till the gold discoveries came into play, which they did in 1852, was, even in the most favorable cases, little more than half, in many only a third or a fourth, of what it had been at the beginning of the period.

¹Tooke and Newmarsh, v. 369, 372; Economist, Sept. 22, 1849; Railway Times, Sept. 30, 1849.

^{121.} Immediate benefits of the railway expenditure.

nately for the shareholders, this was rendered impossible by the nature of the undertakings. These required years for their completion, and all concerned in them were aware that the only way to render the capital already sunk in their construction productive was to force them on, at all hazards, to their completion. Hence, though about a third of them, being chiefly those in which no sensible progress had been made, were abandoned, yet the principal lines were all, by great exertions on the part of the directors, prosecuted and finally brought to a conclusion. Thus was the storm averted during a considerable time—and that the most critical in the modern history of Great Britain—from a large proportion of the working classes. This was done, doubtless, at the expense of the middle classes, holders of the shares, who were impoverished or ruined, to an unparalleled extent, by the calls on them as railway proprietors, and the fearful reductions which had taken place in the value of their stock. But how calamitous soever to individuals, and even important classes in society, this must be considered as a very fortunate circumstance for the country, because it brought to a completion these noble and useful undertakings, and diminished in a sensible degree the sufferings of the working classes, when already involved in distress, burdened by an inroad of half a million of Irish, and at a time when the events in France had, to a great extent, revived the spirit of Chartism in the country.¹

And truly the railway system, which during these calamitous years, and under all the difficulties arising from a restricted currency and monetary crisis, was carried on and completed in Great Britain, was of the most perfect and magnificent description, and deservedly places this country at the head of all similar undertakings in any part of the world. A comparison of the railways in Great Britain with those in France, Germany, Belgium, or America in the end of 1854, proves that, in proportion to the area of the country, the system is more complete than in any other country taken as a whole, and exceeded only by those of Massachusetts in America, in a part of a country. Even in Scotland the progress of these undertakings has been nearly twice as rapid as in Germany; and if allowance is made for the extent of mountain surface, where they are impossible, it enjoys a more complete system than either Belgium, the garden of continental Europe, or the Western States of America, where they are constructed at the least expense, and with the greatest facility. When the circumstances of unexampled difficulty and distress¹ under which the greater part of these lines were constructed are considered, their completion must be regarded as perhaps the most wonderful monument that ever was erected of British wealth, enterprise, and perseverance.*

When calamities so great and serious, arising from so many causes, had stricken a nation, it was inevitable that its general industry, foreign trade, and revenue should suffer. This accordingly took place in Great Britain to a remarkable extent in 1848: both the revenue and the exports exhibited a serious falling off in 1847 and 1848, as compared with the years which had preceded and followed them.† The surplus of expenditure above income in these two disastrous years was £2,956,684 in the first, and £796,419 in the last, besides the loans of £8,000,000 for the Irish famine. The imports alone exhibited a great and striking increase in these two years—having advanced from £75,000,000 in 1846 to £93,000,000 in 1848, and £105,000,000 in 1849. This arose partly from the lavish expenditure on the railways, which was wrenched out of the middle classes, and bestowed on the working—of course, the great consumers of imported articles—but chiefly from the enormous importations of grain which took place in these years, in the last of which it amounted in value to £33,000,000 instead of two or three millions, which had gone out for similar importations before the change in the Corn-Laws had taken place.

But these figures, expressive as they are, convey no adequate idea of the general suffering during these calamitous years. It is in the records of pauperism and crime that the real mirror of the condition of the working classes is to be found—and the picture they presented was

122. Fall in the exports and revenue.

123. Stat. Abst. No. IV., 1842-1856, 4, 5.

124. Great increase of paupers and criminals.

* COMPARATIVE EXTENT OF RAILWAY OPEN IN THE END OF 1854 IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES.

	Area in English Square Miles.	Miles of Railway open in 1854.	Miles of Railway to each 100 Square Miles.
England and Wales..	57,500	6,100	15.2
Scotland	30,440	1,040	3.5
Ireland	31,870	900	2.8
	119,910	8,040	6.7
France.....	205,000	2,910	1.4
Germany	268,000	5,400	2
Belgium.....	11,000	530	4.8
	484,000	8,840	1.8
Massachusetts.....	7,800	1,800	16.6
New York	47,000	2,700	5.8
Pennsylvania	46,000	2,000	4.3
Ohio	40,000	3,000	7.7
Indiana.....	33,800	1,500	4.4
Illinois	55,400	2,600	5
Twenty-two other States of the Union	1,351,000	8,200	0.6
Totals.....	2,184,000	38,390	1.5

—TOOKE and NEWMARSH, v. 377.

† EXPORTS, IMPORTS, REVENUE, SHIPPING, AND EXPENDITURE OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1845 TO 1850.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Revenue.	Shipping—Tonn. Cleared out.	Expenditure.
1845	£60,111,082	£85,281,958	£53,060,354	6,031,587	£41,242,713
1846	57,796,876	75,953,875	53,970,138	6,314,571	50,943,830
1847	58,842,377	90,921,866	51,546,264	7,083,163	54,502,948
1848	52,849,445	93,547,134	53,353,717	6,780,691	54,185,126
1849	63,526,025	105,874,607	52,291,749	7,084,483	50,853,693
1850	71,367,885	117,231,467	52,810,630	7,404,568	50,231,874

—Statistical Abstract, No. IV., 1842-1856, 19, 4, 27; PORTER, 856.

to the very last degree gloomy. From the statistical returns it appears that in the quarters ending July, 1847, and 1848, the poor relieved in England and Wales had amounted to the enormous number of 1,721,350 and 1,876,541 respectively, of whom no less than 480,584 in the first year, and 577,445 in the second, *were able-bodied*. The expenditure on this enormous mass of paupers had swelled in a similar proportion; it had risen in England to £6,180,000, being nearly as high as it had been in 1834, when the new Poor-Law Act, from which so much was expected, was passed. In Scotland, the paupers relieved, including casual poor, rose to 204,416 in 1848, while in Ireland the number relieved in that year was 2,177,651. Thus, in the two islands the number relieved in one year was 4,258,609, being above one in seven of the entire population, which at that period was about 27,000,000; while the sum assessed for their support was no less than £8,350,000, besides £8,000,000 borrowed by Government and expended on the Irish poor.* It may safely be affirmed that so magnificent an instance of charity never before was exhibited in the history of the world; and that as unquestionably it was the means of bringing Great Britain safely through the terrible crisis which at that period proved fatal to so many other states, so it wor-

Viz. in 1848:

	Number of Poor.	Sum assessed.
England and Wales	1,876,540	£6,180,765
Scotland, in all	204,416	544,333
Ireland	2,177,651	1,627,700
Total	4,258,609	£8,352,798

—NICHOLLS'S *English, Scotch, and Irish Poor-Laws*, 466, 363, 222.

thily, by the blessing of God, earned that salvation.† Other indications of extreme and general suffering, not less decisive than the poor-rate returns, appeared at the same period. Crime, that sure index to straitened circumstances among the working classes, increased so rapidly between 1845 and 1848, that it had advanced in that short period above 70 per cent. : it had swelled from 44,000 committals to 74,000.‡ The traffic on railway lines, which in 1845 was £2640 per mile, had sunk in 1849 to £1780—a decline, as the *Times* justly remarked, “sufficiently alarming, and which looks like a sinking to zero.”§ But every other feature of the general distress was eclipsed by the astonishing start which the number of emigrants from the United Kingdom took, which mounted up suddenly from 70,000 in 1844 to 300,000 in 1849, and has since that reached 368,000 in a single year.¶ So great a transportation of human beings across the ocean never took place since the beginning of the world; and that it was mainly owing to other causes than the potato famine of 1846, is decisively proved by the fact that it went on steadily increasing for a course of years *after* that calamity had ceased, and reached its highest point in 1852, five years subsequent to a public thanksgiving, offered up by order of Government for the abundant harvest of 1847. During the intervening years the population of the empire was not only arrested in its increase, but, for the first time during three centuries, considerably declined||—the emigration exceeding the

† NUMBER OF POOR RELIEVED, AND SUMS EXPENDED IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, FROM 1845 TO 1851.

Years.	ENGLAND.		SCOTLAND.	IRELAND.	SUMS EXPENDED.		
	Number of Poor.	Of whom Able-bodied.			England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1845	1,470,970	.....	63,070	114,205	£5,039,703	£258,814	£260,345
1846	1,332,089	.....	69,482	243,933	4,954,204	295,232	425,183
1847	1,721,350	480,584	74,161	2,043,505	5,298,787	433,915	803,694
1848	1,876,540	577,445	77,732	2,142,766	6,180,765	544,333	1,635,634
1849	1,043,836	201,644	82,357	1,174,267	5,792,963	577,044	2,177,651
1850	978,373	151,159	79,081	755,557	5,395,022	581,553	1,430,108
1851	920,543	154,525	76,206	519,775	4,962,704	535,943	1,141,647

No one who has not engaged in the task can conceive the labor which has been expended on the above table, simple as it may appear, chiefly from the contradictory accounts presented in different official reports of the number of paupers relieved, owing to the periods of the year when the returns were made, which often made them vary by nearly a half. This explains the vast difference between the English poor, as given by PORTER, 94, and NICHOLLS, 466, and the *Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 35, from the former of which the above table has been compiled. The Scotch poor does not include those casually relieved, which in 1848 was 126,684, of whom 81,938 were in Lanarkshire alone.—NICHOLLS'S *Scotch Poor-Law*, 222.

‡ COMMITTED FOR SERIOUS CRIMES IN UNITED KINGDOM.

Years.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
1844.	26,542	3575	19,448	49,565
1845.	24,303	3537	16,696	44,536
1846.	25,107	4069	18,492	47,668
1847.	28,838	4635	31,203	64,677
1848.	30,349	4909	38,521*	73,780
1849.	27,816	4357	41,989	74,142

* Irish Rebellion.

—PORTER, 668, 646, 658.

§ EMIGRANTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Years.	Emigrants.	Years.	Emigrants.
1841.	118,592	1847.	258,270
1842.	128,344	1848.	248,069
1843.	57,212	1849.	299,498
1844.	70,686	1850.	230,849
1845.	98,501	1851.	335,966
1846.	129,851	1852.	368,764
	6598,186(		6)1,791,435(
Average.....	99,532	Aver. of 6 years,	296,906

—*Parl. Papers; Stat. Abstract*, No. IV., 1842-'56, p. 36.

I DECLINE OF POPULATION IN THE BRITISH ISLANDS.

	Great Britain.	Ireland.	Total.
Population of empire by census of 1831	16,364,693	7,767,401	24,132,094
Population of empire by census of 1841	18,658,879	8,175,124	26,833,496
Increase to 1846, half of preceding 10 years.....	1,154,000	382,960	1,536,960
Probable population in 1846	19,812,872	8,558,084	28,370,456
Actual population by census of 1851	20,959,477	6,552,385	27,511,862
Increase	1,147,105		
Decrease, 1846-'51.....		2,005,699	
Total decrease of empire			858,594

—*Irish Census*, 1853, p. xvi.—Introduction.

natural increase every year by from 50,000 to 100,000 souls. The census reports prove that the inhabitants of the two islands were less by 858,000 at the close of the period than they had been at its commencement.

Melancholy and interesting as these facts are, as indicating the extraordinary distress which pervaded the British empire at this disastrous period, they yet do not present so harrowing a picture as the great manufacturing towns exhibited. Glasgow

may be taken as a fair specimen of their condition at that period. In that city and its immediate vicinity, containing at that period 350,000 souls, there were found to be, as already mentioned by official inquiries set on foot by the magistrates and sheriff in April, 1848, no less than 39,000 persons out of employment, involving, with their families, at least 180,000 human beings, or more than a third of the entire inhabitants; while into that scene of woe no less than 42,800 Irish had poured in the five months before. The paupers in the city had risen from 7454 in 1845-'46 to 51,852 in 1848-'49; and in the latter year the pauper funerals were 4042, being nearly a third of the total burials.* The whole persons receiving parochial relief in Lanarkshire in 1848 were 104,623, of whom no less than 81,938 were "casual poor"—for the most part able-bodied men out of work. The population of the county at that time was about 530,000; so that nearly a fifth of the whole number was receiving parochial relief.† It is difficult to say what would have become of this prodigious mass of paupers if the decision of the Court of Sessions had then been pronounced, finding that in Scotland the able-bodied poor had no right to parochial relief. But fortunately that decision was not pronounced till February, 1849, and in the mean time the Sheriff of Lanarkshire had pronounced a judgment finding them entitled to relief, which was afterward reversed by the Court of Session. But in the interim the Sheriff's decision was followed by the parochial boards in Lanarkshire; and the Board of Supervision at Edinburgh issued a circular recommending, during the existing distress, all the parochial boards in Scotland to follow their example, which was generally done.

Thus the critical period was tided over, and by the aid of magnificent subscriptions from the wealthy classes in Glasgow, the general suffering was relieved until the advent of more prosperous times.‡

* PROPORTION OF PAUPER FUNERALS IN GLASGOW IN 1848 AND 1849.

Years.	Paupers.	Years.	Pauper Funerals.	Total Burials.
1845-'6.....	7,454	1848.....	4042	18,179
1846-'7.....	15,911	1849.....	3577	18,731
1848-'9.....	51,852			

—STRANG'S *Mortality Report of Glasgow*, 1849.

† PAUPERS IN LANARKSHIRE IN THE YEAR 1848.

Years.	On Roll.	Casual.	Total.
1846-'7.....	17,204	82,283	49,487
1847-'8.....	22,685	81,938	104,623

—*Poor-Law Report*, 1849, 24.

‡ "The Commissioners recommend, in the event of your being called upon to relieve an able-bodied man, or the children of an able-bodied man, on the ground that he can not find employment, that the ground of the com-

It was in this state of anxiety and suffering, especially in the manufacturing districts of Great Britain and in the whole of Ireland, that the French Revolution of 1848 suddenly broke upon the country, and the example was afforded of a powerful government, supported by a large revenue and splendid army, being suddenly overthrown by a well-concerted urban revolt. Although the country had hitherto been quiet to a most extraordinary degree, in the midst of all its suffering, yet it could hardly be expected that, with such an example before their eyes, and under the pressure of such severe and general distress, something of the same sort should not be attempted in this country. It was probably owing to the extreme suffering which had long existed in Glasgow that, notwithstanding the proverbial caution of the Scotch character, the spark first kindled among its inhabitants. During the months of December, January, and February, great efforts had been made, by large subscriptions, to mitigate and relieve the general distress; and although several meetings of the unemployed had been held, yet every thing at them had been conducted in the most regular manner, and they professed themselves deeply grateful for the relief they had received. No placards on the walls, or indications of excitement in the streets, appeared even after the news of the Revolution at Paris, which reached Glasgow on the 25th February, had been received. The police had received no information of any outbreak being designed. So little was any danger apprehended, that the Lord Provost was in London on official business, the Sheriff was on a visit in East-Lothian, and returned in the night on being sent for, and no defensive preparations had been made by the police, when suddenly, at 3 P.M. on 5th March, a body of five thousand men, who had assembled on the Green of Glasgow to discuss their prospects, moved to a neighboring iron railing, which they tore up, with which they armed themselves, and, instantly marching into the city, commenced an attack on the principal shops, chiefly those of gunsmiths and jewelers, in the chief streets. So sudden was the onset, and so formidable the body of rioters, that the police, who were dispersed over their several beats, could make no head against them; and before the military arrived, which they did about five o'clock, and cleared the streets, under the orders of the magistrates, forty shops had been pillaged and gutted, and property to the value of £10,000 carried off or destroyed.¹

During the night large bodies of troops arrived by railway from Edinburgh and Stirling, and next morning two thousand soldiers were collected in the city. The pensioners, with praiseworthy alacrity, mustered of their own accord when they heard of the tumult, and did good service on the following

plaint should be removed by providing employment for them. They recommend that, for the present, recourse should be had to a labor test, giving in return relief in food sufficient for his and their subsistence, and, when the necessary arrangements can be made, cooked food ought to be preferred."—*Commissioners' Circular*, Feb. 27, 1848; NICHOLLS'S *Scotch Poor-Law*, 221.

127.

Outbreak in Glasgow in March, 1848.

1 Personal knowledge; Ann. Reg. 1848, 86, 87; Chron.

128.

Farther riots, and their suppression. March 6.

day; and great numbers of special constables were sworn in in all parts of the town. The rioters, however, encouraged by their success on the preceding day, were nowise daunted, and resolved on further outrages. At ten on the following morning, a large body, which soon swelled to above ten thousand persons, assembled on the Green, armed with muskets, swords, crow-bars, and iron rails, which they had got possession of on the preceding day, and unanimously passed four resolutions, which were—1. To march immediately to the neighboring suburb of Calton, and turn out all the workers in the mills there, who, it was expected, would join them; 2. To go from thence to the gas manufactory, and cut the pipes, so as to lay the city at night in darkness; 3. To march next to the jails, and liberate all the prisoners; and, 4. To break open the shops, set fire to and plunder the city. They immediately set out for the mills of Calton, which were in the immediate neighborhood of the place of meeting, and on their way, when in the centre of that suburb, fell in with a detachment of fourteen pensioners in charge of a prisoner, under the command of Sergeant Smart, one of the officers of police.* To surround the detachment, and liberate the prisoner, was the work of an instant, and they were proceeding to close in with the soldiers, to wrest their arms from them, when Sergeant Smart authorized the men to defend their lives. The veterans immediately fired with steady aim, with such effect that two fell dead and three were wounded by the discharge. Upon this a yell of fury burst from the mob—"Blood for blood!" was heard on all sides; and before the men had time to reload, they were closing in with them, and beginning to wrest their muskets from their hands, when the acting chief magistrate of Glasgow† and Sheriff of Lanarkshire came up at the gallop at the head of sixty-six of the dragoons. At the sight of the glittering helmets and drawn swords the mob gave way, and the squadron arrived at the spot where the conflict had taken place. The sheriff then addressed them in a few words, saying, if the soldiers had been to blame, they would be punished, and if the people had been to blame, they would be punished in their room; but, in the meantime, they must leave it to the law, and return home. The mob saw they were mastered, gave three cheers, and dispersed.‡

* Now Chief Superintendent of the Glasgow police, and a most active and efficient commander.

† Robert Stewart, Esq., of Omoa and Murdison, since Lord Provost of Glasgow.

‡ The collision which terminated in this tragic result would have been prevented, had it not been for the same circumstance which occasioned the conflict of the military with the Cato Street conspirators in 1820, already recounted, chap. x., § 46, note. This was the different meaning which military men and civilians attach to the words, "ready to turn out at a moment's warning." The magistrates and sheriff had requested the commanding officer at the cavalry barracks "to have a squadron all day ready to turn out at a moment's warning;" and at ten o'clock, hearing of the meeting on the Green, they sent to say they were immediately required, and that the chief magistrate and sheriff would meet them in front of the court-house on the Green as soon as they could come. Thither they went accordingly; but the military did not come up till eleven, and when they did so, the party immediately set off at the gallop across the Green, but

The speedy suppression of this insurrection gave the greatest satisfaction to the Government and the country, as it was the first occasion on which the fidelity of the military and spirit of the people had been put to the test after the shock of the French Revolution had supervened in a time of such general and hazardous distress. It soon appeared of how much consequence it was that the rioters had been prevented from gaining success in the outset. It turned out that the Radicals in all the manufacturing towns of the west of Scotland—Paisley, Greenock, Port-Glasgow, Dumbarton, Airdrie, Kilmarnock, Hamilton, and Ayr—only awaited the signal of success in Glasgow to have risen in insurrection, and commenced pillage; and as the whole military in the south of Scotland had been concentrated in Glasgow, it was not easy to say how the disturbances could have been suppressed. The conduct of the military at Glasgow, however, showed that they could be relied on; and the spirit evinced by the better classes in that city during the crisis, when eleven thousand special constables tendered their services in twenty-four hours, demonstrated how sound the real strength of the nation was at heart. Numerous arrests by the police took place during the day immediately following the outbreak, and above a hundred were soon in custody, embracing all the ringleaders, of whom twenty-four were selected for trial, and afterward sentenced, at the Spring Circuit, to various periods of transportation and imprisonment, from twenty-one years of the former to twelve months of the latter. It did not appear, from the evidence adduced at the trials, that there was any project of altering the frame of government in the minds of the leaders of the outbreak, but only a desire to turn the general suffering and strong excitement produced by the French Revolution to the best account in carrying out the projects entertained by a comparatively small body of desperadoes intent on general plunder.¹

Disturbances, but of a much less formidable description, occurred in London, Manchester, and Edinburgh, soon after receipt of the intelligence of the French Revolution, but they were suppressed, without the interposition of the military, by the activity and efforts of the police. The truth was, that the Chartists and Radicals were not at the moment prepared to make the most of that great change; the convulsion fell on them, as it had done on all the world, wholly unexpectedly, and when in a state of entire want of preparation. But by degrees

in the interim the collision took place, and the discharge was heard just as they were entering the streets of Calton. The delay was owing to the military understanding by the words, "ready to turn out at a moment's warning," to have the horses saddled, and the men armed and told off, but nothing more, which, of course, left the necessary operations of bringing out the horses, mounting, telling off by threes, and the like, to be done after the orders to move were received, which took half an hour. Nothing could exceed the promptitude, spirit, and humanity displayed by the whole military, both horse and foot, when they did arrive; and the Author, who witnessed it all, has great pleasure in bearing public testimony to the service they rendered to their country on this distressing occasion.

they became sensible of the immense advantage which that astounding event gave them, when coinciding with the poignant and general suffering which existed both in Great Britain and the neighboring island; and a general revolutionary movement was organized in all the three kingdoms. With this view, and in order to furnish a pretext for the great assemblage in the metropolis, by whom it was to be effected, a Chartist petition was got up in all the manufacturing districts of England, which the journals of that party boasted had 5,000,000 of signatures affixed to it; although, as afterward appeared, there were not half the number. It was sufficiently bulky to evince, however, the great pains which had been taken in getting it up, as well as the numbers who, in this period of general suffering, thought they would escape from their distresses by adopting Chartist principles; and great anxiety was felt in the country, and no small terror in the metropolis, when the period for presenting the petition arrived. The 10th April

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 50: was the day fixed on by the Chartist leaders; and few more memorable are recorded in British history.¹

The Chartist petition prayed the House of Commons only to adopt the six points of the Charter, which, as already mentioned, were annual Parliaments, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, equal electoral districts, paid members of Parliament, and no property qualification. But the designs of the leaders went a great deal further, and aimed at nothing less than *achieving all their objects at once and by force*. For this purpose it was proposed to assemble in great numbers on Kennington Common, on the south side of the Thames, and return from thence over Westminster and Blackfriars' Bridges; and, after uniting, to move in a dense mass up Parliament Street to the House of Commons, where the petition was to be presented by as many as could force their way in. In the terror of the moment, it was expected Government would not venture to make any resistance; and, if they did, it was confidently hoped that the troops would not second them in the attempt. Once in possession of the hall, a republic was to have been proclaimed, as in Paris, when the mob broke into the legislative body, and a Provisional Government appointed. Deputies from all the Chartist associations in the kingdom were to be on the spot, besides all those from the metropolis and its vicinity in person; and it was confidently expected in all the

² Ann. Reg. 1848, 51; Times, April 11. manufacturing towns of the kingdom that the evening telegraph would bring intelligence of the overthrow of the Government.²

In this eventful crisis the conduct of Ministers was at once prudent and resolute, and they were admirably seconded by the spirit and courage of all the better classes in the metropolis. Some days before, a proclamation was issued setting forth the act 13 Charles II., which forbids "more than ten persons to repair to his Majesty, or either House of Parliament, upon pretense of presenting a petition, at any one time," and warning all persons "not to attend, or take part in, or be present at, any such assemblage or procession." At the same

time it was announced that no opposition would be made to the constitutional right of meeting, nor to the proper presentation of the petition; but that any attempt to pass in return in an organized procession would be stopped by force of arms. As this was the point upon which it was expected the Chartists would insist, great preparations were made to resist it; and, under the personal direction and superintendence of the Duke of Wellington, they were at once of the most extensive and judicious description. Strong bodies of police were stationed at both ends of the bridges over the Thames, especially Blackfriars', Waterloo, and Westminster, by which it was expected a passage would be attempted from Kennington Common to the House of Commons; and in the immediate vicinity of the northern end of each, large military forces, with cannon, were stationed, concealed in the mean time in yards and houses, but ready to appear at a moment's warning, and entirely commanding, from the windows and roofs, the whole length of the bridges. Two regiments of the line were in reserve at Milbank Penitentiary; twelve hundred infantry at Deptford Dockyards; and thirty pieces of heavy field-artillery were ready at the Tower, to be shipped instantly on board armed steamers lying at the quay, and conveyed to any part of the metropolis where they might be required. The Guards, horse and foot, were all under arms from three in the morning, stationed out of sight in Scotland Yard, the great area of the untenanted Rose Inn Yard, in Bridewell, at the Horse-Guards, Buckingham Palace, and other points of importance at the west end. The public offices in Parliament Street, Somerset House, and in the City, were filled with musketeers; and the Bank of England, besides being strongly occupied by infantry, had all its windows closed by loopholed barricades and sand-bags, and some pieces of light artillery placed on the roof. In addition to this, no less than 170,000 special constables were organized in different parts of the metropolis, under the guidance of the first in rank and the highest in station, by whom they had been previously exercised. In one detachment, commanded by the Earl of Eglinton, appeared as a private a man bearing a name destined to future immortality, PRINCE LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. Many officers of rank hastened to the Horse-Guards to tender their services to their old chief on this crisis, among whom was the Marquis of Londonderry, who, though in infirm health and advanced years, was there at daybreak, to bring the aid of a chivalrous heart and experienced eye to the service of his country. The Duke was never absent from his post during either the preceding night or the whole day. The Queen, with the characteristic courage of her nature and race, was most anxious to have remained and faced the danger in person; but the Ministers justly thought the chance was too hazardous, and she was prevailed on, much against her will, to remove, with Prince Albert and family, two days before the 10th, to Osborne House, in the Isle of Wight.¹

When the eventful day arrived, nothing remarkable was observed in the metropolis except an unusual stillness and vacancy in the streets.

123.
Vigorous
preparations
in the Gov-
ernment.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 51, 53; Times, April 11, 1848; Morning Post, April 11, 1848; Personal knowledge.

Not a soldier was to be seen; few policemen were visible; the gentlemen and better classes were all at their rallying-points, anxiously waiting orders to act. About ten the different processions, with banners and bands of music, began to appear in their march to Kennington Common. Six thousand in great pomp passed London Bridge; and seventeen hundred marched with the National Convention, *en grande tenue*, from its hall in John Street, Fitzroy Square, across Blackfriars' Bridge, to the place of meeting. At its head was a great car, with the leaders, Feargus O'Connor and Ernest Jones, in the front rank, and the whole Convention, with the reporters, in the same vehicle. Banners with appropriate Chartist devices followed, one bearing the singular words, "*And M. Guizot laughed immoderately.*" When they reached the Common, it appeared a solid mass of human heads, extending over its whole surface. The numbers were variously estimated at from 15,000 to 150,000. The most probable account was, that they were about 50,000. When the car stopped in the middle of the crowd, a police inspector, of gigantic figure, but a mild expression, made his way through the crowd, and, addressing Mr. Feargus O'Connor and Mr. M'Grath, informed them that Mr. Inspector Mayne wished to speak to them near the Home Tavern. Thither they went, accordingly, preceded by the huge policeman, and they were informed by Mr. Mayne that no hinderance would be given to the people meeting and passing any resolutions they thought fit, but that any attempt to pass the bridges in procession on their return back would be resisted. Mr. O'Connor engaged that the meeting should occasion no breach of the peace, and gave his hand in pledge of his sincerity to the inspector. He then returned to the car, and informed the Convention of what had taken place. This check proved fatal to the whole enterprise. A violent altercation took place on the car—some insisting that they should return in procession, and force their way through; others, that they should yield obedience to the law, and present the petition by a few persons only. Ultimately good sense and a lingering feeling of duty prevailed, and it was agreed to send the petition quietly to the House of Commons, which was consigned to the humble conveyance of three cabs. The meeting then broke up in great disorder, but, to their honor be it spoken, without any violence or breach of the peace being attempted. Some small bodies attempted to force their way *en masse* over the bridges, but were quickly repulsed by the dense masses of police, headed by stalwart, steady men, who guarded their entrance. After a short struggle this was no longer contended for, and the police then allowed small bodies of not more than ten April 11, 1848; each to pass. Soon after three Morning Post, April 11, 1848; had passed away, and by seven every thing was quiet in the vast metropolis.¹

In the provinces, on this eventful day, the Chartist leaders were anxiously waiting for intelligence from the capital before they commenced operations. In Glasgow, though little of importance occurred in event, much was inchoat-

ed of moment, as indicating, even more clearly than in the metropolis, what the real design of the Chartists had been. When daylight broke, the walls of the houses in that city were found to be covered by a treasonable placard, which had been extensively posted during the night, calling on the people, *on receipt of the news from London*, "to rise in their thousands and tens of thousands, and put an end to the vile government of the oligarchy, which had so long oppressed the country." At the same time, another placard was distributed to every soldier who was in the streets, and thrown in great numbers over the gate into the barrack-yard, offering a pension for life of £10 to every man, and four acres of ground, who should leave his colors and join the forces of the insurgents. Not a man did so. So confident were the authors of these compositions, however, of the approaching success of the movement, that the printers' names were at both placards. They were immediately arrested by the Sheriff of Lanarkshire, and committed for trial, on a charge of high treason and sedition. Great anxiety prevailed during the day in the city; scarcely any work was done; the streets were crowded by anxious groups, and the military, special constables, and police were at their posts, ready to act at a moment's warning, when at nine at night the telegraph brought the intelligence of the failure in London. This instantly struck terror into the one party, as much as it diffused satisfaction among the other. The Sheriff announced the joyful intelligence, amidst loud cheers, at the Royal Exchange and the Athenæum, and all anxiety was immediately at an end. The persons committed were soon after liberated by directions of the Lord-Advocate, on their own recognizances to keep the peace, Government having judged, and probably wisely, that the attempt at insurrection having been put down, it would be unwise to sully the victory by unnecessary severity, and that the best possible termination of rebellion is defeat without scaffolds.¹

The finishing-stroke was put to this grand Chartist demonstration, by the scrutiny which the petition underwent by order of the House of Commons. From that it appeared that, so far from having 5,706,000 names appended to it, as was asserted by Mr. Feargus O'Connor, it had only 1,975,490; and a considerable proportion of them were evidently fabrications or impositions. Thus, Prince Albert's name, her Majesty's, Lord John Russell's, Sir R. Peel's, were found to be written down *several times*, and Colonel Sibthorpe's *twelve*, and the Duke of Wellington's *thirty times*. Great part of the apparent signatures turned out to be obscene words, cant phrases, or low ribaldry, and, so far from weighing 5 tons as asserted, it weighed just 5 cwt. This discovery turned the whole thing into ridicule—the best possible termination for a serious political movement.^{2*}

* A curious confirmation of the extraordinary falsification of names which had taken place in the preparation

183.
Defeat of
the Chart-
ists.

184.
Abortive
attempt at
insurrection
in Glasgow.

¹ Glasgow
Courier,
April 12,
1848; Per-
sonal
knowledge.

185.
Detection of
the frauds in
the Chartist
petition.

² Ann. Reg.
1848, 53,
54, Chron.;
Report of
Commit-
tee, April
13, 1848;
Parl. Deb.
xcviii. 148,
150.

The bloodless and complete suppression of the Chartist insurrection excited an immense sensation on the Continent, the more especially as it occurred at a time when the thrones of Austria, Prussia, and many other states, were reeling under the shock produced by the French Revolution. It went far to restore the credit of representative institutions, which their repeated failures in France, Spain, Piedmont, Naples, and so many other countries, had seriously impaired. Queen Victoria put down a formidable and organized attempt at revolution, without firing a shot or shedding one drop of blood, either in the field or on the scaffold, relying almost entirely on the "unbought loyalty" of her subjects, at a time when the country was laboring under severe and unparalleled suffering; when the great military monarchies on the Continent, afflicted with no such misfortunes, had sought protection in vain from their numerous and highly-disciplined armed bands. There was enough here to arrest the attention of the most inconsiderate, and rivet the thoughts of the most contemplative. It will forever stand forth as one of the most honorable events in British—not the least memorable in the world's history. Whether it arose from the innate strength of representative institutions, when fully and long established, to withstand the severest internal shocks, or from the peculiar adaptation of such institutions to the Anglo-Saxon race and character, is a question upon which the world is as yet too young to authorize a decided opinion. But this much may at least be asserted, that even those most strongly impressed with the *ultimate* danger of recent changes to the fortunes of the country, must rejoice that they had been brought about *before* this great trial of the strength of the constitution occurred, and admit their importance in bringing it through the crisis. Probably the most ardent admirer of representative government, and the most devout believer in the loyalty and stability of the British character, will hesitate to say that the result would have been the same if the reform transports of 1832, and the organized agitation of 1845, had been run into the universal suffering of 1848, and been contemporaneous with the world-felt shock of the French Revolution.

Although every person of sense in the British empire and Europe saw that the Chartist insurrection had received its death-blow on the

of the Chartist petition was about the same time obtained at Glasgow. The Sheriff there received information from two of the persons who had been engaged in its concoction, in addition to the real signatures obtained, that the way they proceeded about it in that city was this: Six persons sat down, three on each side of a high mercantile desk. They were furnished with pens of various ages and degrees of softness, and several inkstands of different colors. Thus equipped, they proceeded to write down the names they found in several *old Directories* which they had on the table, and when one wrote a name, he immediately handed over the paper to his fellow-laborer opposite, who wrote the next name with a different ink and different kind of pen, and thus, as six persons were engaged, no identity of handwriting was perceptible. The greatest difficulty, the informants said, was to get various names, as the signatures from Glasgow soon outstripped the Directories, and when this difficulty was experienced, they went out into the streets, *observed the signs, and wrote them down*, giving a different street to each name from the one where it really appeared.

10th of April, yet such was the obduracy and infatuation of the leaders that they continued for some time longer a harassing, though unavailing, agitation in the metropolis. In the end of May, gatherings to the number of 8000 and 10,000 assembled in Clerkenwell Green or Finsbury Square almost every night, and began marching in military array through the streets as far as the Strand, Leicester and Trafalgar Squares, where they had rude encounters with large bodies of the police, by whom, though not without some difficulty, they were dispersed. At this period the meetings in London in the close of the evening were so frequent that a constant discharge of fire-arms was heard, not from the military, but the marching crowds, to keep up excitement—a state of things which kept the capital in constant alarm, from an apprehension that it arose, although it was not the case, from the military. The Chartists, as often occurs, mistook the leniency of Government for timidity; they thought their agitation might be continued forever without legal obstruction or punishment. At length the patience of Ministers was worn out, and deeming the public mind sufficiently prepared to render convictions probable, several arrests took place, particularly of Ernest John Jones, Fusseli, J. Williams, A. Sharpe, and T. Vernon. They were found guilty of sedition, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. At the same time, the meetings, whenever attempted, were dispersed by the police. The final blow, however, was struck in London when Cuffey and twenty-five of the most desperate Chartist leaders were captured by 300 armed police in the Angel Tavern, Blackfriars, in whose possession large quantities of daggers, spears, swords, pistols, and ball-cartridges were found. Their trials came on soon after, and then the magnitude and extent of the conspiracy were fully revealed. It appeared that they had established a "war committee," and intended to barricade the streets, plunder the shops, set fire to St. Paul's, and rouse the whole population of the metropolis, whom they expected to join them in overturning the Government. They were all convicted, and the leaders transported for life; the inferior culprits to various penalties, varying from fourteen years' transportation to six months' imprisonment, while many were allowed to escape on entering into their own recognizances to keep the peace.

It is a curious circumstance, and fortunate for Great Britain, that although the Irish for above half a century have been always disposed to, and sometimes actually engaged in, revolt, they have never thought of combining their movements with those of the discontented on this side of the Channel. It would seem that the antipathy of the Celt to the Saxon is so strong that they will not combine with him even for objects of common interest. So it proved on the present occasion. Hardly were the Chartist disturbances put down in Great Britain than it was rumored that a rebellion, however desperate its hopes, was in preparation in Ireland. The *Nation* and *Irish Felon*, the chief organs of the revolutionists in that

136.
Immense sensation this produced on the Continent.

137.
Renewed agitation by the Chartists, and its suppression, and their trials.

May 20, 31.

June 17.

Aug. 13.

1 Ann. Reg. 1848, 85, 121, 122, Chron.

138.

Preparations for a rebellion in Ireland. July, 1848.

country, early in July, upon the conviction of John Mitchell, a noted leader in Dublin, threw off the mask, and openly counseled immediate insurrection. In these circumstances the measures of Government were prompt and decided, and such as, when supported by a people generally loyal, seldom fail of success. The Duke of Wellington, with his usual foresight, had been long making preparations for a serious conflict. With this view he had withdrawn the garrison from a number of the weak or distant police and military stations, and thereby strengthened the garrisons of those more important points which it had been deemed advisable to defend. They had been loopholed in every direction, and strongly barricaded in the entrances, so as to be capable of resisting any attack by rebels without artillery. Large bodies of troops were marched into the counties in the south and west, where the rising was expected, and several war steamers, under Sir Charles Napier, cruised round the south coast, ready to carry succor to any point which might be menaced. Limerick was overawed by the *Rhadamanthus*, with her guns enfilading the principal streets, and Cork by a July 26. flotilla of armed steamers. On the 26th

of July the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, to be hereafter noticed, arrived in Dublin, and warrants were immediately dispatched for the arrest of Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and a dozen other club leaders. At the same time, a proclamation was issued declaring the clubs illegal, and requiring them forthwith to dissolve; the most rigid scrutiny took place of the persons licensed to bear arms; and the counties of Kerry, Galway, Wexford, Carlow, Queen's, Kildare, Lowth, Westmeath, Cavan, and great numbers of baronies in other counties, were proclaimed by the Lord-Lieutenant under the Crime and Outrage Act, with a view to the general disarmament of the inhabitants. At the same time, a proclamation was issued offering £500 for the apprehension of Smith O'Brien, and £300 for that of either Meagher, Dillon, or Doherty.¹

Those decisive measures brought matters to a crisis. The editor of the *Nation* fled from Dublin, numerous arrests took place, and the insurgents in the south openly assembled in arms, and were reviewed near Ballingarry by Mr. S. O'Brien. It was the intention of Government to have allowed the rebels to assemble in considerable numbers without molestation, and meanwhile collect the military on all sides, who, by a converging movement, might surround them, and terminate the contest in a day, it was hoped, with little bloodshed. The troops, fifteen hundred in number, were already in motion, under the experienced guidance of General Macdonald, to effect this object, when an accidental circumstance caused the whole designs of the conspirators to fail, and turned them into ridicule. Having collected some thousand insurgents, O'Brien, after vain attempts to get some of the police, who bravely refused to surrender their arms, to join his party, advanced on the July 28. 28th toward Ballingarry. On their way they met a body of police fifty strong, under Inspector Trant, who had marched out to meet them. Finding himself surrounded by a body

of two thousand insurgents, Trant retreated to a slated house occupied by one Widow Cormack, where he resolved, with his brave followers, to defend himself to the last extremity. The house was soon surrounded by the rebels—above two thousand strong—and O'Brien in vain tried to induce the commander to surrender and join his force to those of the insurgents. Finding him proof alike against promises and threats, he had recourse to force of arms; but here the superiority of the police—as fine and steady a body of men as any in the world—was at once apparent. Before the firing had lasted many minutes two of the insurgents were shot dead, and three wounded in the cabbage-garden round the house, while none of the garrison were injured. Disconcerted by this untoward result, and still more by the proved fidelity of the armed police, upon whose defection he mainly relied, O'Brien drew off his forces, and fell back in deep dejection. He himself soon after fled, and Inspector Cox having come up next day to the support of Trant with a larger police force, the insurgents dispersed. The misguided leader was arrested some days after at Thurles in disguise, when at the railway station setting out for Limerick, and committed for trial.¹

His trial, along with M'Manus, Orchard, Tighe, and O'Donnell, took place in the end of September, and was conducted with the greatest temper and ability, both at the bar and on the bench. Chief-Justice Doherty presided; the Attorney-General led the prosecution; and Mr. Whiteside lent the aid of his great talents and eloquence to the accused. Never was a judicial proceeding conducted with more impartiality and decorum, and never was guilt more clearly brought home to the accused. A letter from his associate Duffy to O'Brien, found on the latter's person, clearly revealed the extent and dangerous nature of the conspiracy, and the influence which the revolution in France and the example of Lafayette had had in producing it, to which the flattery of the writer compared his present position.* The attack on Widow Cor-

* "MY DEAR SIR,—I am glad to learn that you are about to commence a series of meetings in Munster. There is no half-way house for you. You will be the head of the movement, loyally obeyed, and the revolution will be conducted with order and clemency; or the mere anarchists will prevail with the people, and our revolution will be a bloody chaos. You have at present Lafayette's place, so graphically painted by Lamartine, and, I believe, have fallen into Lafayette's error—that of not using it to all its extent, and in all its resources. I am perfectly well aware that you don't desire to lead or influence others; but I believe with Lamartine that that feeling, which is a high personal and civic virtue, is a vice in revolutions. One might as well, I think, not want to influence a man who was going to walk on thawing ice, or to cross a fordless river, as not to desire to keep men right in a political struggle, and to do it with might and main. If I were Smith O'Brien, I would strike out in my own mind, or with such counsel as I valued, a definite course for the revolution, and labor incessantly to develop it in that way. For example, your project of obtaining signatures to the roll of the *National Guard*, and when a sufficient number were produced, and not sooner, calling the *Council of Three Hundred*, was one I entirely relied upon; but it has been permitted to fall into disuse, and would scarcely be revived now. The clubs, however, might take the place of the *National Guard*, and the proposal in your letter on ——— of a definite number of clubs being formed would just suit as,

Ann. Reg. 1848, 95, 96;
Trial of O'Brien, Sept. 28,
1848; Ibid.
889—State
Trials.

140.
Trial of O'Brien, and revealing of the designs of the conspirators. Sept. 28.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 93,
94, Chron.
—95 Hist.

139.
Total defeat of the rebellion.

mack's house, under the immediate direction of O'Brien, was proved beyond dispute, as well as the unsuccessful attempts made to seduce the police from their allegiance. After a long trial, in which every thing that legal ability and eloquence could suggest was exhausted in his defense, he was found guilty, along with all his fellow-prisoners, though they were all recommended to mercy, and they all, along with Meagher, who was tried at Dublin by Chief-Justice Blackmore, received sentence of death. Their conduct on receiving sentence was at once courageous and dignified, and only awakened the most poignant regret that men capable, at such a moment, of uttering such sentiments, should have been so far misled by patriotic and generous feelings as to have engaged in an enterprise which, if successful, could have led only to an aggravation of the misery of their country, and which could the less be forgiven, that at the very moment when they were uttered five hundred thousand Irishmen, with their families, were daily fed by British bounty.*

well if it were vigorously and systematically carried out, each day adding an item to it, and all the men we could influence employed upon it.

(Signed)

"C. G. DUFFY."

—*Ann. Reg.*, 1848, 396, 397—*State Trials*.

* O'Brien, on being asked whether he had any reason to state why sentence of death should not be passed upon him, said, with a loud and firm voice, "My lords, it was not my intention to have entered into any vindication of my conduct, however much I might have desired to have availed myself of this opportunity of doing so. I am perfectly satisfied with the consciousness that I have performed my duty to my country—that I have only done that which, in my opinion, it was the duty of every Irishman to have done. And I am now prepared to abide the consequence of having performed my duty to my native land. Proceed with your sentence."

Meagher said: "This sentence, my lords, which you are about to pronounce, will be remembered by my countrymen as the severe and solemn attestation of my rectitude and truth. With my country I leave my memory, my sentiments, my acts, proudly feeling that they require no vindication from me this day. On this spot, where the shadows of death surround me, and from which I see my early grave in an unconsecrated soil is ready to receive me—even here the hope which beckoned me on to embark upon the perilous sea upon which I have been wrecked still consoles, animates, enraptures me. I do not despair of my old country; I do not despair of her peace, her liberty, her glory. To lift up this isle, to make her a benefactor to humanity, instead of being what she is—the meanest beggar in the world—to restore her ancient constitution and her native powers—this has been my ambition, and this has been my crime. Judged thus, the treason of which I have been convicted loses all guilt, has been sanctified as a duty, and will be ennobled as a sacrifice. To my country I offer the only sacrifice I can now give—the life of a young heart, and with it the hopes, the honors, the endearments of a happy and an honorable home. Pronounce then, my lords, the sentence the law directs, and I shall be prepared to bear it, and, I trust, to meet its execution, and to appear with a light heart before a higher tribunal."

M'Manus said: "Standing in this dock, and about to ascend the scaffold, it may be to-morrow, I wish to put this on record, that in no part of my proceedings have I been actuated by animosity against Englishmen, among whom I have spent some of the happiest days of my life, and of the most prosperous. In nothing I have done have I been influenced by enmity to Englishmen individually, whatever I may have felt of the injustice of English rule in this island. It is not for having loved England less, but for having loved Ireland more, that I now stand before you."—*Irish State Trials*, 1848; *Ann. Reg.*, 1848, 449, 470, 472—*State Trials*.

These are noble thoughts, couched in noble language, which will speak to the hearts of the right-hearted and the generous in every future age. They only make us the more regret that men actuated by such elevated sentiments should be so far misled by national or political passion as to pursue the crime which experience has proved was best calculated to render impossible the con-

The sentence of death was wisely and humanely afterward commuted into transportation for life; and after a residence abroad of eight years, they were all, excepting those who had broken their parole, restored to their country by the general amnesty proclaimed on the glorious termination of the Russian war. Thus was this formidable convulsion, which, spreading from France, overturned the monarchies of Austria and Prussia, and shook to its foundations every government in Europe, suppressed in Great Britain without shedding one drop of blood on the scaffold.¹

¹ O'Brien's Trial, Sept. 28, 1848; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 394, 447.

Such was the terrible monetary crisis of 1847 in Great Britain—the most disastrous and widespread of which there is any record in the annals of mankind. Its effects, not merely in the British empire, but in both hemispheres, have been in the highest degree important, and in no instance has the agency of supreme wisdom in educing lasting good out of transitory evil been more conspicuous. Beyond all question, it was mainly instrumental in bringing to a crisis the general discontent in France, and overturning the corrupt government of Louis Philippe; the suspension of credit, want of employment, and stagnation of industry among the workmen of Paris, which proved fatal to the Orleans dynasty, had its origin in the Bank Charter Act of London. It perpetuated through a course of years the misery first induced by the famine in Ireland, and gave rise to the prodigious and long-continued exodus of the Irish people, which has ended in transferring two millions of Celts from the shores of the Emerald Isle to the Transatlantic wilds. It has given comparative security and unanimity to the British empire, by extracting the thorn which had so long festered in its side, implanted by Irish suffering and envenomed by sacerdotal ambition. It has led to the overthrow of the monarchies of Austria and Prussia, and, by bringing down the reserve of legitimacy in the shape of the Russian battalions to the Hungarian plains, it subverted for a time the balance of power in Europe, impelled Nicholas into the career of Oriental ambition, and ultimately arranged the forces of the West against those of the East on the shores of the Crimea. Finally, it produced in the Far West and Southeast effects still more lasting and important; for by the money pressure it produced in America it forced the United States into foreign aggression as the means of paying their domestic debts, transferred California from the lazy hands of the Spaniards, by whom its treasures had lain undiscovered for three hundred years, into the active grasp of the Anglo-Saxons; revealed to British enterprise, sent into exile by domestic suffering, the hidden treasures of Australia; and gave a permanent and beneficial impulse to

141.
Immense effects of the monetary crisis of 1847.

summation they so ardently desired and eloquently expressed. But that only renders it the more the object of devout thankfulness that the prevalence of humane and just ideas has now so far modified the barbarity of former times as to have almost abolished practically the punishment of death in political offenses—a step, it is to be hoped, to the really just rule of treating prisoners, in civil conflicts, on the same footing as those taken in the military conflict of nations.

the industry of the whole world, by providing a currency adequate to its increasing numbers and transactions in the treasures it brought to light in both hemispheres.

If the ultimate effects of this great convulsion have been thus widespread and momentous, not less important is the lesson it has taught the British people as to the results of the new system on which they had adventured, and which in the very outset had produced such astonishing consequences. The years 1847 and 1848 are peculiarly worthy of attention to the student of British history, for they brought to light the dreadful perils of the combination of *Free Trade with a Fettered Currency* in aggravating distress, as the years 1845 and 1846 had demonstrated the dangers of the monetary system in *inflaming speculation*. It is doubtful which is in the end the most perilous, or impels a nation most certainly to the brink of ruin. The mode in which these double consecutive results have taken place is now perfectly apparent, and they both flow from one cause—viz., the establishment of a currency based entirely upon the retention of gold, coupled with a commercial system which rendered that retention impossible. This was the root of the evil; the Irish famine was an accidental circumstance, which brought the danger earlier to light, and in a more fearful form, than would otherwise have occurred, but was by no means instrumental in producing it.

That a failure to the extent of nearly a half in the staple food of a people numbering eight millions must of itself produce a frightful amount of suffering among the classes affected by it, is sufficiently apparent; and Sir R. Peel's monetary system is nowise chargeable with that distress. But it is chargeable, and exclusively so, with the communication of the distress from the Irish peasantry to the commercial classes of Great Britain, and the general collapse of credit which terminated in the suspension of the Bank Charter Act in October, 1847. There is a very obvious connection between the failure of a staple kind of food and the distress, or even famine, of the people who live on it; but there is no natural connection between such failure and a monetary crisis in a neighboring country, accompanied with general ruin to the trading classes, and commercial embarrassment and bankruptcy for a course of years. The agricultural produce destroyed by the potato-rot in Ireland was said

to be worth £16,000,000—call it £20,000,000 in the whole empire, which is probably above the mark. That is only a *fifteenth* part of the entire agricultural produce of the empire, estimated at that period at £300,000,000—a much less deficiency, upon the whole, than an ordinary bad harvest produces, attended with no extraordinary results. Whatever severity of local distress, therefore, such a deficiency might produce, it can not be considered as having been, if it had stood alone, the cause of the dreadful commercial suffering in Great Britain. On the contrary, by raising the prices of subsistence and stimulating commerce, it should rather have tended to augment mercantile profits, and enhance mercantile enterprise in the neighboring island. But the moment a monetary system is established, on a basis which renders the currency and advances by bankers exclusively dependent on the gold in the Bank's coffers, any adventitious circumstance which occasions an unusual drain upon those coffers, which a great importation of food invariably does, produces a contraction of advances, a rise of interest, a destruction of credit, from which it requires a long course of years for any nation, even the most prosperous, to recover.

But this is not all. The combination of free trade with a gold-dependent currency not only necessarily renders any adventitious cause which occasions a great export of gold the forerunner of commercial embarrassment and ruin, but it perpetually keeps the nation on the verge of such a catastrophe. It augments fearfully the chance of its occurrence, more especially in an old, opulent, and luxurious State. As such a community can bring into the market the fruits of the accumulated industry of several centuries, while the poor States from which it purchases subsistence can only bring the fruits of two or three years, the means of consumption of the one infinitely exceed those of the other. Thence the trade between them necessarily runs into a huge excess of imports over exports, the balance of which, of course, must be paid in cash. This, accordingly, has taken place in the most remarkable manner in the trade of Great Britain with all the nations from whence she imports largely rude produce, and which has terminated in a settled balance of imports over exports of from £30,000,000 to £40,000,000 a year.*

Great as this balance is, it would be of comparatively little importance if the nation possessed a currency, and could maintain its credit inde-

* In proof of this, it is sufficient to refer to the comparative imports and exports of Great Britain since 1854, during which period, as the real value of the imports as well as the exports, and not, as formerly, their official value, has been taken, the comparison can be made and the balance struck with perfect accuracy. They have stood thus:

Years.	Imports—Real Value.	Exports—Real Value.		Total British, Colonial, and Foreign.	Balance against Great Britain.
		British and Irish.	Colonial and Foreign.		
1854.....	£152,389,053	£97,184,726	£18,636,366	£115,821,092	£36,567,961
1855.....	143,542,851	5,688,085	21,003,215	116,891,300	26,651,551
1856.....	172,654,823	115,890,857	23,425,365	132,316,222	33,288,601

—Statistical Abstract, 1842-1856, p. 12, 19, 24.

When the magnitude of the balance of thirty or forty millions a year requiring to be paid in cash is considered, it will cease to be a matter of surprise that during the latter year (1856) the bullion in the Bank never exceeded £11,000,000, seldom £10,000,000, and that bank discounts were almost constantly at 6 or 7 per cent. Great as the supplies were, exceeding £30,000,000 annually, then obtained from the gold regions, they were unable to supply the drain required to pay this adverse balance of trade, or avert the commercial distress which, under our present monetary system, it necessarily induced. The entire mercantile body have, during the last year, been paying an extra property tax of 3½ per cent. on THEIR ENDANGERED CAPITAL, as their contribution toward the maintenance of the existing Bank Charter Act.

pendent of the holding of its gold. But under a

145. system where credit is rendered entirely dependent on such retention, and the greatest possible amount of disposable capital can not otherwise maintain it, a course of trade

which causes thirty or forty millions of specie, or bills payable in specie, annually to leave the country to make up the balance of trade with foreign States, must keep it constantly on the verge of disaster. No amount of prudence or foresight, on the part of those engaged in commerce, can prevent the recurrence of the most serious calamities, because they may any moment be induced by causes which they can neither foresee nor prevent. Three weeks' rain in Great Britain in August, a cry for gold to ruin the banks in the United States, great railway undertakings abroad, a revolution in France, a war on the Continent, any considerable increase in the export of metallic treasures to the East—any thing, in short, which causes an unusual drain of the precious metals in London, must at once induce a monetary crisis in the British Islands, suspend advances, and ruin all traders and persons engaged in business, who do not enjoy the highest credit, or possess the advantage of large realized capital. The nation, under such a system, is like a person walking in the dark on the edge of a precipice; any false step or external blast may at once precipitate him into the abyss.

A great increase in the supply of the precious metals for the use of the globe, such as has occurred since 1852, from the discovery of the rich gold-fields of California and Australia, which raised the annual produce of the mines from eight or ten to thirty-six millions a year, may for a time avert, but it can not permanently remove, this danger. When gold is every week pouring in immense quantities into the vaults of the Bank of England, and the drain arising from the balance of trade is met by a never-ceasing influx from the gold regions, credit may for a considerable period be maintained, and commerce be prosperous, because a sufficient stock of gold may be retained notwithstanding that drain. But it is obvious that this auspicious state of things can not be of long endurance, and that ere long the old risk must reappear, possibly under still more threatening circumstances. The reason is obvious. The rise of prices consequent on such an increased influx of the precious metals is, or must soon become, *universal over the world*; consequently the issue of the precious metals to pay the balance of trade must be augmented in as great a proportion as the influx is increased. What will it avail the nation that the supply of gold and silver to the Bank of England is increased in a year from ten to thirty millions, if as fast as it flows in it is drawn out to meet the increased balance of trade arising from the enhanced price of every species of imported commodity? Accordingly, at the moment when these lines are written (Nov. 17, 1856), the stock of gold in both departments of the Bank of England is reduced to £9,540,000, interest is 7 per cent., credit is almost suspended, and two more adverse weeks, such as the two last, would render a suspension

of the Bank Charter Act indispensable. And all that in the face of an annual influx of the precious metals to the extent of between thirty to forty millions a year; and an affluence of capital in the British Islands unequalled in the history of the world.*

* This state of things has extorted the following just observations from the ablest organ of the united bullion and free-trade systems: "A uniform price of 7 per cent. for the use of money is a state of things which, though happily unintelligible to many of our readers, is equivalent in its effects to a great national disaster. Famine, pest, earthquake, floods, conflagrations, and shipwreck, inflict local or personal injury. A very high rate of interest in a country where it is unusual will produce a *greater amount of inconvenience than any one of them*. It affects the whole atmosphere of trade, and particularly of that which is not strictly trade, but of a more speculative character, such as transactions in funds and shares.

"The particular hardship just now—not, however, for the first time alleged—is, that there is *no speculation of an unusual character*; scarcely a railway, or a loan, or any enterprise, except now and then the proposition of a branch railway, very reasonable in its object and modest in its demands. There are very few failures, and these are such as either do not much affect the mercantile world, or are only attended with temporary inconvenience. Nevertheless, good mercantile houses find they have to pay for usual accommodation such rates as *devour all their profits*. It used to be thought a divine retribution that in one way or another the gold of America passed through Spain with marvelous rapidity, in spite of the laws to arrest its progress. We find the same in our case. *Ecce signum*. It is assumed as a matter of course that the £700,000 expected by the *James Baines* is only to touch us on its way to France. Again, we are *importing corn largely, and at a high price*. This must be paid for, and doubtless a *good deal is paid for in gold*. These are considerations for those who profess themselves surprised at the present excessive demand for money, and insufficient supply, in the face of our *immense colonial importation*, and a sort of pause from the speculations of the last dozen years. Happily we have seen the worst of them all. The war is over, the diggings are well under way, and we have done our part in the affair, and year by year our corn importation is settling into a regular trade."—*Times*, Nov. 15, 1856.

Again, in April, 1857, the same alarming symptoms reappeared in a still more serious form, for the drain of the precious metals to the Continent and the East then became so great, that notwithstanding weekly supplies from the gold regions of £700,000 or £800,000, the bullion in both departments of the Bank of England fell to £9,064,000, of which only £747,000 was in the banking department! This is lower than it had been since 25th October, 1847, when it was down at £8,400,000. On this subject the *Times* of April 17, 1857, makes the following remarks: "The perplexities of the money-market seem greater than ever. For many months persons have been looking to the present period as that at which some turn in the unfavorable course of our bullion balances might be expected, and instead we have the Bank reverting to almost its highest rate of discount, while its stock of gold is *reduced to a point lower than at any time in the last ten years*. The question is, can this sudden increase of pressure be attributed to temporary causes, or is it only a regular stage of a condition which has already existed for two or three years, and must now be considered permanent? On the favorable side we have the fact that, looking at the course of a great number of years, the rate of discount in England averages about 4 per cent., and that consequently any advance beyond this point has always hitherto been followed by a proportionate reaction; next, that the trade of the country has for the last twenty-seven months been of unprecedented magnitude, and healthy in nearly every department; next, that, notwithstanding the profits thus made, there has been an *unusual abstinence from speculative commitments, either at home or abroad*; and, finally, that the agricultural returns of the kingdom have for the last two years, to say the least, been *perfectly satisfactory*. With a profitable export business, an economical expenditure, and a good yield of home produce, the circumstance that the balance of cash payments between ourselves and the rest of the world is uninterruptedly against us, seems an extraordinary anomaly. Last year the conviction that our position in these respects could lead only to a rapid improvement in our money-market, was so strong, that the most persevering warnings were necessary to prevent the public from at once running wildly into every description of foreign adventure; and their

It is often said that this great export of the precious metals, which is the variable result of free trade, is of no consequence, because the gold or silver, being valuable commodities, could not have come to this country but in exchange for something of equal value; and therefore a great import of gold implies a proportionally great export of manufactures to purchase it. But the answer to this is three-fold and decisive. First, it is by its derangement of a currency, resting on the retention of the precious metals, that this exportation to any great extent becomes so serious a matter. If the nation possessed a currency adequate to its necessities, and yet duly limited, *independent of gold*, that metal might all go away without inducing a greater evil than the efflux of lead or iron. The peril of a great export of gold to pay an adverse balance of trade, therefore, is nowise lessened, even though the whole of it had come in to pay the price of manufactures exported. In the next place, great part of the gold which finds its way to the Bank of England is not brought to the British shores in payment of any manufactures or British produce whatever, but is simply a remittance of wealth made in the gold regions, or of commercial fortunes realized there, from the impulse given to every species of industry by the gold discoveries. These are remitted home or brought by the fortunate holders without any corresponding export

surprise, therefore, may well be great, when, after twelve months' continuance of such prosperity, they find themselves increasingly in debt to other nations. The chief explanation offered is, that the great commercial development consequent upon the gold discoveries and other causes has created a demand for capital beyond all former experience. This, however, is *little better than a superficial assumption*. There has been no unexpected addition to the population of the world, nor any conversion of nations from barbarism to civilization, to warrant the belief that our mercantile transactions have been suddenly forced to such magnitude that our entire yearly gains are insufficient to supply the extra capital requisite for carrying them on. The Australian discoveries are now six years old; the population of those colonies is still insignificant; a large portion of them continue their old avocations of producing wool and tallow, and the occupation of the remainder, who are engaged in gold-finding, can have no material effect either in increasing or diminishing the wealth of the world, or in leading to an alteration of the rate of interest, however extraordinary may be its influence on the other relations of property. It is true that our exports last year were £20,000,000 above any recent average, and that an augmentation is still taking place; but commercial men know with what a slight increase of actual money an improved trade to this extent may, in times when credit is perfectly sound, be carried on. A large part of the addition, moreover, is merely consequent upon higher prices, and, although these involve a proportionate increase in the movements of capital, their effects are in most cases balanced in the course of a few months; since if we have to pay more for our raw material, we have also more to receive for our manufactured goods, and *the ultimate bullion balances in settlement can therefore in no way be affected*. Hence the doctrine that the spread of commerce will account for the phenomena now in progress must be discarded as unsatisfactory, or, at all events, insufficient."

It is not surprising that the able writers in the *Times* find a difficulty in explaining the phenomenon, which, on their principles, is perfectly unaccountable. But the simple explanation of it is, that in the year 1856 the imports were, as already shown, £33,238,000 over the exports, and of the former above 10,000,000 quarters, costing about £25,000,000, was for grain imported into the United Kingdom. There had been no such importation since 1847; and thence the recurrence of a similar monetary crisis, which all the intermediate supplies of gold, great as they were, had proved insufficient to prevent.

of British manufactures paid, as money forming part of rents or surplus wealth is remitted from Scotland or Ireland to London to be spent. In the third place, what is most material of all, the import and export of gold, or any other article of import, differs in this vital respect from the export of native produce or manufactures, that a *double* import takes place, but only a *single* export of the produce of *British industry*. If £5,000,000 worth of English manufactures are sent to America or Australia to buy an equal amount of gold, there is an equal balance of imports and exports. But if the £5,000,000 worth of gold is immediately exported to buy foreign grain, the imports are £10,000,000, while the exports of *British produce* are only £5,000,000. This would be immaterial if the gold was a mere article of commerce, like sugar or molasses; but it becomes very different when, in addition to that, it is the sole foundation of currency and credit, on the abstraction of which both fall to the ground.

There is another consideration of the very highest importance connected with this matter of a great influx of gold from the gold regions into the British Islands, especially when a great import of foreign goods is at the same time going on. It is this: when gold in great quantities flows into the rich State, either from its own colonies or foreign countries, it necessarily becomes *cheap, because it is plentiful*, and of course all other commodities become comparatively dear. But this state of things can not long continue; it is speedily corrected by the efflux of gold to, and imports of commodities from, poorer States, in which the former is more valuable, because it is more scarce—the latter cheaper, because labor is less highly paid. Thus the constant tendency of commerce, in such an old and commercial State, is to run into an *efflux of gold, and influx of commodities*. The country which the gold first reaches becomes a mere siphon, by which it is conducted to foreign States. No state of traffic can be conceived more perilous, especially when currency and credit are rendered dependent on the retention of the precious metals; for the first keeps credit constantly on the verge of paralysis, the last industry, under the weight of irresistible foreign competition. Adam Smith, long ago, stated this low price of gold in Spain, and its constant tendency to leave the country in consequence, arising from the possession of the gold regions, which all the severity of the laws could not prevent, as the main cause of the decline of Old Spain; and whoever studies with attention the history of this country, since the gold discoveries came into operation in 1852, will have too much reason to fear that the same lasting and insurmountable difficulty, as long as the currency is based on gold, is beginning to affect its fortunes.

Sensible of the truth of these facts, but anxious to avoid the inferences deducible from them, the supporters of the bullion system affirm that the scarcity of money and rise of interest which is now periodically, and at short intervals, felt as so severe a scourge by the commercial and industrial interest of Great Britain, is not owing to the want of gold, but

147.
Argument on the other side as to the export of gold.

148.
Danger of gold passing merely through the richer States.

149.
Erroneous argument of the bullionists on this subject.

the want of capital; that the nation is at times engaged in a desperate struggle for money with foreign nations, which require it for undertakings of their own; and that it is this which runs interest up to 7 or 10 per cent. A very little consideration, however, must convince every dispassionate observer that this view is entirely erroneous, and that it is not capital, but gold currency, which is wanting when interest is thus run up. The panic was stopped in 1825, and interest soon brought down, by the discovery of £2,000,000 of old notes in a chest, and the issue of £8,000,000 additional notes by the Bank of England; in 1848, by a letter from Lord John Russell suspending the Bank Charter Act, which in three months brought it down to 4 per cent.; in 1856, by the arrival of the *James Baines* and the *Lightning*, with £1,300,000 in specie, about half of which only remained in the vaults of the Bank. In all these cases *no addition was made to the capital* of the country by the change which stopped the panic and lowered the interest, but an inconsiderable addition was only made to the circulating medium, which at once had that effect. On the contrary, the national capital was in all these cases *seriously diminished* before the rate of interest fell, by the fall of prices which the abstraction of the currency occasioned, but nevertheless interest was at once reduced by the addition of a few millions to the circulating medium. Under the present system, capital to the amount of £200,000,000 may be, and often is, waiting in London ready to be advanced at 3 or 3½ per cent., when nevertheless it is all locked up like a fertilizing stream by frost, solely by the abstraction of two or three millions of gold from the banks, in whose notes the payments to the borrowers are to be made.

The free trade and monetary systems of Sir Robert Peel, therefore, are directly chargeable with the extreme severity of the commercial and monetary crisis of 1847 and 1848, because the first established a state of commerce in which the imports necessarily so largely preponderated over the exports that any considerable addition to the former, in the shape of commodities, required to be paid for in specie, thus occasioning a great drain of the precious metals, while the latter rendered unavoidable the destruction of credit and ruin of industry, *from the effects of that very drain on the metallic treasures of the nation.* Free trade *alone* would never have produced these calamitous results if unconnected with a monetary system resting on the retention of gold; it would merely have produced a growing balance of imports over exports, which in the end might have proved detrimental to native industry, and put a stop to national progress. But when, simultaneously with the removal of all restrictions on the importation of foreign agricultural produce, there was established a system which rendered the currency and credit of the nation entirely dependent on the stock of gold and silver in the Bank of England, which any bad harvest at home, or extraordinary demand for specie abroad, might at any time entirely exhaust, the *united system* rendered certain the frequent and periodical recurrence of the most appalling calamities. Such, accord-

ingly, immediately ensued on the first failure of crop after 1846; and the experience of the last two years has abundantly proved that not all the gold of Australia and California can prevent it recurring on the first considerable drain of the precious metals.*

Sir R. Peel's monetary measure proceeded on the principle that the distress which had so frequently overwhelmed the country in the last twenty years was mainly owing to the *overtrading* encouraged by excessive issues of paper, and that the only way to check it, and at the same time to maintain the currency of the country upon a proper basis, was to compel the Bank to buy all the gold which might be brought to it at a fixed price, and at the same time put it under such restrictions as should compel it to contract its issues as soon as the exchange became adverse, and a drain upon its metallic treasures appeared likely to set in. Having done this, he thought both overspeculation at one time, and a serious drain of gold at another, would be effectually prevented. He said to the Bank virtually: "I have laid you in irons; do your worst." The object was praiseworthy, and such as can not too seriously arrest the attention of every statesman who has the good of his country at heart. Unfortunately, the means he adopted to accomplish this object, so far from effecting it, had the directly opposite consequence, and have contributed more than any thing else to the aggravation of the very evils against which they were intended to guard.

This is now decisively demonstrated by experience. So far from the Act of 1844 having been followed by an equable and self-regulated currency, and speculation leading to disaster checked, neither were ever so frequent as they have been since his Act came into operation. From 1784 to 1844 interest had never varied more than from 4 to 5 per cent., with the ex-

* Interest is now (17th Nov., 1856) at 7 per cent.; the stock of gold in the Bank of England is only £9,580,000, notwithstanding the immense supplies, not less than £30,000,000, annually received from California and Australia. The entire absorption of this vast importation of the precious metals is in part owing to the steady drain of £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 annually to India and China. But it is, in a great degree, to be ascribed also to the vast export of gold *to pay for grain* imported under the new system, which in the year 1855, though a year of war and a fine harvest, cost the nation £17,500,000, the greater part of which was *paid in specie*, for the nations from whom we imported it would take nothing else.

NOTE.—November 12, 1857. The paragraph in the text, and preceding note, were written on 6th November, 1856. While this sheet is going through the press, the *Times* of November 12, 1857, contains these announcements:

1. Bank Charter suspended.
2. Interest in London, 10 per cent.
3. " in Hamburg, 10 per cent.
4. " in Paris, 8½ per cent.
5. " in New York, 25 per cent.
6. Suspension of cash payments general by all banks in the United States.
7. Two banks stopped in Glasgow, and one in Liverpool, and a great bill panic in London.
8. Commercial credit and transactions almost suspended in the country.
9. Bullion in the Bank, £7,170,000.
10. Reserve notes in the Bank, £975,000.
11. Bank liabilities, £40,875,000.

How soon has the prediction in the text been verified!

ception of a short time in 1838, when it was at 6 per cent. But during the twelve years which have elapsed since 1844, its variations have been so excessive as to defeat all mercantile foresight, and on repeated occasions involve whole innocent classes in hopeless ruin. During that short period there have been no less than *fifty* changes

of the rate of discount, which has varied from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 10 per cent.¹ It is hard to say whether its excessively low rate at one time, or its ruinous height at another, have proved most prejudicial.

In 1845 and 1846 the rate was $2\frac{1}{4}$ and 3 per cent., and it has frequently been even lower since that time, especially in 1852 and 1853, in the first of which years it was at $1\frac{1}{4}$, and the paper of the Bank of England in circulation rose to £24,000,000—of the whole empire, to £39,000,000. The consequence was, the excessive and inordinate speculation and undertakings of those years. In November, 1847, it was at 8 per cent., and at 7 per cent. for a month, as it was in April and November, 1856. Thence the grievous contraction of credit and ruin of undertakings in those disastrous years, especially the first. The low rate of interest at one time plunged the nation into a host of undertakings, which the sudden raising of it, and contraction of credit at another, wholly disabled it from completing. And all this ensued from no fault on the part of the speculators, but simply from the operation of the monetary laws, which rendered currency and credit dependent on the retention of gold, which, under the Free-trade system, at the same time introduced, by the changes of foreign commerce could not by possibility be retained.

The way in which the Act of 1844 inflamed speculation when times were prosperous, and the precious metals flowed in in abundance, was this: Being obliged by law to take all the gold presented to it at any time, and pay for it in silver, or its own notes, at the rate of £3 17s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., *whatever its market value was at the time*, it necessarily followed that the Bank was gorged with gold at one time, when the market price was below that sum, and stripped of it at another, when it was above it. This accordingly ensued in a few years after the passing of the Act. In 1846 the gold in the Bank had reached the then unprecedented sum of £16,500,000; in 1847 it was down at £8,312,000; and in 1852 it was as high as £22,000,000. In the first period the Bank directors, being in advance for gold to the extent of sixteen millions sterling, had no alternative but to *push their business to the uttermost*, in order to indemnify themselves for the interest of the enormous outlay required by the mass of gold forced upon them. Thence the lowering of interest on discounts to 2 and $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent., the issue of £28,000,000 in notes, and the enormous speculation in railways and other undertakings consequent on such a state of things. Thence, also, the sudden contraction of credit, rise of interest to 8 per cent., and reducing of the bank-notes in circulation, the capital and wants of the country remaining the same, to £16,500,000 in 1847; and 10 per cent. in 1857! The Bank Charter Act should be entitled, “An Act for the *better securing the inflammation of speculation in*

periods of prosperity, and the entire destruction of credit in periods of adversity.”*

These evils are so pressing, and so certain of recurrence at stated periods, and after brief intervals, in any considerable mercantile community, that there can be no doubt that they will ere long force on their own cure, in spite of all the efforts of the great capitalists to perpetuate a state of things so favorable to their peculiar interests. This can only be done by having an adequate portion of the currency properly regulated to prevent undue extension, and secured on the credit of Government, ready for issue when the gold is withdrawn, and not liable to payment on demand in specie. But supposing this done, there are other effects, consequent on free trade, not so palpable in the outset, but still more powerful, because irremediable in the end, which deserve the most serious attention, both with reference to national independence, progress, and prosperity. These consequences are quite independent of any thing erroneous in the currency, and arise from certain fixed laws of nature, over which, like the recurrence of winter and summer, man has no control, but which are not less irresistible in their operation upon the life of nations than the mutations of the seasons are upon the growth or decay of vegetable life.

The first of these is the law that the advantages of capital, machinery, and the division of labor, though not unknown in the cultivation of the earth, are far less considerable than those in the production of manufactures. It is not by any means meant to be asserted, in laying down this proposition, that capital and skill are of no value in the cultivation of the earth. Unquestionably they are of great service, as any one may see by comparing the agriculture of Ireland or France with that of the best parts of Flanders, England, and Scotland. But giving full effect to the greatest improvements in the cultivation of the soil—conceding as much as the most sanguine high farmer would contend for; to tile-draining, improved manuring, large farms, reaping and thrashing machines, and skilled labor—still it is evident that all they can effect in increasing the amount or lessening the cost of agricultural produce is very little in comparison of what may be effected by the application of capital, science, and the division of labor to the production of manufactures. The average produce of an imperial acre in cereal crops in Great Britain may be now taken at 3 quarters, or 24 bushels, an acre. Let it be conceded that, by the ap-

* In August, 1844, the circulation of bank-notes for England was:

The Bank of England	£31,448,000
Private banks	4,624,179
Joint-stock banks	8,340,326
	£29,412,505

On November 22, 1856, it was:

The Bank of England	£20,062,041
Private banks	8,855,971
Joint-stock banks	8,113,896
	£27,031,868

Being a diminution of..... £2,880,607 since the Act of 1844 was passed, and this to accommodate a rapidly-increasing commerce, our foreign trade alone having nearly trebled since that time.

154.
Ultimate effects of free trade, irrespective of the currency.

155.
Capital facilitates manufactures far more than agriculture.

plication of science and skill, it can be raised to 9 quarters, or 72 bushels. Probably the most sanguine high farmer will not allege that more is possible. That change supposes the produce of a given space to be tripled; but though such an increase is considerable, it is as nothing compared to the increase of productive power by the application of capital and skill to the production of manufactures, which can with ease be made, *not three, but a hundred-fold*. Two men can there be made, by the aid of machinery, to do the work of two hundred. There is obvious limit, therefore, to the power of capital and science in increasing the return of agricultural labor, but none can be assigned to their influence in increasing the amount of manufacturing production. The famous arithmetical and geometrical progression, erroneously applied by Malthus to the relative powers of population and labor in the raising of subsistence, is truly applicable to labor applied to agriculture and manufactures. Hence the rich and old State must always undersell the young and poor State in manufactures, and be always undersold by it in agricultural produce.

The second law is, that every thing that is plentiful, and money among the rest, becomes cheap. This may seem so obvious that it does not require to be stated, but nevertheless its effects, as of all laws in universal operation, are in the highest degree important. It often determines the life of nations as certainly as the law which makes a stone fall to the ground retains the planets in their orbits. As money, from being plentiful, becomes cheap, the result of course is, that every thing, as measured in money, becomes dear. Hence the wages of labor in the rich State become high in comparison of those in the poor one—the latter, as Dr. Johnson said of eggs in the Highlands being cheap, “not because eggs are many, but because pence are few.” In manufacturing industry, the application of capital, machinery, and the division of labor, much more than compensates the height in the money wages of labor; but in agriculture no such compensation is possible. The poor State always undersells the rich one in the produce of the fields. England can undersell India in cotton manufactures made of an article which grows on the banks of the Ganges; but it is undersold by the felahs of Egypt, the serfs of Russia, and the peasants of Poland, in the production of wheat or barley, though grown at the gates of London. Hence there is a constant pressure in the rich State on *rural labor*, arising from foreign competition; and where it is excluded by prohibitory duties, an incessant clamor for their removal. When this clamor becomes irresistible, and free trade is introduced, domestic agriculture must of necessity decline, unless supported for a time by accidental causes, and the growth of the *rural* inhabitants be checked; but no similar check is to be looked for in manufacturing industry, unless impeded by hostile foreign tariffs; and therefore, for a very long period at least, no retarding of *urban* population is to be apprehended.

The third law is, that great cities are the grave of the human race, while the country fields are its cradle. This truth, long and stout-

ly denied by the commercial and free-trade parties, is now completely set at rest 157. by the Registrar-General's returns Greater mortality in Great Britain, and similar statistics in other countries. It is now ascertained by this unexceptionable evidence that no great towns can maintain their own numbers unless fed by immigration from the country. In Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, and Glasgow, 49 per cent. of deaths are children under five years of age; and even in London, probably the most healthy metropolis in the world, three-fifths of the persons above twenty years of age were born in the country. Where the annual mortality in rural districts in England is 18 in 1000 of the whole population, in manufacturing districts it is 1 in 24. In Scotland, in 188 town districts, the annual deaths were 1 in 37; in 14 agricultural, only 1 in 68.* Sanitary improvements, improved medical treatment, and an elevation of general comfort, may do much to check this frightful mortality, but it can never remove it entirely, or stamp any other character on great cities but that of being the great charnel-houses of mortality. But the effect of the law upon the strength and lifetime of empires is obvious, especially when taken in conjunction with the tendency, in rich and old societies of industry, to flock to the towns and shun the country. This state of things may for a time exhibit a great increase in urban, and proportional decline in rural population; but it must in the end seriously affect the growth of the entire body, and augment the preponderance of towns over the country, which is the invariable precursor of national decline.

This universal law of nature has taken effect with such severity in France, since the vast migration of its rural inhabitants into the great towns which has taken place during the last five years, that while the increase of its inhabitants from 1845 to 1850 was 1,240,000 persons, from 1850 to 1855 it was only 250,000; a decline which has justly struck the philosophers of that country with astonishment. The census of 1856 shows that the metropolis, and all the manufacturing districts during this period, have largely increased in numbers, while most of the rural have decreased.² It is easily explained by the fact that agriculture has so much declined, that, from being an exporting country, France had come, in 1856, a year of scarcity, to import 4,000,000 quarters of wheat, while Paris had increased, in the same five years, by 350,000 souls. The change here so strikingly evinced is one which takes place in every old country

* “In Scotland, 41,925 deaths were registered during the fourth quarter, being an increase to the extent of 744 above those of the corresponding quarter of the previous year, and an increase of 2076 above those of the previous quarter of 1856. Allowing for increase of population, this would give the annual proportion of 196 deaths in every 10,000, or nearly 1 death in every 50 persons. The proportion of deaths was lowest in the northwestern and northern counties, and highest in the southwestern and southeastern counties. Of the individual counties, the proportion of deaths was lowest in Orkney and Peebles, where it was at the rate of 101 and 107 deaths respectively in every 10,000 persons, and the highest in Lanark, where, allowing for increase of population, it was at the rate of 268 deaths in every 10,000 persons.”—*Quarterly Return*, 1856.

158. Manner in which these circumstances arrest population.

² *Courrier*, 1856; *Moniteur*, Dec. 31, 1856.

at a certain stage of its progress in regard to population, and arises from two causes. In the first place, the loud and menacing cry for cheap bread in the towns, by forcing on foreign importation, drives numbers into the cities as the only place where they can find the means of earning a livelihood; that is, it drives them from the cradles into the graves of the human race. In the next place, the cultivation of the country is mainly turned to pasturage, as experience now shows that no foreign State can compete with the domestic growers in the production of sheep and cattle. But sheep or cattle farms do not employ a tenth part of the laborers which those devoted to the raising of grain crops do, and thus the prolific power of the country is arrested at once by the migration of a large part of its inhabitants into cities, and the turning the industry of those who remain into pastoral instead of agricultural pursuits, and at the same time the emigration of vast multitudes in quest of that employment in the colonies or distant lands which they can no longer hope to find in their own.

Whoever considers these laws of nature with attention can not fail to see that they render certain and unavoidable, in a certain stage of society, the commencement of decline, and that the loud and increasing cry for free-trade is the *first symptom of the arresting cause having come into operation*. As the concession of this policy is equivalent to a direct exposure of domestic industry to the competition of foreigners, which, in cereal productions at least, it is unable to withstand, so it never can become successful till the interest of the commercial classes and the consumers has become more powerful than that of the agricultural and producing. But when the victory is gained, and foreign competition fully admitted, national decline ere long is inevitable. It is so because foreign industry, generally speaking, has the advantage in the fields over domestic in such circumstances; because population is driven into unhealthy towns, where it can find branches of industry that can compete with foreigners, instead of healthy fields, where it can not; because emigration, from the discouragement of rural industry, becomes so great as first to check the growth, and then cause the decline of inhabitants; and because the preservation of national independence in the long-run becomes impossible when a considerable portion of the national subsistence is derived from foreign States. Great Britain, before free trade had been established ten years, had come to import from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 quarters annually, being nearly a half of the national consumption, by human beings, of cereal products; while above two millions of its laborers, chiefly agricultural, had emigrated to foreign lands.*

* "According," say the Commissioners, "to the very interesting returns received from the Emigration Commissioners, it would appear that from the 30th of June, 1841, to the 31st of March, 1851, 1,240,375 persons, and from the 1st April, 1851, to the 31st December, 1855, 847,119 persons, amounting in all to 2,087,856, who were born in Ireland, are estimated to have emigrated from the ports of the United Kingdom in the time specified, or 14½ years. Of these emigrants 76·7 per cent. were bound for the United States, 19·7 for British North America, and 3·6 for the Australian colonies. Between the 1st of April, 1851, and the 31st of December, 1855, the emigration of the Irish to the Australian colonies was 6·5 per cent. of the

More than half of this immense supply comes from America and Russia, and by their uniting together, and passing a non-intercourse Act, which was an event imminent in 1856, before the Treaty of Paris, subsistence might any day be run up to famine prices in the British Islands. The consciousness of this is what renders the Government timid, and has so often led to the acquiescence in insults which would have been mortally resented in former days.

Although it is by superior cheapness of production in poor States that the decline of agriculture is produced in rich ones, under the free-trade system, it is not to be supposed that this advantage is to be *permanently* enjoyed by the nation which has adopted this policy. On the contrary, famine prices never are so frequent or disastrous as in the country which has most implicitly embraced that policy. At first, indeed, the free introduction of foreign grain occasions a prodigious fall of prices, and consequently great ease and prosperity to the consuming classes. But this auspicious state of things can not be of long duration. Low prices must ere long discourage production; corn-lands come to be thrown into pasture, or abandoned to nature; and in time the home supply is so much reduced that the whole import from abroad makes no material addition to the stock of annual subsistence.* This, accordingly, is what took place during the first years after free trade was introduced into England; prices of wheat fell to 30s. and 41s.; and the supply of wheat raised in the British Islands declined about 4,000,000 quarters, being the whole amount, in average years, of the foreign importation of that article.† But as a foreign

total number of emigrants, the emigration to the United States was 81·4 per cent., and that to British North America had fallen to 12 per cent." Emigration from Irish ports is still gradually diminishing. From 190,322 in 1852, it has dwindled to 91,914 in 1855, and will probably become less.—*Emigration Commissioners' Report*, 1856.

* In Ireland the decrease in the production of wheaten crops since 1846 has been ascertained by authentic evidence. From the Government surveys it appears that since that time, while the potato and turnip crops have increased, the wheaten crops have declined thus:

Years.	Wheat.	Potatoes.	Turnips.	Mangel-Wurzel.
	Barrels, 30 st.	Barrels, 30 st.	Tons.	Tons.
1849	3,641,198	82,112,679	5,805,848	346,595
1850	2,604,164	81,537,017	5,439,005	364,036
1851	2,508,963	35,528,175	6,081,326	466,235
1852	1,938,941	84,044,831	5,675,847	557,189
1853	1,904,302	45,982,301	6,562,471	568,963

Proving clearly that the fall in the production of wheat was owing to its low price; for there was a *simultaneous* rise in the production of potatoes for human subsistence, and green crops for cattle. In 1848 the decrease of cereal crops, as compared with 1847, was 673,488 tons. Increase of potatoes, as compared with 1847, 725,521 tons.—*Agricultural Returns, Ireland*, 1848, p. v., Introduction; *Ibid.*, 1855, p. xv.

† WHEAT SOLD IN 160 INSPECTED MARKETS IN ENGLAND.

Years.	Quarters.	Price.	Years.	Quarters.	Price.
1845	6,666,246	50s. 10d.	1850	4,688,246	40s. 3d.
1846	5,958,962	54s. 8d.	1851	4,487,041	38s. 6d.
1847	4,637,616	69s. 9d.	1852	4,851,513	40s. 9d.
1848	5,399,833	50s. 6d.	1853	4,560,919	53s. 3d.
1849	4,453,962	44s. 8d.	1854	3,913,257	74s. 8d.

—*Stat. Abet.*, 1842-'56, p. 30, 81.

It appears, from Captain Larcom's reports, that between 1846 and 1852 the production of wheat in Ireland had fallen off 1,500,000 quarters, and the export of that grain to England had declined in a similar proportion. Supposing the decrease in Scotland to have been 500,000

supply of food is much more precarious than that derived from home agriculture, it is to be expected that when a nation comes to depend for a considerable part of its food upon the former source, the variations of price will proportionally become excessive, and the alternation of ruinously low and famine prices most severely distress the whole community. It was not in the days of the Republic, when "every rood had its man," and Italy was an exporting country, that the Roman poet deplored the famine which brought the State to the verge of ruin, but in the days of the Empire, when free trade in grain had been established for two centuries—when Italy was a sheep-walk, and the imperial people were fed by the harvests of Egypt and Libya.*

Although, however, it may be evident that free trade must be attended with those weakening, and, in the end, fatal results, yet it is not to be supposed that they are all to be ascribed as a reproach to Sir R. Peel, or that he is to be charged with having occasioned the ruin of his country, because he was the ostensible author of a system to which future times will perhaps impute it. The truth rather is, that he was the creature of circumstances throughout, and compelled by the loud national voice to adopt the policy, and that his sagacity led him to perceive that power, however acquired, was to be retained on no other terms. The nation had reached that point which always arrives with a rich State in a certain stage of its progress, when the influence and power of realized wealth and consumption have become superior to those of industry and production, and when, consequently, the desire to aid both by cheapening every thing becomes the ruling principle in the State. As the adoption of this principle is the indication of the penult state of national progress—and it can only be desired in the last stage of national wealth—so it is unquestionably the first step in national de-

quarters, which is probable, as it increased by 700,000 quarters with the rise of prices between 1852 and 1856, we have the production of wheat in the United Kingdom lessened by 4,000,000 quarters in eight years, being very nearly the amount of the annual importation.—See *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1858, p. 293, and HALL MAXWELL'S *Report of Scotland*, 1854. The acres under wheat in Scotland in 1855 were 191,000, and in 1856, 261,000, showing an increase of 70,000 acres, on which probably 280,000 quarters were raised in a single year under high prices. Beyond all doubt, the decline under the previous low prices was at least as great. In 1849, Mr. McCulloch estimated the production of wheat in Scotland at 1,225,000 quarters; in 1855 it was found by the returns to be only 650,000, showing a falling off of 675,000 quarters.—TOOKER and NEWMARSH, v. 107.

* The classical scholar will recollect the noble lines of Claudian:

"Advenio supplex, non ut procuicet Araxem
Consul ovans, nostræve premant pharetrata secures
Basa, nec ut rubris aquilas figamus arenia.
Hæc nobis, hæc ante dabas: nunc pabula tantum
Roma precor; miserere tunc, pater optime, gentia.
Extremam defende famem. Satiavimus iram,
Si qua fuit: lugenda Getis, et fienda Suevis
Hansimus: ipsa meos exhorret Parthia casus.
Quid referam morbove luem, cumulosve repletos
Stragibus, et crebras corrupto sidere mortes?"

Ille dia miles populus, qui præfuit orbi,
Qui trabas et sceptrâ dabat, quem semper in armis
Horribilem gentes, placidum sensere subactæ.
Nunc inhonorus, opes, perfert miserabile pactis
Supplicium, nulloque palam circumdatus hoste
Obsessâ discrimen habet."

CLAUDIAN, *De Bello Gildonicæ*.

cline. This will appear first in the agricultural districts and the rural population, who, deprived of the chief market for their produce by foreign importation from cheaper States, will flock to cities in quest of subsistence, or emigrate to foreign lands, leaving their own in great part to be traversed by flocks of sheep or herds of cattle, or to return to the domain of the heath-fowl and the plover. To the very last hour of national existence the great cities will continue to prosper, and commerce will exhibit a flattering aspect, but it will be carried on between the manufacturer of the old and rich and the grain-grower of the new and foreign State; the rural inhabitants of the former will experience little or no benefit from it.

Thus population, impelled from the cradles to the graves of mortality, is first retarded, and then arrested, in its progress; the military strength of the nation is lessened by the failure of recruits from the rural districts, from which they must always be principally derived; timidity is impressed upon its rulers from the dread of impending danger; and the foreign-fed nation, trembling for its subsistence, comes at last to submit to any insult rather than face hostilities with its distant bread-maker, or the producer of the chief part of the raw material required for its manufactures. How exactly this state of things was exemplified in the last ages of the Roman empire need be told to no scholar; how early it has commenced with the introduction of the free-trade system into Great Britain, may be judged of from the facts that before it had been ten years in operation the imports of foreign grain had come from almost nothing in ordinary seasons to be from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 quarters annually, being from a third to a half of the national subsistence; that the production of cereal crops to nearly the same amount had declined in the British Islands; and that while the imports and exports of the produce of towns had signally increased, emigration* had become permanent at the rate of above 260,000 souls a year:† nearly

* ANNUAL EMIGRATION, AND PAUPERS, EXCLUDING VAGRANTS, RELIEVED IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FROM 1846 TO 1856.

Years.	Emigrants.	PAUPERS RELIEVED.		
		England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1846	129,851	....	....	....
1847	258,270	....	....	....
1848	248,087	934,489	82,857	620,747
1849	299,498	920,543	79,081	807,970
1850	280,349	860,893	76,006	209,187
1851	335,966	834,424	75,111	171,418
1852	368,764	798,822	75,437	141,822
1853	329,937	818,337	75,929	106,802
1854	328,429	851,869	79,887	66,819
1855	176,807	877,767	73,973	73,083
1856	176,554	843,806	81,542	56,094
Totals...	2,938,014	7,740,360	709,183	1,773,943
Average.	266,183½	860,042½	78,798½	197,104½

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1842, 1856, p. 35.

† EMIGRATION IN THE TEN PRECEDING YEARS—(1836-1845).

Years.	Emigrants.	Years.	Emigrants.
1836.....	75,417	Brought forward	451,977
1837.....	72,024	1842.....	128,344
1838.....	83,292	1843.....	57,219
1839.....	62,917	1844.....	70,636
1840.....	90,748	1845.....	93,501
1841.....	118,344		801,780
Carry forward.	451,977	Average....	80,178

—PORTER, 128.

8,000,000 persons, chiefly in the prime of life, had left our shores in the last ten years, being more than triple those who had emigrated in the preceding ten; and the persons in receipt of parochial relief in the two islands had never been less than 1,000,000 annually, sometimes above 1,500,000.

It is generally expected by the free-trade party that these distressing consequences will be temporary only, and that they will cease with the adoption of a similar liberal commercial policy by other nations. A little consideration, however, must show that these expectations are not, for a very long period at least, likely to be realized. As free trade is the cry of old and wealthy States, so, and for a similar reason, protection is the cry of young and poor ones. Both are actuated by the interests of the dominant classes in these respective and opposite states of society. The consumers being the ruling class in the old State, free trade is inscribed on its banners; the producers being the dominant one in the rising one, protection is its war-cry. To expect that they will adopt our policy is as hopeless as for them to expect that we will adopt theirs. Accordingly, while old and wealthy Britain has permanently embraced the free-trade policy, Russia has met it by duties amounting almost to prohibition;* America with a fixed import duty on every article of 80 per cent.; France with duties also amounting to prohibition; and Prussia with duties varying practically from 80 to 50 per cent.

It is no wonder they do so; if they acted otherwise, their rising manufactures would at once be extinguished by result, on the British steam-engine. They their part, of will take our gold to any amount, necessity. but little else. Accordingly, our exports to the countries from which we most largely import grain are surprisingly small—a clear proof that free trade has had nothing to do with the increase of our exports, which has undoubtedly taken place since its adoption.† They say to us, in substance, “It is all very well for you who have climbed up to the summit of manufacturing greatness, by means of your coal and protection, to give it up when you are too high to have any reason, in manufactures, to dread foreign competition; and you have need of foreign grain to keep down the price of your own. When we enjoy similar advantages, or have attained as great eminence, we shall do the same. In the mean time, you must allow us to adopt the same policy by which your industry was sheltered for two centuries; and when it has

* See *Customs Tariffs of all Nations*, by C. N. NEWDEGATE, Esq., M.P., London, 1855; a work of vast labor, research, and accuracy, of the highest political and social importance, and every way worthy of its able and accomplished author.

† EXPORTS TO, AND IMPORTS FROM, THE UNDERMENTIONED STATES FROM 1851 TO 1854.

Years.	Exports to United States.	Imports from United States.	Exports to Russia.	Imports from Russia.	Exports to France.	Imports from France.	Exports to Prussia.	Imports from Prussia.
1851.....	£14,862,976	£23,616,435	£1,287,704	£5,199,486	£2,018,468	£8,133,112	£518,531	£2,817,856
1852.....	16,567,737	29,183,079	1,091,917	6,403,068	2,781,286	6,500,844	581,884	1,972,332
1853.....	23,257,497	27,458,722	1,228,404	9,090,841	1,871,817	8,615,799	579,568	3,668,561
1854.....	31,127,631	30,060,618	154,991	2,184,028†	1,406,932	7,411,356	728,484	4,274,173

† War.

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1842–1856; and *Trade and Navigation Reports*, 1855, p. 7, 9.

produced similar results to us, we may make a similar change.”

If we would correctly estimate the effect of Sir R. Peel's commercial policy upon our foreign trade, we must examine 165. The effects of its effects from its introduction in free trade 1846 to 1852, because then it was must be the sole change in operation. In judged of before 1852 the latter year the gold-fields of California and Australia came into operation, which have in the next four years thrown £100,000,000 of additional gold into the circulation of the world, the greater part of which has, either directly or indirectly, found its way to this country. The effect of this immense addition to the currency of the world, to the industry of all nations, and in an especial manner of the British Islands, has been prodigious. It has raised our exports from £58,000,000 in 1851 to £97,000,000 in 1854, £95,000,000 in 1855, and £115,000,000 in 1856;* and augmented our imports from £157,000,000 in the former year to £172,000,000 in the latter. Between 1846 and 1852 the increase of exports, when free trade alone was operating, was very small, although the imports, chiefly in grain, had greatly increased. That the great increase which has since taken place is the result of the general impulse given to industry by the rise of prices consequent on the gold discoveries, and is scarcely at all to be ascribed to British free trade, is decisively proved by the facts that it *did not take place to any great extent till the gold discoveries came into operation*, and that since that time it has been universal over the world, and not peculiar to the British Islands. And in truth the increase since the change in the value of money, which has been to the extent of nearly 30 per cent., has rendered this increase in the declared value of commodities rather apparent than real; for the price put upon exported articles has increased also, if not in a similar, at least in a very great proportion.†

* EXPORTS TO, AND IMPORTS FROM, THE BRITISH ISLANDS FROM 1853 TO 1856.

Years.	Imports—Computed Value.	Exports—Declared Value.	Balance, without Colonial Exports.
1853	£124,888,478	£98,988,781	£25,899,697
1854	152,591,518	97,184,725	£55,406,793
1855	143,542,851	95,688,085	47,854,766
1856	172,654,828	115,890,857	56,763,971

—*Parliamentary Returns*, 1856; and *Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1852–1856, p. 12.

† COMPARATIVE INCREASE OF FRENCH AND BRITISH EXPORTS.

Years.	Exports from France.	Exports from Great Britain.
	Francs.	£
1855.....	1,660,000,000	95,669,000
1845.....	848,000,000	60,111,000
Increase.....	812,000,000	35,558,000

Here France has increased her exports under protection upward of 95 per cent., while Great Britain has only increased hers by 58 per cent. under free trade.

However much opinions may vary on many of the conclusions now deduced from the facts of contemporary history, there is one point upon which all must be agreed, and which is of vital importance to the future independence—it may be, even existence—of the British Empire. This is the *absolute necessity* under which we are now laid of *maintaining at all hazards our superiority at sea*, if we would avoid blockades of our harbors, and total ruin the moment hostilities of a serious kind break out with any two great naval powers. Having brought matters to this point, that though 260,000 emigrants annually leave our shores, still one-third of the food of our people is derived from foreign States, and more than a third of our inhabitants are, directly or indirectly, dependent on the sale of their manufactures in foreign markets for their daily wages, it is evident that the moment our harbors are blockaded we must surrender at discretion—just as a fortress must when its supply of provisions is exhausted.

In vain shall we rest on the magnitude of our commercial navy, and the resources which, in a protracted war, we would thence derive for maritime conquest. Unless a powerful war-navy is kept up, and we are able to maintain the undisputed command of the sea from the outset, we might be starved out in three months.* If Russia and France, or France and America, had gone to war with us in 1854, how long could we have carried on the contest, when the grain imported in 1856 alone was 10,000,000 quarters? Nor let us trust too securely to our commercial navy; for, under the action of free trade in shipping, partially introduced in 1823, and fully in 1849, while the British tonnage employed in carrying on our trade has doubled in the last fifteen years, the foreign has considerably more than tripled; and for the first time in British annals the alarming announcement has appeared in our prints that the tonnage of the shipping built in the harbors of one only of our commercial rivals considerably exceeds our own.†

COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF FRANCE, AMERICA, AND GREAT BRITAIN.

—PORTER, 807, 400, 405; NEWMARSH, v. 653; *Port. Stat., Trade and Navigation*, 1856.

QUANTITIES OF WHEAT IMPORTED TO MICHAELMAS OF EACH YEAR FROM 1851 TO 1856.

Year.	Quarters.	Value.	Price per Quarter.
1851	6,078,555	£11,909,064	86s. 6d.
1852	3,600,521	7,171,087	40s. 9d.
1853	5,097,687	13,847,667	53s. 8d.
1854	5,586,218	90,138,560	72s. 6d.
1855	8,808,871	10,411,763	74s. 8d.
1856	4,237,616	15,868,445	63s. 2d.

—*Statistical Abstract*, No. IV., 1849-'56, p. 80.

† Already the tonnage owned by the United States exceeds three millions; and so actively is ship-building carried on there, that in the year ending 30th June, 1854, there were launched 1703 ships, measuring 469,398 tons; while in 1855 there were built in the United Kingdom 1099 vessels, of the burden of 829,398 tons. The relative position of the two countries in the competition for the trade of the world, which is now going on, is of a nature to excite grave reflections, though our existing tonnage still slightly exceeds that of the United States.—*Morning Post*, May 27, 1857.

* BRITISH AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, WITH CARGONS AND IN BALLAST, CLEARED AT PORTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, OUT AND IN.

Year.	British Tonnage.	Foreign Tonnage.	Total Tonnage.
1842	6,669,996	2,457,479	9,127,476
1843	7,181,179	2,648,363	9,829,542
1844	7,500,295	2,642,484	10,142,779
Navigation Laws repealed July, 1849.			
1849	9,669,638	4,384,750	14,054,388
1850	9,442,544	5,602,590	15,045,134
1851	9,820,376	6,150,322	15,970,698
War declared April, 1854.			
1854	10,744,949	7,994,268	18,739,217
1855	10,919,739	7,589,726	18,509,465
1856	12,945,771	6,642,378	19,588,149

—*Stat. Abstract*, No. IV., 1849-1856, p. 27.

Increase in Fifteen Years.

British tonnage	200 per cent.
Foreign tonnage	250 " "

CHAPTER XLIV.

FRANCE FROM THE TREATY OF FEBRUARY 12, 1841, TO THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS IN JULY, 1843.

VICTORIOUS over all his internal enemies by the suppression of every insurrection which had been attempted to overturn his government, and extricated by the wisdom of M. Guizot and the recent pacification of the East, from the external dangers which had latterly been so threatening, Louis Philippe seemed in the beginning of 1841 to have overcome all his difficulties, and to be firmly seated on the throne. The bourgeoisie which had placed him on it had maintained him there through every peril, with a perseverance which nothing had been able to overcome. The populace and *prolétaires*, by whose physical aid the victory had been originally gained, had seen, indeed, with indignation, its fruits snatched from their grasp, and the advantages and honors of office engrossed by a limited class who had contrived to concentrate in themselves the whole gains and powers of government. Unbounded had been the wrath and jealousy which this disappointment had occasioned, and it had exhaled in repeated insurrections, each more formidable than that which had overturned Charles X., accompanied by extreme temporary suffering, and violent effusion of blood. But all these efforts had been defeated: the cloister of St. Méri, the Rue Transno-nain, the streets of Lyons, had successively witnessed their overthrow; and the successful termination of the recent *procès monstre* had extinguished at one blow many of the most determined and formidable of his enemies; the troops of the line had on every occasion stood firm, and seemed desirous of expiating their treachery to one government by their fidelity to another; the National Guards, generally speaking, if not active supporters, were at least passive adherents to the cause of order; the press, how hostile soever, was for the time well-nigh worn out by repeated prosecutions; and a bourgeois Chamber of Deputies, elected by a limited class of society, by large majorities supported a Government which showered down all its benefits upon themselves. Finally, the King, blessed with a numerous family, saw his throne surrounded by some who might be expected to prove its firmest support in the hour of trial, and had already signalized themselves by sea and land on many occasions; the heir to the throne, himself in the highest degree popular, had been recently married, and the Duchess of Orleans gave hopes of perpetuating in a direct line the descendants of Henry IV. and Louis XIV. Without and within, every thing seemed to smile on the Throne of the Barricades; and not only had it acquired consideration in Europe, from the success with which it had repelled so many assaults, but by the mere lapse of time the revolutionary character of its origin was coming to be forgotten, and it was beginning to acquire the

firmness and respect which always attends power long established and successfully asserted in the hour of danger.

The material prosperity of this period, and of the years which succeeded it, down to nearly the hour of the Revolution of 1848, fully corresponded to these favorable appearances; and if the title of a Government to loyal obedience is to be measured by the amount of physical well-being which it diffuses among its subjects, there never was one in French history more deserving of support. The pacific policy of the Sovereign, cordially supported by the Chamber, whose interest was identified with it, was the main cause of this auspicious state of things. Assured of peace without, and triumphant over insurrection within, the Government was able to turn its attention mainly to objects of internal improvement, and the enterprise and industry of individuals was presented with a favorable field for exertion during the whole remainder of his reign. Immense was the effect of this fortunate combination upon the population, wealth, and prosperity of the country. France shared to the very full in the flood of prosperity which, during the years from 1843 to 1847, invigorated England, and which realized itself in the immense net-work of railways which now overspreads the British Islands. The Government took the lead, as will immediately appear, in these beneficent enterprises on the other side of the Channel, and either was the sole promoter of many of the railways, or the chief shareholder in the lateral lines which were to support the main trunks. The sum expended on railways, either by the Government or private companies, between 1841 and 1847, amounted to no less than £86,000,000, a sum equivalent to at least a third more in Great Britain. The effect of this great expenditure, and of the general confidence in the stability of government which was diffused, was immense. The population of the empire, during the five years from 1841 to 1846, was found, by the census taken at the close of the latter year, to have increased 1,200,000; it had advanced from 32,994,000 to 34,194,000. The produce of the national industry and means of enjoyment, as measured by the amount of exports and imports, was swelled during the same period in a still greater proportion; the former, between 1841 and 1847, increased from £40,000,000 to £47,000,000, the latter from £42,000,000 to £51,000,000. The cities all exhibited unequivocal marks of growing prosperity; the capital teemed with luxury and magnificence, and the general well-being reacted upon the Government in the most agreeable way, in the shape of a considerable increase of revenue, without any addition to the public burdens. In a word, judging from external ap-

pearances, the Throne of the Barricades was firmly established, not only in the general consent of the most influential classes of the community, but from the substantial benefits it had conferred upon those on whose industry and exertions it was mainly dependent.*

This fortunate state of things not only diffused general ease and well-being through a large portion of the community, but it rendered government incomparably easier by giving a tried and less dangerous direction to the general objects of desire in all the more affluent classes of the community. Dazzled by the general appearances of prosperity with which they were surrounded, and by the rapid rise in the value of stock of nearly every description which resulted from it, nearly all those who were possessed of any capital, and not a few who were without it, adventured upon the tempting lottery of shares. Such was the success with which these speculations were at first attended, that great fortunes were in several instances realized in a few days; and numbers, without trouble or apparent risk, acquired an independence for life in a few months. As in the days of Law and the Mississippi scheme, and more recently in the mania of 1835 and 1836, an insatiable passion for speculation seized upon the nation. Cabinet ministers and ladies of fashion, aged generals and youthful aspirants, shopkeepers and soldiers, merchants and manufacturers—the high and the low, the rich and the poor—all rushed forward to the course, and forgot all their former objects of ambition in the intense thirst for present gratification, or the belief of an immediate acquisition of fortune. That a whole nation could not in this manner rush headlong, and almost blindfolded, into one exciting chase, without the most imminent hazard, was indeed certain; but these risks were entirely overlooked in the intensity of the passions awakened by it; and every one, regardless of the future, sought only to convert the present into a source of pleasure or profit to himself.¹

But there are two ways of viewing every question, and different classes of the State to be affected by every change, whether for the better or worse, in the condition of society. As much as the rise in railway shares, and the general prosperity of trade and manufactures, spread wealth and contentment through a large portion of the bourgeois section of the people, did they excite feelings of discontent and envy among a still more numerous class to whom these advantages were unknown. The immense mass of the working classes in the

great towns were unable to do more than maintain themselves and their families, legitimate or illegitimate, by the produce of their labor. The peasants in the country, still more numerous, were possessed of such small properties, and these for the most part so heavily burdened with debt, that, so far from having any thing to spare for speculation, they had the utmost difficulty in providing subsistence in the humblest way for themselves. Such was the weight of the interest of mortgages and public taxes in France, that out of £63,000,000, the annual free produce of the soil, no less than £45,000,000 was absorbed by them, leaving only £18,000,000 to be divided among all the owners. In such a state of society the affluence and growing riches of the bourgeois class, derived chiefly from the expenditure of foreigners or speculations in railway shares, were a grievance the more, and tended to widen the breach which separated the different classes from each other; for in their much-envied rulers—the shop-keepers and richer proprietors—they beheld the class which had reft from them the spoils of a revolution, and fearfully augmented the public burdens, and which was now reveling in affluence and the enjoyments of luxury, while they themselves were pining in the penury of humble life.*

Add to this, that flourishing as was the state of the Exchequer, so far as the income was concerned, it was by no means in an equally satisfactory state when the balance of receipts and expenditure was taken into consideration. On the contrary, the floating debt and annual deficit, which had gone on constantly increasing ever since 1836, and which all the artifices of supplemental credits and budgets had not been able entirely to conceal, had now swelled to such an amount that they had become a source of serious embarrassment to the Government. The cost of the military preparations of M. Thiers, in contemplation of the war in 1840, and on the fortifications of Paris, had also been immense. This floating

* The official statistics of France in 1841 exhibit the following extraordinary state of the landed interest of the country:

	France.	£
Territorial revenue in all...	1,580,579,000,	or 63,020,000
Taxes paid by land	562,094,684,	or 22,900,000
Interest of mortgages and hypothèques	561,538,288,	or 22,900,000
	456,964,732,	or 18,720,000

—Stat. de la France, vol. vii. p. 91; and REGNAULT, *Histoire de Huit Ans de Louis Philippe*, vol. II. p. 276. The separate landed properties in France at this period were 10,860,000, but it was calculated that they belonged to only 6,000,000 separate proprietors. Supposing this to be the case, and allowing 3½ to each family, we have 21,000,000 human beings among whom this £18,720,000 was divided, or less than 20s. a head to each.

* POPULATION, EXPORTS, IMPORTS, REVENUE, AND SHIPPING OF FRANCE, FROM 1841 TO 1847—CONVERTED AT 25 FRANCS TO £1.

Years.	Population.	Exports.	Imports.	Revenue.	Shipping—French Tons.	Total Shipping—French and foreign Tons.
1840.....		£40,486,901	£42,091,440	£40,164,281	658,378	2,481,262
1841.....	32,994,800	42,614,304	44,856,969	48,497,000	693,449	1,980,837
1842.....		87,610,066	45,681,828	48,467,821	669,604	2,096,131
1843.....		39,678,488	47,476,366	51,142,381	690,416	2,120,965
1844.....		45,871,526	47,717,685	52,827,923	751,702	2,173,147
1845.....		47,497,548	49,695,649	54,463,821	828,753	2,329,281
1846.....	34,194,000	47,213,276	50,250,680	48,794,821	962,428	2,696,021
1847.....		41,972,000	51,612,000	54,293,783	968,506	2,923,987

—PORTER, p. 400, 401.

debt in 1833 amounted to 255,000,000 francs (£10,000,000), and more. It now amounted, in 1841, to 1,000,000,000 francs, or £40,000,000, of which no less than 175,000,000 francs, or £7,000,000, had been incurred since the formation of the administration of M. Thiers, on 1st March, 1840. This deficit was brought to a perfect climax by a loan of 531,000,000 francs (£21,400,000), contracted in 1841, to be expended on railways in 1841 and 1842. In a word, the finances of the country were in the most alarming situation; and it was evident to all that Government, pressed by the dread of insurrection among the working classes, was resolved at all hazards to keep them for the time in full employment, and for this purpose to encroach to any extent, by anticipation, on the credit or resources of future years.¹

The existence and spread of those feelings of discontent among the working classes was the more dangerous that they had no *legitimate mode of expression*. Government deemed society safe, and the danger over, because the voice of treason or ultra-republicanism was not heard in the Chamber, and insurrection no longer stalked abroad in the metropolis. So far, however, was this from being the case, that the danger was only the greater and more serious from no sound expressive of it being heard in the Legislature, and no visible symptom of it appearing in the streets. As in England, during the twelve years which intervened between the contraction of the currency and the Reform Bill, discontent was daily increasing among the people, because the expression of it could not find vent through their representatives. The cry was not against the Sovereign, but the Chamber; it was not the dethronement of the monarch, but the *Reform of the Representation*, which was demanded; and this, of course, was not expected from the Legislature itself, till absolutely constrained to it by external pressure. Thus, while the schism between the Government and the people was daily becoming greater, neither the debates in the Chamber nor the disorders in the streets gave any symptoms of its approach; and the future of France at this period is to be looked for neither in the proceedings of Parliament nor the sentences of the courts of justice, but in the speeches at the Reform Banquets.²

Nothing, accordingly, presents so remarkable a contrast as the debates in the Chambers and the ideas fermenting in the great mass of the people, between 1841 and 1847. If you read the speeches in the Chamber, the objects in dispute appear, for the most part, of the most trivial and insignificant description. They were not so much about things as words. Verbal amendments to addresses or to ministerial bills, which, without involving any real difference of opinion, might afford a touch-stone to the parties measuring their strength in the struggle for possession of the ministerial portfolios, were the great objects of contention. Upon them the rival orators, candidates for power, exhausted all their eloquence; and frequently, in support of their respective sides, they appealed to abstract princi-

ples, and gave expression to warm and eloquent declamation. But excepting on the few occasions when important questions of *foreign policy* were brought forward for discussion, the vote was almost always taken on a verbal amendment, involving no material political principle. On all questions of social or internal interest the Chamber appeared to be substantially unanimous. Protection to native industry, diminution of public expenditure, enlarged provision for popular education, resistance to any further extension of the suffrage, or increase of ecclesiastical influence, were inscribed alike on the banners of the Liberal and the Conservative parties. The only real question between them was, whether M. Guizot or M. Thiers was to have the disposal of the 130,000 offices in the gift of the Executive, and on which side were the 166 placemen in the Chamber of Deputies to sit. And this was to be determined, not by divisions on any great social or political questions, but by such a skillful framing of the royal speech, or the amendment, as might succeed in detaching ten votes from the Right or the Left centre, either of which was sufficient to determine the fate of an administration, and with it the disposal of all offices and emoluments.³

While these were the objects of parliamentary division, and the prizes of parliamentary contest, very different subjects of thought were beginning to agitate the public mind in the immense mass of the working classes. Despairing of making their voice heard in a bourgeois-elected Legislature, the workmen took their case into their own hands, and encouraged each other in those socialist and communist doctrines which are always agreeable to the sons of labor, and which they hoped, on the first favorable opportunity, to assert by force of arms in the streets. Experience had taught them where their real enemy was to be found; it was no longer on the throne, but in the Legislature. A Chamber of Deputies elected by 150,000 of the richest proprietors in France was actuated only by one interest, and could be expected to support only one set of measures. Most of all, being almost entirely the representative of manufacturing and commercial wealth, it was seen on all occasions to show a determined front against any measures calculated, directly or indirectly, to diminish the share in the profits of labor enjoyed by the masters, and augment that falling to the workmen. Thus the composition and character of the Legislature insured alike, and at the same time, the spread of socialist principles among the working classes, and of devotion to the interests of capital in the Legislature; and a revolution, based on the principle of *Liberté, Égalité, et Fraternité*, was, sooner or later, rendered inevitable from the moment when the bourgeois class became intrenched in the Legislature by the convulsion which overthrew the legitimist monarchy.

This deplorable divergence of the objects of parliamentary contention from those of public and general interest was mainly owing to this, that the different classes of society were not represented in the Legislature. As, with a few trifling exceptions, the immense majority

¹ Regnault, l. 125, 128; Ann. Hist. 1841, 237, 243.

² De Carné, ii. 280, 321, 288.

³ De Carné, ii. 288, 243.

7. Trifling subjects in debate in the Chamber, and serious objects of Thiers.

9. Cause to which this divergence was owing.

of the voters was composed of those who paid direct taxes of two hundred francs and upward yearly, *that class alone was represented*. It was a most important portion of society, but it was not the whole, and it was the less entitled to the entire direction of the State, that its interests were in many respects at variance with those of the other classes. The aristocracy and greater proprietors were almost entirely unrepresented; not a dozen members out of 460 belonged to that class. The aristocracy, profoundly alienated by the Revolution of 1830, and usurpation of Louis Philippe, most unwisely retired altogether from the arena of parliamentary conflict, and awaited, in the solitude of the few chateaus which still remained to them, or in the haughty and exclusive circles of the Faubourg St. Germain, the return they expected, by the general concurrence of the nation, to legitimate government. The clergy were alike unrepresented; a few adherents of the Church were grouped round the standard of M. DE MONTALEMBERT, who already had given token of those talents which have since rendered him so eminent; but their number was too small to give them any real weight in the Assembly. The ecclesiastics, as a body, aware of the unpopularity of the Jesuits, which had early been evinced both under the Restoration and the present régime, kept aloof, and, without seeking to withstand the Government, simply awaited, like the nobles, the arrival of better times, when the Church might again cause its voice to be heard. Above all, the working classes were utterly and entirely unrepresented, and this was the more unfortunate that their interests were often directly at variance with those of their masters, in whom the last Revolution had vested the supreme direction of affairs. All this was the direct consequence of that Revolution having been effected by the *bourgeoisie*, and, of course, worked out exclusively to their profit, and of the national representation having been fixed in 1814 on that principle of uniform representation which, apparently the most just, is in reality the most unjust of foundations, and inevitably ends in vesting the entire government of the State in a single class of society, and that the lowest portion of the enfranchised class.

The Chamber of Peers, as then constituted, afforded no counterpoise whatever to the fatal preponderance of the bourgeois class in the Legislature. Deprived for the most part, by the confiscations of the Revolution, of their hereditary estates, it was impossible that they could, under the most favorable circumstances, have possessed any thing like the influence or consideration which the English House of Peers possessed, in which the greater part of the landed property in the kingdom was still vested. But the sway which they had possessed, in a certain degree, from the weight of historic names, had been seriously weakened by the fatal measure, the great triumph of the Revolution of the Barricades, which deprived them of their hereditary seats in the Legislature. The moment this was done they became a mere set of titled favorites of court, or partisans of ministers; and any little respect which might have still clung to them was entirely destroyed by the large creations of peers which signalized the

advent to power of every successive administration. From that time the Upper Chamber was to all practical purposes, and as an independent branch of the Legislature, powerless, and the entire direction of Government was vested in the bourgeois-elected Chamber of Deputies. It would have been incomparably better, when their hereditary character came to an end, to have transformed them, as in America, into an elective Upper House, chosen by a different and more elevated class of voters than the Lower. Representing the dignitaries of the Gallican Church, and the royalist proprietors in La Vendée, Brittany, and the south, they might still have enjoyed some consideration, and in some cases even acted as a check upon the other branches of the Government. Chosen by the Sovereign, and augmented by large additions of party men as the rival administrations came to power, they possessed no weight whatever in the community, and served no other purpose but that of the Roman Senate in the days of Byzantine servitude, to register the obnoxious decrees of the Sovereign.

Founded on such an exclusive basis, the representative system, so far from being a blessing, must prove a positive curse; ^{11.} Extreme instead of lessening, it materially aggravates the dangers which threaten this state of things. It induces a false feeling of security on the part of Government when it is slumbering on the surface of a volcano; it speaks peace to the rulers of men when there is no peace. Representatives of all classes are not only the constitutional organs by which they make their wants known, and their demands attended to by the Government, but they are the *safety-valves which let off their ill humors*. Reposing in fancied security on the idea of a national representation, M. Guizot forgot it was only the representation of a single class in the State, and that the discontents of the other classes were just in proportion to the unanimity of opinion on all important questions which it exhibited. The dreams of the Socialists were unheard in the Chamber; the mighty voice of the Gallican Church no longer resounded in the State; but these interests, though silent, were not extinct, and the working classes embraced them the more readily, and clung to them with the more fervent devotion, that they formed their last refuge against the tyranny with which they were threatened by the Government and the bourgeois class upon which it rested in the Legislature.

Another error had been committed by this bourgeois Legislature in the direction ^{12.} they had given to the influence to Great mistake committed in the national education. It is a mistake to suppose that the Chambers during the reign of Louis Philippe did nothing for general education. On the contrary, they had done a great deal, and established a system which, when it comes into full operation, will go far to take away the reproach of ignorance which has so long attached to a large part especially of the rural population in France. By means of public taxes they had assigned very considerable revenues to the purposes of education, and constructed for its cultivation a very extensive system. By the law of

28th June, 1833, three *centimes* on each franc of valued rent were levied in each commune, and a *centime* and a half in each department, besides large grants in addition from the public treasury; and these sums were devoted specially to the support of education. With the ample funds thus provided they constructed 35,000 primary schools, endowed an equal number of schoolmasters, and established 76 normal schools, to instruct them in their important duties. So far they did well, and made a mighty step in the progress of civilization, which entitled them to the lasting thanks of all the friends of mankind.*

Had this great establishment been connected with any system of religious belief, it would have satisfied the wants of the human mind, and proved a lasting blessing to society. But, unfortunately, the prevailing object of terror, especially with the bourgeois class at the time when that system was established, and, indeed, during the whole reign of Louis Philippe, neutralized all these blessings, and caused them, in the first instance at least, to turn into curses. The Jesuits had been the general objects of apprehension during the reign of Charles X.; and the friends of freedom were in an especial manner jealous of the undisguised efforts they were making to get entire possession of the education of the rising generation. This dread was the more general and intense among the bourgeois class, that education thus directed would tend obviously to increase the influence of the priests instead of augmenting their own, by giving them powerful supporters in the humbler ranks of society. Influenced by this feeling, the Legislature carefully separated education from religion; and the schools of the "University," supported by public assessment and the State, were entirely subjected to lay direction, and admitted no intermixture even of ecclesiastical influence. By so doing they averted without doubt one danger, but they increased another still more serious and threatening. In their terror at falling under the government of the Jesuit with his cowl, they forgot the Socialist with his blouse. Mankind can never for any length of time dispense with religious influence, which is the chief engine by which the great majority must always be governed; and the only effect of separating primary education from the Church was to cause the working classes, especially in towns, to make a religion of Socialism,

and embrace its doctrines, not only with the zeal of a political party, but with the fervor of devout enthusiasm.*

The Government, however, remained utterly blind as to the extent to which these feelings and principles prevailed. M. Guizot, fixing his eye on the Council of State and the Chambers, where such doctrines were discarded as soon as introduced, persisted in maintaining that

* The law of 28th June, 1833, required the communes only to settle on the schoolmasters the *minimum* of 200 francs (£8) a year, to which the departmental contributions were added; but the whole did not exceed 400 francs, or £16 yearly. The teachers in all were 40,524, of whom 24,256 were married; and the members of the different religious congregations were 2136 of this number.—*Rapport sur l'Instruction Publique*, 1st Nov., 1841, par M. VILLEMALIN.—*Moniteur*, 1st Nov., 1841.

no change was called for; that Reform was a mere party toy got up for factious purposes, to embarrass or displace the Government; and that the liberties of the nation being now fully secured, unbending resistance was all that was required to baffle the efforts of the extreme Liberals and Revolutionists. So far did this allusion go that it was shared even by the Conservative and Royalist leaders, who, finding their most powerful and successful enemy in the bourgeois class, openly countenanced the most wild and extravagant doctrines of the Socialist school. By so doing they flattered themselves they would succeed in conciliating the working masses, and secure their support in any contest which might ensue with the middle class, at present in possession of power. The thing was done, and the Revolution of 1848 proclaimed its results; a warning to those who think that the working classes are the natural allies of the higher, and that a *Tory democracy* is the best guarantee against the evils of the undue ascendancy of the middle ranks of society.¹

Thus blind to the dangers with which they were threatened, the Government of Louis Philippe persisted in their system of governing France by means of the Chamber and the army, and by a profuse distribution of immense patronage at the disposal of the Executive. M. Guizot put in practice his favorite maxim, that "real progress, in a certain stage, consists in resistance to further change." The bourgeois class, whose ideas he represented, cordially supported these views; having gained the command of the State, they were in no hurry to share their dominion with others. The prevailing egotism and thirst for gain, which invaded all classes, with the railway mania of 1844 and 1845, favored to a wish the Government system of ruling by influence. In France, as in England, at this period, the thirst for gold, roused to a perfect frenzy by the rise in railway shares and the rapid fortunes made by fortunate speculators on the *bourse*, had become so general and violent as to have absorbed the entire national mind, and superseded almost every other object of desire in a large portion of the people. Government, charmed at any change which took the pressure even for a time off themselves, gave every possible encouragement to the prevailing mania; and a large portion, as already shown, of the public debt (£27,000,000) had been contracted to set on foot the all-absorbing speculations. When the minds of men were in this state, and every other passion was absorbed by one, and that of a selfish character, it became comparatively an easy task, for the time, for a Government possessed of immense patronage to rule the State. But exactly in the same proportion was the danger of violent discontent breaking out, if the prevailing passion came to be thwarted, and the numerous speculations by which every one hoped to make a fortune proved to be the certain means by which the greater part of them were to lose one.

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method of attack upon the Government. They

16. no longer thought of openly assailing a power possessed of a decisive majority in the Chambers, supported by a numerous and faithful army, and resting on a girdle of strong forts encircling the metropolis. Despairing of success in an open assault on a monarchy thus intrenched, and taught by the repeated failures they had already experienced, as well in the streets as in the courts of law and the Chambers, they bent all their efforts to one object, and that was to DISCREDIT IT IN GENERAL OPINION. The tactics pursued were, to represent the Government on all occasions—in the press, at public banquets, in the daily journals—as utterly and irretrievably corrupt, and the State as ruled by a combination of greedy electors, shameless representatives, and barefaced ministers, who for their own selfish purposes maintained peace at any hazard, and ignominiously surrendered themselves to the dictation of England, the ancient rival and eternal enemy of France. It must be confessed that several revelations which the proceedings in the courts of law made at this period, as well as some diplomatic transactions, gave too much countenance to these reproaches, and sufficiently demonstrated that, whatever benefits France may have gained by its revolutionary governments during fifty years, purity in the administration of public affairs could not be reckoned among the number. On the contrary, it may safely be affirmed that, characterized as it was by great material prosperity, there is no period in French history when the administration of affairs was so generally based on corruption, and selfishness so much pervaded every department of the State, as that which elapsed from the accession of M. Guizot to power to the fall of Louis Philippe. It may be conceived what a handle this discreditable state of affairs afforded to the declamation of a numerous party embracing the greater part of the talent in the State, at present excluded from all this lucrative patronage, and which was desirous of overthrowing the present dispensers of it, in the hope that on the next change its distribution would fall into their own hands.

An eloquent liberal writer, himself in the outset a great supporter of the Revolution of 1830, has left the following picture of the state of society engendered by its success: "Whatever may have been the baseness of Rome under the Cæsars, it was equaled by the corruption in France in the reign of Louis Philippe. Nothing like it had ever been witnessed in history. The thirst for gold having gained possession of minds agitated by impure desires, society terminated by sinking into a brutal materialism. Talent, energy, eloquence, genius, virtue itself, were devoted to no other end but the amassing of a fortune. Renown acquired by money was turned only to increasing it. Literary or scientific, military or civil, every thing was venal; glory itself had its price. Oh, the degradation, never to be forgotten, of that noble France, which had furnished to ancient times their most illustrious chevaliers, and to modern their brightest genius, their most heroic martyrs! Every thing was brought to the market;

17. Louis Blanc's picture of France at this period.

suffrages counted by crowns. They made, as in a new species of bazar, a scaffolding of venal consciences where honor was bought and law sold. This fearful degradation of France was not the work of a day. Since 1830 the formula of selfishness, 'every one by himself and for himself,' had been adopted by the Sovereign as the maxim of states, and that maxim, alike hideous and fatal, had become the ruling principle of government. It was the device of Louis Philippe, a prince gifted with moderation, knowledge, tolerance, humanity, but skeptical, destitute either of nobility of heart or elevation of mind, the most experienced corrupter of the human race that ever appeared on earth. It resulted from his government, that during eighteen years the poison was let in slowly, drop by drop, from high places, in an unobserved but continual flow. In the latter years of the reign of Louis Philippe every one surrendered himself with his eyes shut to the torrent of corruption. If a revolution was vaguely apprehended by a few, it was only when Louis Philippe was dead, and every one replied by a shrug of the shoulders to those who said, 'this silence is fatal, this repose is ominous, death is germinating beneath dishonor.' Unquestionable evidence 1 L. Blanc, proves that the picture thus drawn by Revolution Louis Blanc was too well founded. de 1848, 2, 3, 5. But it is equally true, what he has not said, that corruption was thus universal, because preceding revolutions had both extinguished all elevated feelings in the majority of the nation, and left the Government no other mode of ruling it but by a constant appeal to selfish desires.

The second engine for effecting the overthrow of the Government, which was worked during the concluding years of the reign of Louis Philippe, was by the incessant spread of Socialist principles among the working classes. Two causes contributed to the immense success with which this attempt was attended. The first was, the profound feeling of discontent which had arisen from the failure of all previous convulsions to effect any real amelioration in the condition of that portion of society. This the Socialist demagogues universally ascribed to their having not gone far enough; stopped short at the precise point where real improvement in their condition would have been effected. The capitalist was their real enemy, even more so than the bond-holder and tax-gatherers were of the class of proprietors. No social amelioration could be expected till this monster that preyed on their vitals, and reft from them more than half the fruits of their toil, was abolished, and, by the general introduction of the principle of association, the entire profits of labor were divided among those actually engaged in it.

The next cause which contributed to the immense spread of Socialist principles at this period was, the real and most serious grievance immediately affecting the wages of labor, arising from the inadequacy of the currency. This evil, which has been the subject of such ample commentary in the preceding chapters in its application to Great Britain, was still more sorely felt in France, from the want of any bank-notes in that country below 200 francs (£8), and the consequent entire dependence of

18.

Spread of Socialist principles, and their origin.

19.

Which was aided by the want of an adequate currency.

the population, so far as the wages of labor were concerned, on a metallic currency, seriously diminished by the injury done by the South American Revolution to the mines of the precious metals in those regions. It was an evil, too, which was attended by this peculiar and aggravating circumstance, that it was increased by the growth of transactions, and the augmented numbers and industry of the people. The consequence of this was, that while more money was every day required to meet the necessities of the nation, no more could be obtained, and consequently what was in circulation rose in value, and every thing else, and with it the wages of labor proportionally fell. The working classes felt this, and felt it sorely; but they did not know to what it was owing, and ascribed it all, at the suggestion of their demagogues, to the middle classes who had usurped the government, and, by the odious principle of competition, were daily wrenching more from the wages of labor, and adding to the profits of stock, to their own great benefit and the general ruin.

The influence and predominance of these causes appeared in the clearest manner in France, during the summer of 1840, when M. Thiers was in power, being the precise period when, from the same circumstances, distress and discontent were most rife in the British Islands, and the Whig Ministry was about to fall a sacrifice to their intensity. Combinations to effect a rise of wages were then almost universal in all the trades of the metropolis and other great towns, and, as usual in such cases, came at length to be attended with serious intimidation and violence. The democratic leaders skillfully took advantage of this state of things to urge upon the excited and suffering working classes the belief that there was but one remedy for their manifold evils, and that was parliamentary reform. Once admitted into the Legislature, they assured them they would have the remedy for the evils under which they suffered in their own hands. The combination of masters, by whom they were oppressed, would then yield to the aroused might of millions. Till that was effected, all attempts to ameliorate their condition by a bourgeois-elected representation, which was enriched by their labor, and interested in beating down its remuneration, would prove nugatory. So sedulously was this doctrine inculcated, so exactly did it fall in with the prevailing idea of the age, that it obtained universal credit with the working classes; and the *National* newspaper gave expression to the general feeling when it contained these words, on the 7th May, 1840: "At this moment reform appears to all the world, and even to the Chamber itself, the inevitable result of the disordered state of society."¹

It is justly observed by M. de Carné, in his very able and interesting history of representative institutions in France, that although the French people are, like every other, more in reality affected by domestic alterations than foreign events, yet it is much more easy to excite them by the latter than the former, so that more changes in French history are to be ascribed to this influence than to

internal suffering. The case is just the reverse in England: foreign events are there chiefly interesting as they affect domestic well-being and comfort. The reason is to be found in the opposite character of the two people. Essentially military and aggressive in their nature, the French are actuated by no passion so strongly as the love of glory. The desire for equality itself is but an emanation from it. Men sought to be equal that they might start abreast in the race for distinction. The most popular monarchs who have ever sat upon their throne—Clovis, Philip Augustus, Henry IV., Louis XIV., Napoleon—were those who ministered most strongly to, and gratified most completely, this prevailing desire. The English are not insensible to military glory, and at times feel it as strongly as their neighbors; but it is not their prevailing passion. With them it is the exception, not the rule. With the French it is the rule, not the exception. It may readily be conceived what a handle the treaty of July, 1840, afforded to an Opposition whose main reliance was on discrediting the Government in general opinion, and knew that they could never do this so effectually as by representing it as the creature and the vassal of England. The announcement of that treaty had thrilled the national heart as the sound of a trumpet; the threatened invasion of France, in 1793, had scarcely roused the patriotic feelings more strongly. The ministry of M. Thiers, which went out on that question, carried with it the sympathies and gratitude of the nation. That of M. Guizot, which succeeded it on the footing of accommodation with the European powers, like the dynasty of the Bourbons at the Restoration, carried the mark of Cain on its forehead. This, accordingly, formed the second great ground on which the Liberals sought to rouse the national feelings against the Government; and it was difficult to say whether the cry of internal corruption or external humiliation resounded most loudly, or excited most violently the vast and unrepresented classes of the community.¹

In the midst of these grave and serious dangers, it was lamentable to behold how entirely the attention of Government and the Legislature was fixed on objects which, however important or laudable in themselves, unhappily ran directly counter to the general feeling and wishes. Seated on a throne founded on a revolt of the middle classes, and supported in the streets by their arms, in the Legislature by their representatives, Louis Philippe held with invincible tenacity to two opinions: the first, that it was by sedulous attention to their material interests that their attachment could alone be secured; the second, that the real enemy, both of himself and them, was to be found in the anarchical faction which sought to subvert the existing Government, in order to establish themselves on its ruins. It was by external peace that the first was most likely to be promoted; by internal resistance that the last could alone be coerced. Thus a fixed policy, both external and internal, was in a manner forced upon the Government by the circumstances of its origin and present situation; and that policy, however beneficial in many respects

20.
Which led
to a general
demand for
parliamentary
reform.

¹ National, May 7, 1840; Regnault, Hist. de Huit. Ans, 1840-48, i. 156, 157.

21.
Strong feeling
excited in regard
to the subservience of
France to
England.

¹ Regnault, i. 157, 158; De Carné, Hist. Rap. ii. 231, 232.

22.
Different objection which the attention of Government was set

both to France and to Europe, was unfortunately one which daily estranged it more and more from the great numerical majority of the nation, and thwarted more violently their two prevailing passions—the desire of equality and the thirst for glory.

While this was the condition of society and views of parties during the reign of Louis Philippe, another influence, overlooked at the time in the vehemence of political strife, was quietly and unobtrusively extending its sway over a large portion of the people. The CHURCH, which had made so many attempts to regain its political influence in the latter years of the reign of Charles X., and so powerfully contributed to his fall, driven from the field of conflict by the Revolution of 1830, withdrew altogether from the strife, and abandoning, for the time at least, the visions of temporal ambition, devoted itself exclusively to the discharge of its religious functions. Respectful toward the possessors of power, it asked nothing from them, and sought only to extend the blessings of the Christian faith among the immense, and in great part suffering, flocks intrusted to its charge. It surrendered none of the rights it formerly enjoyed, but simply kept them in abeyance, and reserved their assertion for future times. Immense was the effect of this change in augmenting its influence, especially in the rural population. Detached from the jealousies and asperities of political ambition, no longer ostensibly interfering either in the Government, the Legislature, or the education of youth, the Church escaped from the vindictive abuses of its enemies, and in solitude and silence regained its influence over the people.

Following out the plan of agitating for parliamentary reform, and making that the great lever which was to displace the Ministry and overturn the Government, several political banquets took place, in the course of the summer of 1840, which elicited speeches from the leading Liberal characters of the metropolis, that clearly evinced both the extension of the movement and the direction it was taking. At a great one held in the twelfth arrondissement, when M. Lafitte was present, M. Arago said: "The efforts we have made in favor of electoral reform in former days can not receive a more flattering recompense than that which we now enjoy, nor our future exertions a more exciting stimulus. Let us not deceive ourselves; the task we have undertaken is arduous; it will require all our perseverance. But the end is glorious; in such a case, to estimate the cost or pains would be a dereliction of national duty.

"Some there are who are discouraged at the result of a recent discussion in the Chamber. What say they?—a year of efforts, 240,000 signatures to the petitions have terminated only in a debate of two hours, in interruptions without end, explosions of anger, ill-natured innuendoes, and a vote, all but unanimous, against any modification, even the most inconsiderable, of the electoral law. Can any one, then, have the simplicity to expect any other result? In what country, in what age, has privilege ever consented to abandon the positions which it occupies, without a

vigorous attempt to defend them? For my part, I labored under no such illusion; I never expected any other result than what has actually occurred. I must add, however, that if we are to judge from the violence of the diatribes to which we have been exposed, our strokes have been well directed. Is it nothing to have described in the tribune the cruel sufferings which millions of our fellow-countrymen are enduring—to have caused these words, *prophetic of the future*, to be heard in the Chamber, '*We must organize labor!*' Is it nothing to have proved, by numerous examples, that the large portion of our non-military population, at present deprived of civil rights on account of its pretended incapacity, has given to the world incomparable mechanics, illustrious writers, great poets, and the most renowned generals of our revolutionary wars? No, my fellow-citizens! the campaign we have gone through has not been sterile in results. Can the Reformers refuse to close their ranks when they have heard the minister of the 1st March (M. Thiers) declare that men, as men, have no rights; after noting the historian prime minister forget the celebrated words of Bossuet, 'There are primary truths, against which whoever strives only wounds himself;' and the still more memorable fact, that an Assembly, celebrated by its knowledge and the eloquence of its members, decided, after the example of the famous American Congress, that the declaration of the rights of man should precede the formation of the constitution?

"I say it in the most profound conviction of my soul, the only sure and safe remedy which I can discern for the evils which are consuming us, is reform. 26. Continued.

Would you ameliorate the condition, at present so precarious, of the working classes? Demand reform! It is by reform that public works can alone be directed to objects of general utility; that merit can take the lead of mediocrity and favoritism; that we can get out of that ocean of intrigue, egotism, avidity, and corruption, in which the country is now laboring; and that the French nation can resume the rank which belongs to it as a great nation. Such are the effects of reform considered as a means; let us not disdain it, at the same time, as an end. Every thing which can elevate the majority of the nation in its own eyes, engender and develop noble sentiments, efface from our laws insulting distinctions, is worthy of the attention of every good citizen, for our country, our dear France, will profit by them.

"There is one class in the country which is the prey of peculiar suffering, and that is the manufacturing. That evil, rely upon it, will continually go on increasing. 27. Concluded.

Small capitals in these branches of industry can not contend with large capitals; industry which is exercised with the aid of machines will always have the advantage over industry which works only with the natural strength of men; the capital which puts in motion powerful machines will always crush that which makes use only of little ones. There is here a cruel evil, to which it is necessary to apply a remedy. Murmur at the expression as some will, there is a necessity to organize labor—to modify in some respects the actual condition of industry; and if you say there is some-

thing monstrous in that idea, I answer that the Chamber of Deputies have already entered upon that career when they have considered a law to regulate the labor of children in manufactories. But do not expect such views from the Chamber as at present constituted. Hear what a man who knows them, and who has always been applauded at the tribune, says of the middle classes: M. Guizot says, 'The bourgeois have no turn for great enterprise. When fortune throws them into circumstances where they become necessary, they feel disquieted, embarrassed; responsibility troubles them; they feel out of their sphere, and would gladly re-enter it; they will readily come to terms.' Gentlemen, these words of M. Guizot contain the condemnation of the present electoral system in France. Our country may ere long find itself involved in great events, and the political destinies of the country ought not to be *exclusively* intrusted to the hands of those who will be embarrassed by them—who will treat on easy terms."¹

¹ National, June 11, 1840; Regnault, i. 160, 169, 171.

It may readily be supposed that, among the willing and enthusiastic hearers of Answer of M. Arago at the Reform Banquet, M. Thiers. there was no one to controvert the May 16. principles contained in these eloquent words. But when the petitions on the subject were presented in the Chamber of Deputies on the 16th May, M. Thiers made a speech which may be considered as presenting the opposite side of this great debate. "We are often told," said he, "of the national sovereignty, as if by that were meant the sovereignty of mere numbers. I affirm that that doctrine is the most fatal in the world. In constitutional language, when you speak of the national sovereignty, you mean, and can only mean, the sovereignty of the King and the two Chambers expressing the sovereignty of the nation by regular votes—by the exercise of their constitutional rights. I know of no other national sovereignty. Whoever comes to the door of this Assembly, and says, 'I have a right,' is legally wrong; for there are no rights but such as the law has conferred.

"Is it not evident that, in the unlimited extension of the suffrage which is proposed, the advocates of such a change are themselves obliged to admit some limitation? They speak of thirty-four millions of inhabitants in France. You speak of that large number, and confessedly you are obliged to reduce the numbers of qualified persons to eight millions. Whence the necessity of this great reduction? Because you must deduct the women, minors, fatuous, and insane persons. You exclude certain classes by reason of natural necessity, admitted by all nations. You exclude certain classes by the force of reason and the necessity of the case; we exclude them in the name of the law."²

It is evident to every one who dispassionately considers the subject, that M. Arago had the better in this debate, and that if the argument in opposition to universal suffrage rested on no better grounds than those stated by M. Thiers, the demand for it would be irresistible. To say that

certain classes are not entitled because they are excluded from it by the law, is an argument which would go to vindicate any imaginable legal electoral abuse, and would preclude legislative reform even in the most despotic countries where it was most loudly called for. It is evident that, in resting his case on so narrow and untenable a ground, M. Thiers was influenced by his habitual respect for revolutionary principles, and overawed by the dread of the majority which is shared by all who adopt them. He did not venture to say that the majority of the nation must be excluded from the suffrage by reason of their not being qualified by nature to exercise it; what he said was, that they were excluded by positive law. This ground is wholly untenable; no man will ever successfully meet the revolutionary argument founded on natural right, but by going back to equally fundamental principles. The real answer to M. Arago's argument is, that mankind are *not equal* by Nature, but, on the contrary, *enormously unequal*. Some have the intellectual strength of giants, some the mental weakness of pigmies. Some have the energy which can move mountains, others the feebleness which is turned aside by mole-hills; some the industry which defies misfortune, others the indolence which sinks under the first difficulty. This is the law of nature, conclusively evinced in the various capacities of men. Society could not exist without it: government has every where arisen from the experienced necessity of getting out of the multitudinous rule of mediocrity, and giving authority to the small phalanx of ability. The attempt often fails; the persons chosen prove frequently unworthy; but men can not exist for an hour without again feeling the first of necessities—that of being governed. Universal suffrage is not a restoration of the rights of men; it is their decisive and ruinous abrogation; for it deprives men of their first right—that of being well governed, and subjects them to the risk of their greatest danger—that of being ruled by fools, or plundered by knaves.

The strength of the feeling in favor of Reform, which the general distress of the working classes had produced, was soon evinced in a manner still more alarming to the Government. On the 14th June the National Guard of Paris had been summoned for a great review, and the pageant, extraordinary in these days, excited an unusual degree of interest. When they defiled past the King, several companies of the 4th, 5th, and 6th Legions, and entire battalions of the 8th, with their officers at their head, shouted "Vive la Reforme!" These ominous words, coming from such a quarter, excited a great sensation, which was increased by the proofs of an organization in the partisans of the movement, which were every day afforded, and by the perpetual holding out of Reform as the only remedy for the sufferings of the working classes. M. Odillon Barrot had now openly joined the section of members in the Chambers who were headed by Arago and Lafitte, and advocated Radical principles and universal suffrage, and this promised to give increased weight and parliamentary influence to their party. The effects soon appeared. France became the theatre of a pacific Reform agitation,

² Great success of Reform Banquets. June 14.

² Moniteur, May 17, 1840; Regnault, i. 161, 162.

very similar to that of the monster meetings which at the same time, and for some years after, shook Ireland to its foundation. Lyons, Bordeaux, Toulon, Metz, Nantes, and most of the great towns of France, had their reform banquets, at which the sentiments emanating from the capital were repeated and exaggerated. At length Government took the alarm; they saw that the docility of the Chamber, chosen by 200,000 electors, was no guarantee for the contentment and tranquillity of the country. The eighth arrondissement, which embraced the Faubourg St. Antoine, was preparing a banquet, which was to take place at St. Mandé, near Vincennes, beyond the limits of Paris, on the 14th July, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. Above 8000 persons had already accepted the invitations of the committee, embracing 2600 of the National Guard; the ground was hired, and the consent of the mayor of the commune had been obtained to the meeting, when, on the 10th July, an order was issued by the prefect of the police forbidding any assembly of more than a thousand persons. The committee and officers of the National Guard of the district remonstrated strongly against the interdict, but in vain. The Minister was firm; and the leaders of the movement abandoned their intention and gave up the banquet, contenting themselves with publishing a protest, in which they signalized the measure as "a stretch of authority, inspired by distrust and fear, and founded on an entire abuse of legal enactment." The banquet, however, was not abandoned, but only adjourned till the ensuing month of August.¹

It took place, accordingly, on the 31st August, in the plain of Chatillon, in a private field, to which the power of the police to interfere did not extend. Six thousand persons were present; the chairman, M. Recart, though he had lost a child only a day before, felt it his duty to preside on the occasion. The speeches were very violent, but perfect order prevailed, and the Government had not the advantage of representing it as a riotous assembly. This banquet, the largest which had yet taken place in France, had an immense influence; and it was immediately followed by others of a similar character at Limoges, Metz, Moulins, Lille, Rouen, Marseilles, Tours, Dijon, La Chatre, Auxerre, Grenoble, Bourges, Perpignan, Toulouse, Le Mans, Blois. At these assemblies, which passed over without riot or any thing discreditable, in addition to the usual topic of Reform, as indispensable to elevate the condition and assuage the suffering of the manufacturing operatives, there came latterly to be conjoined the still exciting topics to French patriotism, of the necessity of the change to restore France to its just position among the nations, and avenge the insulting humiliation they had recently received from the treaty of 15th July, 1840, which shut it out from any share in the direction of the affairs of Europe.²

The immediate cause of this extraordinary effervescence, the precursor of that which eight years afterward overturned the throne, and during which the seeds were sown which then ripened to maturity, undoubtedly was the mis-

erably low wages to which the manufacturing classes were reduced. The forms of the French Chamber prevented any one from making a motion or bringing on a subject for discussion, except that proposed by the Government; and they were careful not to introduce any thing which touched on the wages of labor. But as an amendment, it was not possible always to exclude it; and it was forced on, as it were, when the discussion had begun on widely different subjects. On the 9th May, in the course of a debate on the duties which should be imposed on home-grown sugar from beet-root, M. Gaugieux, a Liberal member, alluded to the "numerous workmen who took an interest in this debate." Hardly was the word "workmen" pronounced in the Chamber, when the clamor which arose on all sides was such that the orator was obliged to descend from the tribune. "You will not," said he, "allow me to speak of workmen; will you then charge yourselves with giving them work?" "We are here," said the president, M. Sauzet, "charged with the making of laws, and not with giving employment to workmen."³

"Are you then ignorant," said M. Arago, in reply, "that it is the first duty of a government to afford means to every able-bodied man of working and earning wages adequate to the support of himself and his family? That is the object of all laws and society; if it is not attained, we had better go back and live in the woods, where the strongest will kill and eat the weakest. Your first duty as legislators is to attend to this object; to attend to it with patience and perseverance. If lives are lost from lack of the means of engaging in labor or earning bread; if there are intellects which fail in bringing forth their destined fruits for want of instruction, moralities which yield to the pressure of misery, you are responsible for it, for you can not pretend inability to remove these evils. Neither money nor power are wanting to enable you to be good; and never did a nation provide with so much generosity as France to all the conditions requisite to form a strong government."

"Can you shut your eyes to the fact that the questions of wages and of subsistence are daily becoming more urgent and important for our miserable social order? When the poor are terrified by the competition to which they are exposed by machinery—when they break these machines, or seize a few sacks of flour to save themselves from starving, you address to them all the commonplace phrases on the subject to be found in the books of the economists. But how can you expect that they will attach any weight to your exhortations, when they see from the official journals that the ruling party in the State count their interests as nothing in discussions falsely styled relating to the public interest? By refusing reform, you negative their claim to political rights: nothing remains but to deny them also all social rights, by declaring that no interest can be recognized in the Chamber but that of an elector or an elected. It is not without reason, therefore, that the Radicals declare that social amelioration can flow only from reform."

The evil, they exclaim, is monopoly; the cause of the evil is the vicious organization of political power. It is absolutely necessary, if we would heal the social wounds, to change, in the first instance, the base of our political institutions. When this is done, the evil proceeding from it will disappear in its turn. The child of monopoly and of the oppression exercised by capital over labor, misery will diminish with the disappearance of its parent—with misery, vice—with vice, crime." The movement, stimulated by the distress in which it originated, continued without abatement during the whole summer and autumn. On the 24th May, a deputation of a thousand workmen, the representatives of the whole artisans of the capital, waited on M. Arago at his residence in the Observatory, to thank him for the defense of their interests in the Chamber. Arago answered in these words, which subsequent events rendered prophetic: "Your cause—I am wrong—our cause, is just; it will triumph at no distant period. Ever rely, my dear fellow-citizens, on my warm sympathy, under all circumstances. Believe me, I will never desert the holy mission which has been allotted to me, that of defending with ardor and perseverance the interests of the working classes."¹

When words of this encouraging description were spoken by the first in intellectual strength and talent to workmen already suffering under an extreme depression of wages, it was impossible that combinations to raise them, and all their consequent evils and disorders, should not take place. This, accordingly, very soon ensued. Combinations, followed by extensive and alarming strikes, took place among all the principal trades of the metropolis, and continued during the whole summer. The journeymen tailors, to the number of three thousand, met and appointed delegates at the Barrier du Roule. The boot and shoe makers, in equal strength, immediately followed their example. The workers in ornamental paper, a very numerous class, struck work in a body, in consequence of a dispute with their employer, M. Seviste, about wages, and remained idle two months. The cabinet-makers in great strength assembled to appoint delegates at the Barrier du Maine, and were violently dispersed, before they had broken into any acts of violence, by a detachment of the municipal guards. Nearly all the trades in Paris soon struck work; the stone-masons met and appointed delegates; the blacksmiths did the same; and as the French law, unlike the English, holds the mere act of striking work in a body an indictable offense, numerous arrests took place, and the prisons were soon filled with parties awaiting their trial. As the persons apprehended were the office-bearers of the different trades, who were generally persons of respectability, their fate excited great commiseration, and was anxiously watched by the whole working classes in the metropolis.

At length, in the beginning of September, matters came to a crisis. On the evening of the 5th of that month great crowds of workmen on strike assembled at the Port St. Denis and Port St. Martin, and as they refused to disperse when

summoned to do so by the police, they were assailed by the municipal guard, and great numbers of the most refractory arrested. This only made matters worse; the injustice of being prevented from meeting, when not as yet guilty of any overt act of violence, was so evident, that it brought over numbers to their side who had hitherto been neutral or indifferent. On the evening of the 7th the whole workmen of the Faubourg St. Antoine, who had struck work in the morning, assembled in menacing crowds on the place of the Bastille; and in such strength that the town sergeants and municipal guard sought in vain to disperse them. Vast numbers of spectators assembled to witness the struggle, and filled the whole place and adjoining streets, and for the most part ere long joined the people. At this moment an omnibus came past; in the twinkling of an eye it was stopped, overturned, the horses taken out, and, with some planks and furniture hastily brought out of the adjoining houses, speedily was formed into a BARRICADE. At the sight of that well-known symbol of insurrection, a large body of the municipal guard *à cheval* were brought up, and by a rapid charge succeeded in dispersing the people, and pulling down the barricade before it was entirely completed. At the same time, an assemblage of 1200 workmen in the Place Maubert and the Faubourg St. Marceau was dispersed by the police, and the municipal guards every where cleared the streets, and would nowhere permit more than a few persons to assemble together.¹

Seriously alarmed, the Government now took the most vigorous steps to guard against the danger. The garrison of Paris, already 40,000 strong, was rapidly reinforced during the night by fresh troops, marched from Versailles, Fontainebleau, St. Cloud, Courbevoie, and all the adjoining towns; and at daybreak on the following morning all the principal posts in Paris were strongly occupied. In the place in front of the Hôtel de Ville, in the Carrousel, the Place Louis XV. and Vendôme, on the Pont Neuf, the Marché des Innocents, and the Place of the Bastille, large bodies of troops, horse, foot, and cannon, were placed. The *général* beat in all the streets to summon the National Guard to their posts; those from the *banlieue* were hurried in as they had been when they rendered such effective service on occasion of the insurrection in the Cloître de St. Méri in 1832. The spirit of insubordination was repressed by this display of military force; and Government, taking advantage of the general alarm, subjected the persons brought to trial to very long periods of imprisonment. On the 12th September forty-six combined workmen were condemned in the short space of three hours, and on the 15th thirty-three stone-masons were convicted, and sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. All the sentences were confirmed by the Cour Royale on the 1st October. By these severe measures the danger was surmounted for the time; but the root of the malady was not extracted, and it remained festering in the working classes till it at length acquired such strength as to become irresistible.²

¹ *Moniteur*, May 10 and 17, 1840; Regnault, l. 186, 189, 191; National, May 28, 1840.

² *Moniteur*, Sept. 8, 1840.

³ *Moniteur*, Oct. 2, 1840; Regnault, l. 197, 198.

Various causes contributed to produce this general and violent outbreak among the working classes in France at this time; and the recurrence of a similar crisis eight years after is eminently descriptive of those which were most instrumental in bringing it on. In the first place must be ranked the extreme subdivision of landed property, the result partly of the old consuetudinary custom of the country in some provinces anterior to the Revolution, partly of the effects of that convulsion, which overspread the land, as a similar subdivision of farms had done in Ireland, with a vast and indigent peasantry. In the next place, the want of any *legal* provision for the poor in the country drove the working classes in undue proportion into the towns, where the numerous and magnificent hospitals and public establishments for the relief of suffering promised to afford that succor which they could not find in their own districts. In the third place, owing to the confiscation of the landed estates, and the almost total destruction of commercial wealth and realized capital during the Revolution, the money to be spent in these towns, when the people did arrive there, was much less than it should have been, or than was adequate to take off the surplus hands of the country.

But in addition to these, which may be called the permanent causes that lowered the remuneration of labor in France, there were two of temporary influence, but surpassing strength, which operated at the particular time when these disturbances broke out. The first of these was the cessation of the conscription, and of the sanguinary wars of Napoleon, by the peace of 1815. Between 1792 and 1815, four millions of young men had been drawn into the army,

and cut off, in France, of whom above a million had perished in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814.¹ These prodigious drains, amounting on an average to above 200,000 a year, had had a very great effect during the war in producing a scarcity of hands, and consequently elevating the wages of labor, not only while it lasted, but for *twenty years after it had come to an end*, from the lessened number of those who during that period rose up to manhood, from the diminished marriages which had gone on during the war. The conscription, all at once ceased in 1812 and 1813 to be productive, because it then came to be levied among the generation whose fathers and mothers were

married during the great levy of 1,200,000 men in 1793.² The converse of this now took place. In 1840, and a few years preceding, the effect of the cessation of the conscription, and consequent multiplication of marriages from 1815 to 1820, appeared in a great and unexpected increase of young men from 18 to 23 years of age; that is, at the very time when their presence was most likely to affect the labor market and augment the general competition for employment.

The second cause of a temporary nature which at this time depressed the wages of labor, and enhanced the competition for employment in France, was the monetary crisis, already made the

subject of ample commentary in connection with the history of England during this period.¹ As the drain of the precious metals to the United States, which that in some measure produced, brought both the Bank of England and that of France to the verge of insolvency, the effect was immediate in producing a violent contraction of the currency in both countries, and proportional reduction in the price of commodities of all sorts, and in the general remuneration of labor. The people felt, and felt in the most sensible way, the general depression of wages, but they were ignorant of the causes to which it had been owing; and, guided entirely by the Liberal leaders, ascribed it all to the monopoly enjoyed by the capitalists in the Legislature, and the absence of that check upon their encroachments which an extensive measure of parliamentary reform could alone afford.

How much soever Government, supported by a large majority in the Chamber, might despise the impotent clamor of the unrepresented laboring classes, they were too well aware of the danger of "Stomach Rebellions," as Lord Bacon calls them, and violent commotions among the working classes in the metropolis, not to feel the necessity of doing their utmost to augment the employment which might be afforded to them. The railways presented the most obvious resource in this emergency. Hitherto they had been chiefly if not entirely intrusted, as in Great Britain, to private companies. But whether it was that the management of them had been faulty, or that capitalists were distrustful of the returns to be expected from the lines, they had been for the most part unsuccessful; the requisite subscriptions could not be got, and France was still almost entirely without this great element of modern civilization. Here, as in every thing else in France, it had been found that Government must take the lead, otherwise the undertakings would fall to the ground. One line only of the eight magnificent ones which had been contemplated in 1838, that from Paris to Bâle, had been completed. All the rest were unfinished or abandoned. Even the one from Paris to Orleans had been finished only as far as Juvigny. What rendered this deplorable state of things the more humiliating, and even dangerous to France, was that all the other Continental states—Prussia, Austria, Saxony, Bavaria—had constructed lines through their territories, which not only threatened to divert a large part of European inland commerce from France, but, in the event of hostilities, might give them a great military advantage, by enabling them to accumulate their forces in a few days against any point of the frontier which they selected for attack.²

Impressed with these ideas, Government, soon after the accession of M. Thiers to the head of the administration, resolved to step forward and revive this great branch of national industry by itself undertaking the chief part of the work. The original plan was to take two-fifths of the shares of the chief lines, and to advance the requisite funds at 4 per cent. from the resources of the State. These

¹ History of Europe, c. lxxxix. § 66, where the numbers are given.

² Hist. of Europe, c. lxxiv. § 70.

² Ann. Hist. xxiii. 208, 278; Regnault, l. 119, 121.

⁴² The Government undertake the lines. April 7.

⁴² Total failure of the attempt to make private railway lines in France.

proposals were very considerably modified in the committee to which they were referred, and were not finally voted till the 16th June. At June 16.

length, after a very long discussion, and the consideration of repeated modifications, it was agreed by both Chambers to undertake on the part of Government such engagements as would secure the completion of the principal lines. The Government was to guarantee the interest in advances requisite to complete the Orleans line; to advance funds for those of Bâle and Roanne; to undertake the one from Nismes to Montpellier, and that of Lille and Valenciennes to the Flemish frontier, and to advance 14,000,000 francs (£560,000) toward the completion of that from Paris to Rouen. At the same time, a canal was voted by the Chambers to unite the Aisne and the Marne; the improvement of the navigation of the Saône from Verdun to Lyons was undertaken; and the canal of the Upper Seine completed. Twenty-five millions of francs (£1,000,000) were voted to establish lines of steamers from Havre to New York, from Nantes to Brazil, and from Marseilles to Mexico. The steamboats on these lines were accordingly established, but they have never been able to rival the magnificent steam-packets established by private enterprise

¹ Ann. Hist. xxiii. 268, 271; Regnault, 124, 128.

in Great Britain, and which have done so much to shorten the passage to the United States, until at length it has been reduced to ten or twelve days.¹

The burdens thus undertaken by the French Government were, however, attended with very great embarrassment to the Treasury. The budget of 1840, accordingly, exhibited a great and alarming deficit. The estimated expenditure amounted, including 72,000,000 francs for public works, to no less a sum than 1,411,885,000 francs. The revenue was only 1,341,885,000 francs; leaving a deficit of 170,000,000 francs, to be supplied by additions to the floating debt, which already amounted to 700,000,000 francs. This deficit was still farther augmented in the following year, both by a great extension of the railway lines and the enormous armaments which M. Thiers had prepared to withstand the European coalition, the charges of which fell upon that year, though the necessity for them had passed away. On 15th April, 1841, M. Humann, the late finance minister, made a most alarming statement of the finances, which, however, was nowise surprising, seeing that the troops voted amounted to 640,000 men, and the sum required for public works was 534,000,000 francs.²

"It is in vain," said M. Humann, "to attempt to disguise the difficulties of our financial situation. The unproductive charges of late years have threatened to become permanent, and assumed a forced place in our budgets. The Grande Livre of the public debt must soon be reopened; the budgets of former years, far from bequeathing to us any resources, daily absorb more of our present funds; and you have to consider a budget commencing and ending with an alarming deficit. The deficit of 1840 was 170,198,780 francs; that of 1841 was still

higher—it amounted to 242,603,288 francs; and as the income of 1842 is only 1,160,516,000, while the expenses of the year will be 1,275,435,000, the financial year of 1842 will present a deficit of 114,936,000 francs. In addition to this, the extraordinary public works require 534,269,000 francs; to which the finance minister must set his face, with the resources of the budget, the funded debt, and the floating debt. But little can be expected from the last resource, as it is already engaged for 256,000,000 francs of debt contracted anterior to 1838, and which has formed an incubus on the resources of the State ever since that period." To meet these charges, the finance minister was obliged to contract a loan for 450,000,000 francs in a period of profound peace, besides leaving a floating debt of 81,000,000 to be provided for by Exchequer bills or other temporary expedients. Thus was the Government of Louis Philippe, despite his anxious and strenuous efforts to preserve peace, rapidly approaching a state of insolvency—a striking and painful contrast to the prosperous state of the finances during the Restoration. The necessity for these prodigious expenses arose from the unhappy circumstances of its origin. Founded on treason, and a violent revolt of the lower orders against the Government, it was necessarily, in foreign affairs, in a state of antagonism with the great Continental powers, and could only maintain its independence by keeping vast armaments on foot; and in domestic, could not hope to preserve tranquillity, and prevent a second revolution, but by annually making an immense addition to the public debt, to give the working classes that employment which the unaided circumstances of society could not afford.¹

Scarcely less unfortunate was the Ministry of the 29th October, from the cloud which overhung its origin. Marshal Soult and M. Guizot succeeded to the helm immediately after the signature of the treaty of 15th July, 1840, which was taken as so great an insult by France; and the principle of their administration was concession to the four Powers on a matter in which strenuous resistance was thought indispensable to the national honor. England had been entirely successful in the affairs of the East; her statesmen had shown more courage, capacity, and influence than those of Louis Philippe. The bombardment of Acre had been as decisive in the Levant as the battle of Waterloo in the West. Indescribable was the sensation which these events produced in France, and weighty the load of opprobrium which they affixed round the necks of the new Ministry, which agreed to the subsequent treaty. In fact, they never altogether recovered it, any more than the Restoration did the stain of entering Paris in the rear of the allied armies. With the usual tendency of men to judge of events by their final result, not the cause which had preceded them, the multitude ascribed the whole disgrace, as they deemed it, of these events to the Minister who had extricated the country from its difficulties, not to him that had plunged it into them; in the same way as they ascribed the shame of the treaty of Paris to Louis XVIII. and the Duke

¹ Rapport, April 15, 1841; *Moniteur*, April 16; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 355, 356.

² Untoward commencement of the Ministry of M. Guizot.

² *Moniteur*, April 15 and 25, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 355, 356.

⁴⁵ Speech of M. Humann on the finances.

de Richelieu, who signed it, not to Napoleon, who had rendered that signature unavoidable.

This inauspicious commencement of the new Ministry not only imposed on it from the very outset the greatest difficulties, but proved a serious impediment to the measures which the enlightened and pacific Foreign Ministers of France and England, at that time M. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen, were endeavoring to bring about, with a view to alleviating the sufferings of humanity, and preserving the peace of the world. Every thing which was done in concert with England was represented as a humiliating concession to a rival power, and a disgraceful acknowledgment of vassalage on the part of France. This feeling extended even to an attempt made by the united cabinets of the Tuileries and St. James's to eradicate that infernal traffic, the disgrace of humanity, the slave-trade. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that, after the slave-trade had been formally abolished by law in Great Britain, its Government made the most persevering efforts to conclude such arrangements with foreign powers as might tend to the entire and final suppression of that traffic. It

has been already mentioned, that so early as 1817 the British Ministry purchased, at the cost of £400,000, a treaty with Spain, agreeing, under certain limitations, to the extinction of the slave-trade in Spanish vessels; and they endeavored, at the same time, to get from the Duke de Richelieu a similar renunciation on the part of France, though unhappily without effect. Afterward they made the most vigorous efforts to obtain from the Congress of Verona a similar declaration, but could obtain nothing more than a vague

act condemnatory of its existence.² Though abundantly disposed to be humane in the abstract, the Minister of France at that assembly, M. Chateaubriand, was too well aware of the indelible jealousy of England which pervaded his country to adventure on any efficient practical measures which might really tend to the abolition of the traffic; and it continued to be carried on under cover of the French flag during the whole government of the Restoration.³

Intently set, however, upon effecting the entire abolition of a trade which was a general reproach to Christendom, the British Government made a fresh effort, after the accession of Louis Philippe, to effect this object, and happily on this occasion with more effect. On the 30th November, 1831, a convention was signed between France and England, by which the two Governments mutually conceded to each other the right of search within the latitudes necessarily traversed by the slavers in their passage from the coast of Africa to the West Indies, or the American shores. A separate convention was to be signed every year, regulating the number of cruisers which were to be kept on the station by the two nations respectively. By a second convention in pursuance of the former, concluded on 22d March, 1833, certain stipulations were mutually agreed to, which provided for the mode in which

the vessels deemed liable to seizure should be brought before a judge of the country to which they belonged, and many other details as to the mode of seizure and condemnation. In these mutual stipulations the most entire reciprocity was observed, and nothing was exacted by England from France but what she cordially consented to submit to in her turn. This *mutual* right of visit was totally different from the old right of search claimed by England against neutrals when she was engaged in actual hostilities with any other power. That was a right *claimed* by one party to search neutral vessels on the high seas for articles contraband of war, and disputed by the other; this was a right, *agreed to by both*, to search vessels of their own subjects, within certain limits, for Conventions slaves, without which all attempts in Martins' to put down the slave-trade would Sup. viii. 192; of necessity be defeated.¹ xi. 241.

These treaties were concluded between Great Britain and France alone; but it was self-evident that all such conventions would fail in the object for which they were concluded, unless the whole civilized powers concurred in a mutual right of the same

description. Any one which refused to recognize it would soon find the whole slave-trade of the world run into their bottoms, or carried on under cover of their flag. England, however, had in the interim made very great efforts to get other powers to go into the same system, and at length with considerable success. By the exertions of her statesmen, Denmark, Sardinia, Sweden, Naples, Tuscany, the Hanse Towns, had been successively induced to enter into similar treaties. Nothing remained to be done but to get the accession of the great powers, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, to a similar convention. But although the cabinets of these powers expressed an entire willingness, and even anxiety, to join in the great work, yet they considered it inconsistent with their dignity to accede to a treaty which, without their concurrence, had previously been concluded between other powers. They invited, therefore, the formation of a new treaty, entered into between all the *five* powers, including, of course, France, which by common consent might put matters on an efficient and durable foundation. Great Britain willingly acceded to this proposal, which promised to put the object for which she had so long been contending on the footing of European law; and M. Guizot, on the part of France, gladly joined in the same views, the more especially as it readmitted his country into the European family, from which she had been separated since the treaty of 15th July, 1840, and exhibited a proof to the world of the restoration of harmony among the whole European powers. The result was the conclusion of the treaty of 20th December, 1841, signed at London by the ambassadors of the five powers, which established, on the most equitable footing, a mutual right of search, with a view to the preventing of the slave-trade.²

By this treaty it was provided "that a mutual right of search, on the part of the whole contracting powers, should be conceded with re-

¹ Regnault, l. 185, 186; D'Haussonville, Histoire Diplomatique de la France, 1830-48, l. 6, 7.

² Regnault, l. 185, 186; D'Haussonville, Histoire Diplomatique de la France, 1830-48, l. 6, 7.

³ Regnault, l. 185, 186; D'Haussonville, Histoire Diplomatique de la France, 1830-48, l. 6, 7.

⁴ Regnault, l. 185, 186; D'Haussonville, Histoire Diplomatique de la France, 1830-48, l. 6, 7.

⁴⁹ Treaty of December 20, 1841, between France and the Allied Powers.

² Regnault, l. 189, 190; Treaty, Dec. 20, 1841; Ibid., 450—App.; Martins, Sup. ix. 482.

gard to every ship pertaining to the subject of
 50. any of the contracting parties, which
 Its provi- on reasonable grounds (*des présomp-*
 sions. *tions fondées*) shall be suspected of be-
 ing concerned in the traffic of negroes, or of hav-
 ing been equipped for that purpose, or having been
 devoted to that traffic during the voyage when
 it may be met by any of the cruisers of the said
 powers; and that the said cruisers might arrest
 and send the said vessel to be adjudicated upon,
 in the manner hereinafter specified." Each of
 the contracting parties was to arm as many
 cruisers as it deemed expedient, to navigate
 within the limits agreed on for the suppression
 of the slave-trade; the cruisers of each of the
 contracting parties were mutually to lend each
 other assistance in carrying the treaty into exe-
 cution, and the vessels seized were to be sent to
 harbors of the nation to which the seized vessel
 belonged, there to be adjudicated upon, accord-
 ing to the mutual law provided by the treaty.
 The most minute regulations were laid down
 for carrying the provisions of the treaty into ef-
 fect, in the manner least likely to give offense
 to any of the nations whose vessels were seized;
 and also as to the articles found on board, which
 were to be held as *indicia* of being engaged in
 the slave-trade, such as manacles, chains, or
 wristbands, planks to form a false deck to con-
 1 Treaty, ceal slaves beneath, a larger supply of
 Dec. 20, water or provisions than was required
 1841, ut for the use of the ostensible crew, and
 supra. many other particulars.¹

Nothing could be more equal, just, or reason-
 able, than these provisions; and
 51. not only were they such as were ev-
 Indignation which the treaty excit- ed in France and America. idently indispensable for the entire
 abolition of the abominable traffic
 in human flesh, but they were such
 as, when rightly considered, tended
 to the establishment of that very freedom of the
 law for which France and the neutral powers
 had so long contended. For not only did they
 establish a *mutual* right of search on the footing
 of entire reciprocity, without the slightest as-
 sumption of superiority on the part of Great
 Britain over any other power; but as they rest-
 ed that right on special treaty, applicable to the
 contracting parties alone, to be exercised only
 within certain limits, and in a prescribed way,
 they afforded some countenance to the argument
 that, even in case of war, neutral vessels could
 not legally be searched by the cruisers of the bel-
 ligerent powers but in virtue of some such agree-
 ment, expressed or implied, with the power
 whose vessels were seized. But all these con-
 siderations, as well as the obvious importance,
 and indeed indispensable need, of such a treaty,
 to secure the abolition of a traffic which was a
 disgrace to humanity, were overlooked in the
 jealousy of the powers which were most likely to
 be affected by it in their maritime operations.
 This appeared in an especial manner in France
 and America, the countries in the world next to
 England which possessed the largest commercial
 navies. In France one universal cry of indig-
 nation burst forth from one end of the country
 to the other, the moment the obnoxious treaty
 appeared in the columns of the *Moniteur*. It
 was worse than Leipsic, a greater disgrace than
 Waterloo; a bowing the neck to England, for
 which no precedent was to be found in the for-

mer annals of the country; an open abandon-
 ment of the object for which all the sovereigns
 of France, from Louis XIV. to Napoleon, had
 contended, and which even the Government of
 the Restoration had refused to concede. So vi-
 olent was the outcry, so strong the indignation,
 that, in spite of all the efforts of Sir R. Peel and
 Lord Aberdeen to get the treaty ratified,
 the French Government did not venture Dec. 27,
 to take so hazardous a step; and the 1841.
 temper evinced by the Chamber, when the sub-
 ject came under discussion in the *Moniteur*,
 debate on the Address, a few days Dec. 20,
 after the treaty was published, was 1841; Reg-
 such that it was indefinitely adjourn- nault, II.
 ed.¹ On their side, the Americans 189, 192;
 were not slow in taking the same view D'Hausson-
 ville, II. 6, 7.
 of the treaty, for on the 13th February, 1842,
 their Minister at Paris presented a note Feb. 13,
 to the French Government, remonstra- 1842.
 ting against the treaty, and representing
 that, if attempted to be carried into execution
 by stopping American vessels to verify their al-
 leged nationality, it would inevitably disturb the
 peace between the two countries.

The fixed policy of the democratic leaders to
 concentrate all their efforts, in order 52.
 to render the Government unpopu- Interdiction
 lar, received a fortunate opportunity of the Polish
 for exercise from a measure of police Banquet.
 adopted in the end of November, on occasion of
 a proposed banquet of the Poles in Paris in
 commemoration of the revolt which, ten years
 before, broke out in Warsaw on the 29th Nov. 29.
 of that month. Such a festival had
 been annually held since that event without at-
 tracting much notice; but on this occasion it
 excited a more than ordinary attention, as it was
 to be presided over by General Rybinski, the
 last commander of the Polish army; and M.
 Arago, Garnier Pagès, Bastide, Buchez, and
 several other of the leading French Radicals,
 were to take a prominent part in the proceed-
 ings. It was interdicted, accordingly, by the
 Prefect of Police, upon the ground that it was
 illegal for any Frenchman to take a part in such
 an assembly. This stretch of authority, which
 appears to have been by no means judicious, af-
 forded a fair ground for the declamations of the
 Republicans, who represented M. Guizot as al-
 ternately the tool of England and the vassal of
 Russia, and as degrading France by depriving
 her of the last privilege left to her—that of
 evincing sympathy with heroism in misfortune.
 So violent were the declamations of the Liberal
 press on the subject, that several prosecutions
 were instituted against the leading jour- Dec. 16.
 nals. On 16th December the *National*
 was seized, and the editor sent to the Chamber
 of Peers for trial, by whom he was convicted
 and sentenced to pay a fine of 10,000 francs;
 and on the 26th M. Lamennais was Dec. 26.
 convicted, and sentenced to a year's im-
 prisonment and a fine of 2000 francs. Terrible
 inundations in the valleys of the Rhone Nov. 4.
 and the Saône supervened at this time,
 which did immense damage to Ly- 2 Regnault,
 ons, Maçon, and the principal towns II. 50, 53;
 on their banks, besides laying waste Ann. Hist.
 sixty square leagues of territory, and xxiv. 394,
 utterly destroying a hundred villages. 395.
 With praiseworthy liberality the Chamber, on

their first meeting, voted 6,500,000 francs (£325,000) to relieve the sufferers by these disasters, which did not, unhappily, cover a tenth part of the losses sustained.

Ere long the public appetite for scandal and abuse of the Government received still more fortunate subjects on which to feast. In the end of 1840 Madame de Fouchères died, whose name had been so intimately connected with the death of the Duke de Bourbon some years before. This event revived all the scandalous reports regarding her accession to that catastrophe, which had received such strong confirmation from the favor shown to her by the royal family, after the magnificent succession which opened to them from the deceased. But

a more serious subject for conversation was soon afforded. On 24th January 1841. the *Gazette de France* published three letters, professing to be from Louis Philippe, when king, to Lord Stuart de Rothesay, the English ambassador, under the exciting title of "La politique de Louis Philippe expliquée par lui-même." The purport of these letters was to reveal the intimate connection which subsisted between the French Minister and the English Government; and the object of their publication was to represent him as in effect, and by his own admission, the mere vassal and puppet of Great Britain. How such strictly confidential documents found their way into a public journal, especially one of ultra-Legitimist principles, was not explained. But their contents were too important to the two great parties which were in opposition to the Government to permit a doubt to be thrown upon their authenticity. They were immediately, and by common consent, hailed as genuine alike by the Republicans and the Legitimists; they appeared next day in the columns of the *National*, the *Quotidienne*, and the *Echo Français*; and the effect of their publication was such that the Government felt themselves constrained to adopt some steps to counteract it. The same

day a short notice appeared in the *Moniteur*, saying "that several journals had published fragments of letters *falsely and criminally* ascribed to the King. Prosecutions have been ordered for the crime of forgery, and a criminal attempt on the King."¹

¹ *Gazette de France*, Jan. 24, 1841; *Moniteur*, Jan 25; *Ann. Hist.* xxiv. 388; *Regnault*, il. 83, 84.

* The most material parts of these letters were as follows: "En thèse générale, ma résolution la plus sincère et la plus ferme est de maintenir inviolables tous les traités qui ont été conclus depuis quinze ans entre les puissances de l'Europe et la France. Quant à ce qui concerne l'occupation d'Alger, j'ai des motifs plus particuliers, et plus puissants encore, pour remplir fidèlement les engagements que ma famille a pris envers la Grande Bretagne. Ces motifs sont le vif désir que j'éprouve d'être agréable à Sa Majesté Britannique, et ma conviction profonde qu'une alliance intime entre les deux pays est nécessaire, non seulement à leurs intérêts réciproques, mais encore à l'intérêt et à la civilisation de l'Europe. Vous pouvez donc, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, affirmer à votre Gouvernement que le mien se conformera ponctuellement à tous les engagements pris par S. M. Charles X. relativement à l'affaire d'Alger. Mais je vous prie d'appeler l'attention du Cabinet Britannique sur l'état actuel des esprits en France, de lui faire observer que l'évacuation d'Alger serait le signal des plus violentes récriminations contre mon gouvernement, qu'elle pourrait amener des résultats désastreux, et qu'il importe à la paix de l'Europe de ne point dépopulariser un Pouvoir naissant et qui travaille à se constituer."

Nothing could be more injudicious than to bring the matter to this issue, especially when the extreme hostility against the Government of the two great parties which entered so largely into the composition of every Paris jury was taken into consideration. So it turned out, accordingly, on the present occasion. The *Gazette de France* was prosecuted by the Advocate-General on the part of the Government, and the defense was conducted, with his wonted ability, by M. Berryer. After a long trial, and an hour's deliberation by the jury, a verdict of "Not Guilty" was returned, to the utmost satisfaction of a crowded

54. Prosecutions against the editors who published the papers.

2d Letter.—"Il paraît que vous n'avez pas encore réussi à faire comprendre, ni à Vienne ni à St. Pétersbourg que, sans la non-intervention, l'Europe était ébranlée, que l'Autriche eût perdu l'Italie comme on a enlevé la Belgique à la Hollande. A-t-on pu ou dû oublier que, lors du Gouvernement Czartoryski, la Pologne en masse, sous l'influence révolutionnaire eût été debout, et que, sans notre sage et salutaire influence, elle se fût unie à la France pour repousser, pour écraser, qu'on n'en doute pas, la Russie, malgré ses forces colossales; parcequ'il est immortellement vrai que lorsqu'un Peuple, vraiment Peuple, est debout pour la liberté, il n'y a aucun Pouvoir absolu qui suffise pour le dompter. J'avais mieux espéré des éclaircissements que vous avez dû donner sur l'immensité du service que nous avons rendu à la Russie, à l'Autriche, et à la Prusse, service qui ressort du fait, puisque la Pologne a succombé, et non pas sans quelque péril pour nous. N'avez-vous pas les deux lettres de Lafayette, contenant les reproches à notre Ministre d'avoir paralysé par ses conseils et ses promesses les moyens de défense de la Pologne? En faut-il plus pour les Cabinets de Vienne et de St. Pétersbourg, et peut-on ignorer tout le danger qui existait pour la Russie dans les plans et le système de défense adopté par les Polonais sous le Prince Adam, et voudrait-on oublier ce qu'on nous doit, à nous, comme unique et puissant moteur des mesures qui ont paralysé ces résolutions, neutralisé le système, et réalisé les paroles prophétiques de Sébastiani?"

3d Letter.—"C'était du temps qu'il fallait gagner, et au lieu d'irriter les esprits, il fallait endormir le civisme en activité pour le préparer au salutaire moment où une ordonnance nous eût fait justice de tout récalcitrant. Du reste, rien ne me fera renoncer à un projet si sagement conçu, à l'exécution duquel, dans l'état des choses où se trouve la France, s'attache en quelque sorte non seulement la durée de la monarchie constitutionnelle, mais la perpétuité de ma dynastie, ce qui sonne mieux et vaut mieux pour la France. Qu'on se persuade bien que moi seul je pouvais affronter, diriger, et vaincre l'hydre révolutionnaire. Qu'on nous sache donc un peu de gré. On ne tient aucun compte de nos efforts constants; on ne sait pas à quel peuple nous avons affaire, et que depuis quarante ans on peut regarder Paris comme étant la France. Qu'on s'assure donc que je ne renonce pas à mon projet, ni à celui de maîtriser la presse, notre plus dangereux ennemi. On a gagné une grande partie des écrivains; les autres suivront et le calme succédera aux excitations malignes et journalières de ces plumes guerroyantes. Qu'on pense à ce que Juillet eût pu attirer sur l'Europe en 1830; que l'on voie ce que notre siècle et notre forte volonté ont fait de cette effrayante ébullition populaire; que l'on juge par là de ce que nous ferons; et surtout qu'aucune des Puissances n'oublie que nous seul nous pouvons faire, pour sauver la France et l'Europe, ce que nous avons fait.

"Il y a d'épouvantables conséquences à redouter dans les crises politiques lorsqu'une volonté sage et prévoyante se trouve en inévitable contact avec l'obstination d'un zèle qui peut, dans ce cas, se réputer hardiment de mauvais vouloir. Si au lieu d'en finir brutalement avec les artilleurs civiques, l'on eût suivi mon seul avis, qu'on eût flatté, cajolé ces hommes; qu'on leur eût fait entrevoir que si l'on pensait à construire des forts, c'était pour leur en confier la garde; si on leur eût persuadé qu'en cas d'invasion, Paris ne pourrait devoir son salut qu'à de pareils défenseurs; si, enfin, au lieu d'une décision brusquée, on eût pris ces citoyens par la vanité, Arago et les siens n'eussent pas été admis à prouver que les forts, bien loin d'être destinés à repousser une invasion étrangère, deviendraient, dans ce cas, une ressource victorieuse pour maintenir dans le devoir et la soumission la très-turbulente population de Paris, et de ses aimables faubourgs."

—REGNAULT, il. 84, 87; *Ann. Hist.* xxiv. 388.

court, and the unbounded joy and excitement of the public generally. The sensation produced was the greater, that the Advocate-General had most imprudently, in describing to the jury the purport of the letters alleged to be forgeries, characterized them in these terms: "Were the letters genuine, it would result from them that the King, who had been elected in 1830, to answer the wishes of the nation, has betrayed them on every point; that he has consented to the crushing of Poland in order to advance the interests of Russia; that he was disposed to abandon Algeria in order to promote those of England; that with him the preservation of his dynasty was the sole object, and not the maintenance of the constitutional government; in fine, that the project of fortifying Paris was, in the hands of the King, a project only for oppressing the citizens; that it was directed, not against the stranger, but against his own subjects. Such is the true import of the passages libeled upon as criminal. How could a man be called a king who could engage in such projects? Should he not rather be styled one of those tyrants who move only under the mask of dissimulation, and who establish their

empire, not on the sincerity of their language, but on the violation of their engagements?"¹

It may readily be believed that letters containing such sentiments, and openly ascribed to the reigning sovereign, made an immense sensation, and that every one believed or disbelieved them according as it suited his private interest or political prepossessions. The accusation of forgery connected with those letters, which was at first preferred against two persons of the names of Lubis and Montour, failed; but as the originals were not produced, and alleged fac-similes only were in the publisher's hands, no direct evidence tending to establish the genuine nature of the documents was got. The celebrated lady known in more than one character, "*La Contemporaine*," was said to have furnished these fac-similes. Thus the matter was left to rest very much on the internal evidence which the letters afforded, and the probabilities of the case; and, viewed in this light, as usual in such instances, there was much to say on both sides. On the one hand, the ideas contained in the letters were not only the same, but the expressions used were almost identical, word for word, with those ascribed to Louis Philippe by M. Sarrans, in his work published in 1834, on the fall of Charles X., which had never been contradicted, or

formed the subject of prosecution.² They were also such as corresponded very nearly with expressions which were known to be often used by Louis Philippe to those with

whom he was on intimate terms, and which conveyed his fixed ideas. On the other hand, it was very improbable that so prudent and astute a monarch would have hazarded the committing of such sentiments to writing, especially to a foreign ambassador. In this state of uncertainty, every one was at liberty to adopt his own conjectures and draw his own conclusions; but the great majority of men firmly believed, and still believe, in their authenticity; and the

allusions to the subject in the British Parliament render it more than probable that some letter of a similar import, detailing a conversation of Louis Philippe with Lord Stuart de Rothesay, really exists in the Foreign Office. Be this as it may, the publication of these alleged letters answered all the purposes for which it was intended, in adding to the unpopularity of the French monarch.³

The all-important subject of parliamentary reform was only glanced at by a side-wind in the Chamber in this session, and on moving for a grant of secret funds, the usual trial of strength of all administrations, M. Duchâtel, in making the motion, said: "Culpable associations are at work in the shade, and menace not only the existence of Government, but of society. Pains are taken to spread doctrines among the working classes subversive of all order; organization is attempting mysteriously to attack the social system in its essential base—the right of property. Security and repose are wanting to the Government; there is no fixed *to-morrow* for any one in the whole of France; the present is continually tottering, the future is an enigma. Complaints are made of the dregs of society striving to subvert its foundations: that audacity is the work of the Chambers; it is the consequence of the instability of the ministerial majority. Whence comes this instability? Whence is it that, when the great principles are decided, every one is impassioned for small distinctions as formerly they were for fundamental points?"—"Immobility," exclaimed M. de Courcelles in reply; "is that your remedy for existing evils? You will tell us that the Government can not acquire external force, or internal consideration, by reason of its instability; that no one can prophesy of *to-morrow* in France—that the present is tottering, and the future presents an enigma. In such circumstances, you tell us, there is nothing to be done but to execute the laws with rigor, and to oppose a firm resistance to all efforts at constitutional change. You are all agreed on the necessity of this resistance, and yet you yourselves tell us it is against a disunited and vacillating country you are obliged to combine."—"The majority in the Chamber," said M. Guizot, in reply, "is composed of a body firmly united to maintain external peace and internal tranquillity; it finds itself in presence of a great danger; and is it surprising that, when its objects can only be attained by a firm adherence to its fundamental principles, it should resist all attempts to shake the constitution or introduce disunion into its ranks? This is not the time to hazard the existence of society by stirring unnecessarily fundamental questions."—"Talk not of this not being the proper time," rejoined M. Odillon Barrot; "it is always a proper time to reconsider legal government and constitutional rights. Could any opportunity be so really desirable as that of honoring your administration by a return to the scrupulous and respectful observance of the constitution? But your policy is to put off one by pleading that the times are inopportune for change, to get quit of another by sacrificing your principles." That is not

¹ Regnault, li. 97, 99; Morning Post, April 30, 1841; Sarrans, i. 8, 9.

² 56. Debate on Resession, and its refusal.

³ 56. Ambiguity in regard to the authorship of the letters.

² L. Sarrans, L. Philippe et la Contre-Révolution de 1830, i. 8.

³ Moniteur, Feb. 19-22, 1842; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 76, 112; Regnault, li. 77, 93.

the conduct of a frank or courageous Government." The motion was agreed to without the Opposition amendment by a majority of 235 to 137.

The question of literary property underwent a very long discussion in this session; 57. and M. de Lamartine, the reporter of the commission to which it was referred, in an elaborate and eloquent report, proposed to limit the exclusive right of publication to fifty years. This long period met with a very fierce resistance, in which several literary men took the lead; and M. Villemain, in hopes of conciliating the Chamber, proposed to restrict it to thirty years after the death of the author, being an extension of ten years from the term of twenty, which had been adopted in the preceding years by the Chamber of Peers. This compromise was at first adopted by the Chamber; but, after a long discussion of eight days, they reversed this decision, and rejected the law altogether, leaving the right of literary property to rest on its present foundation.^{1*}

* "The produce of intellectual and manual labor may differ," said M. de Lamartine, in the Report of the Commission; "but the title to its exclusive enjoyment is the same. The time has now arrived when this title should be recognized by law. By a generosity worthy of its nature, Thought, which creates every thing, forgets itself; it asks only of men to be permitted to serve and enchant them; it demands only from Glory the fortune of a name destined to immortality, leaving in poverty or destitution the family of the philosopher or poet, whose works form the intellectual riches of a nation. But the press has made of these intellectual riches a material wealth, which is capable of being seized, consecrated, and regulated by law. That press, which renders Thought palpable as the character which engraves it, and commercial as the copy which forms the subject of sale, must sooner or later form the subject of a legislation which is to recognize its legality, and distribute equitably its fruits. The feeling of justice which prompts this on the part of the legislator takes nothing from the dignity of the writer, or the intellectual character of his labors. It noway lowers the book in its inestimable and inappreciable character of a service spontaneously and gratuitously rendered to the human race. It leaves its recompense to time and the memory of men. It does not touch Thought, which can never fall under the provisions of an infirm pecuniary law; it only relates to the book which has become the object of an impression—become an article of commerce. The idea comes from God, and returns to God, after leaving a trace of light on the forehead of him to whom it has been communicated, and on the name which his son bears; the book becomes the object of commercial circulation, and becomes a property capable of producing revenue, and forming capital. . . . One man expends a portion of his strength—a few easy years of his life—with the assistance of capital transmitted to him by his fathers, in fertilizing his fields, or in exercising a lucrative industry. He accumulates riches on riches, produce on produce; he enjoys all the luxuries of life, and you secure to him their possession during all the days of his life, and after him, to the heirs of his blood, or the beneficiaries of his will. Another expends his whole life, consumes his moral strength, enervates his physical frame in the oblivion of himself and his family, to enrich the world after his death, either with a *chef-d'œuvre* of the human mind, or with one of those ideas which change the face of the world. He sinks under his efforts; he dies: but his work is done; his *chef-d'œuvre* is produced; his idea is evolved; the intellectual world seize hold of it; industry, commerce, make it a subject of gain. It becomes by degrees, often after the author's death, a source of wealth; it casts millions into circulation and the rewards of industry; it is worked out for the benefit of others as a natural produce of the soil. All the world has right to it except the widow and children of that man who created it, who may be begging their bread beside the colossal fortunes which have owed their existence to the unrequited toil of their father. Such a state of things can never bear the light of conscience where God has inscribed the ineffaceable code of equity.

The session of 1841 was distinguished by the first attempt to introduce into France those principles of free trade which, at the same time, were taking such strong root in England. Early in February, Government introduced a measure which, under the modest title of "*Loi des Douanes*," in effect tended to introduce a lower system of import duties, and in some degree to lessen the protection to native industry. In this instance, however, the views of Government were in advance of the age, or rather, they belonged to a stage in civilization at which France had not yet arrived. The commission, accordingly, to which the project of Government was referred, reported *against* it. When this report came to be discussed in the Chamber, a perfect chaos of opinions was advanced, singularly descriptive of the various interests at work, and of the sturdy resistance which the principles of free trade, when seriously advanced, would meet with from the representatives of the infant native industry of France. Every place of any manufacturing note made its representative vote for the protection of its peculiar branch of industry, though it was quite willing to yield up its neighbor to the spoiler. Nantes fought the battle of oil in opposition to St. Etienne; Bordeaux contended for protection to wine; Rouen for cotton goods; the north struggled for the interests of stuffs; the west for metals. In the midst of such a confused *mêlée*, when the opposition was actuated entirely by separate interests, there was no possibility of united action; and the Ministry, resting on general principles, obtained an easy victory over so many and such divided opponents. But the struggle was long and violent; every separate branch of the tariff underwent a minute discussion; and it was evident, from the vehemence of so many detached oppositions, that if they once came to act in concert, they would obtain the undisputed command of the Legislature.¹

The disastrous state of the finances led to a most alarming representation of M. Humann,

Entire Europe at this moment is inspired with these ideas; it belongs to France to take the lead in their development. Her great place in the world has been wrought out for her by the hand of her artists, the pen of her writers, the sword of her soldiers. Can she leave in a state of negligence and spoliation those great powers which Thought and Genius have won over the human mind? Ingratitude often turns to the advantage of glory, for it renders it more touching; but it never, in the long run, enriches nations. What do we owe to those five or six men whose heritage we have so long been bespoiling? Five or six immortal names are all that is left to us of nationality in the past. Poets, philosophers, orators, historians, artists, rest alone in the memory: the brilliant remains of a nation's history! . . . The serious and legal constitution of the right of individual artistic and literary property is a change eminently in harmony with the democratic principles which are specially characteristic of our times. That species of property carries with it all that is wanting to democracy. It confers *éclat* without privilege, respect without constraint; grandeur to some, without abasement to others. Nobility has been suppressed, but not glory; that shining gift of nature is like all the other gifts of God—accessible to all classes. Genius, which is born every where, is the great leveler of the world; but it is so by elevating the general level of the people. Literary property is, in an especial manner, the embodiment of the spirit of democracy; glory is the nobility of equality."—*Rapport par M. DE LAMARTINE; Ann. Hist.*, xxiv. 175, 176, 181, 182; *Moniteur*, Feb. 12, 1841.

58.
First step in
France in the
cause of free
trade.

1 *Moniteur*,
Febr. 4-18,
1841; *Ann.*
Hist. xxiv.
226, 290; *Reg-*
nault, ii. 122,
124.

the finance minister, and to a fiscal regulation which excited most serious opposition in France, and went far to shake the throne with a class which had hitherto been its firm supporters. The finance minister thus expressed himself: "Our situation

has become such that it can not long endure. It is in vain that we strive to provide for former deficits, when we are condemned every year to see new deficits arise. Now, deficit is another word for discredit, impotence, anarchy. Is it possible to escape from such a result at no distant period, when we do nothing but accumulate loans upon loans, the sad expedient of prodigality reduced to its last shifts? Credit itself has its requirements; it refuses its aid to those who abuse it. And observe, that when it has become necessary to make loans for *annual* expenses for permanent charges, they are worse than a disorder; they amount to an injustice committed by one generation upon another. Loans, in truth, are nothing but deferred taxes; the interest they bear becomes an immediate addition to the capital, which must one day or other be provided for. Thus the abuse of credit saddens the present, and prepares a still more melancholy future. Is it, then, possible, by the single resources of economy, to establish a balance between the income and expenditure? Is it possible that we are to be presented with a budget for 1843 containing a deficit of 116,000,000 francs? If so, the necessity for economy was never more imperious than at this time; but to render it effective, it must be judicious and real; I have no idea that by any thing short of that a balance can be established between income and expenditure. A country which has been over-excited is not calmed in a day, and can never enter suddenly on the path of economical reform; *the errors of days of excitement hang for long a heavy load on the public finances.* On considering the

budget for 1843, and detaching from it all the expenses which can be considered as transitory, the deficit can not be less than 60,000,000 francs."

It was more easy, however, to depict the alarming state of the finances than to point out a mode in which the existing dangers were to be obviated. For the existing taxes could not be increased without the greatest danger of exciting discontent, if not disturbances; and to lay on new ones would be still more hazardous. In this dilemma, it occurred to M. Humann, as the only possible way of getting out of the difficulty, to make a new valuation of taxable property of every description, in hopes that, by raising it, an increased revenue might be obtained without incurring the odium of laying on new taxes. This, accordingly, was the expedient resorted to; but it proved most unfortunate, and led to a dispute between the Government and the municipal authorities which threatened more grave consequences than the imposition of any new taxes, how oppressive soever, could have done. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that, by the existing practice of France, the valuation of properties was made in four successive stages, and by different authorities in each: 1st. A division among the departments, made by the Chambers or those appointed by

them; 2d. A division among the *arrondissements*, made by their councils-general; 3d. A division among the *communes*, made by the councils of the *arrondissements*; and, 4th. A division among the citizens, made by the municipalities. The first division was, by the law of 11th July, 1838, to be made every ten years; the three others every year. But how was the first to be made? It could only be done by the officers of the taxes, who alone possessed the requisite materials to form such a general distribution. The three last stood in a different situation. They were all intrusted to the different grades of the local authorities, beginning with the councils of *arrondissements*, and descending through that of the *commune* to the municipality. Here each was intrusted with an important duty in its own sphere, and possessed the materials to discharge it. But to suppose that the local authorities could partition the burdens among the departments, was as ridiculous as it would be to charge a parish vestry, or county Quarter Sessions, with the laying on of the property, assessed, and land taxes, over the whole kingdom.¹

Although, however, all this was abundantly clear to men of business, and all acquainted with the working of the machinery by which the direct taxes were raised in the country, yet unfortunately it was not equally palatable to the persons, amounting to many millions, who in the last resort were to pay them. On the contrary, being accustomed to be brought in contact only with the subordinate authorities appointed by the municipalities, or the councils of the *arrondissement*, or the departments, they not unnaturally came to imagine that they were intrusted with the entire making up of the valuation. When, therefore, they saw the officers of the Exchequer setting about the preliminary surveys which were to form the basis of the whole, and still more, when they learned that the new surveys *generally ended in an increase of the valuation*, the belief became all but universal that a serious infringement of their constitutional rights was in contemplation, and that the officers of Exchequer were illegally employed on the preliminary surveys, because it was thought they would prove more docile than those nominated by the local authorities. This mistake was carefully propagated by the Radical press, which universally maintained that the agents of the central power had no right to make the obnoxious surveys which were expressly reserved by law for those appointed by the municipalities. The consequence was, that wherever it was attempted to carry the orders of the Treasury into execution, they were declared illegal by the municipalities, and an open resistance to them was recommended. This was, in particular, the case at Strasbourg, Grenoble, Aix, Albi, Auxerre, Bayonne, Caen, Clermont, Bordeaux, Lille, Cahors, Châtelherault, Montpellier, Mont de Marsan, Provins, Troyes, and a multitude of other towns and districts. One half of France refused to admit the Government surveyors into their houses, and was in a state of passive insurrection against the Government.²

59. M. Humann's picture of the disastrous state of the finances.

¹ *Moniteur*, May 26, 1841; *Ann. Hist.* xxiv. 374.

60. Expedient of a new valuation.

61. Extreme discontent produced by the new "Recensement."

² *Regnault*, ii. 131, 139; *Ann. Hist.* xxiv. 401, 407.

At length matters came to a crisis at Toulouse. The prefect of that city, M. Floret, foreseeing that the survey of the Government officers could not be carried into execution without a sanguinary struggle, as the municipality had refused to assist them in their labors, and it was known that, in doing so, they were supported by the whole body of the National Guard, demanded instructions from the Government how to act, and in the mean time suspended the execution of the Treasury orders. Twelve days elapsed without any answer being received, and when it did come, it was a simple dismissal of M. Floret, and appointment of a new prefect, M. Mahul, in his room. The whole magisterial and municipal authorities warmly sympathized with the dismissed prefect, and indeed the entire population. Both parties commenced operations: the municipality voted a sum of money to carry on the valuation by their own officers; the prefect interdicted them, and went on with the survey by the Treasury officers. In this excited state the transition was easy to acts of violence. Menacing crowds assembled round the hotel of the prefect; the horse-artillery sallied out to disperse them; chains were drawn across the principal streets to arrest the charges; blood flowed on all sides, and barricades were thrown up in several parts of the town. So far from attempting to check these disorders, the National Guard took part in them with the insurgents. To such a height did the insurrection proceed, that after several days' fighting, and the erection of above twenty barricades in the narrowest parts of the town, the insurgents were every where victorious; the National Guard were all ranged on their side; the artillerymen and Chasseurs of Vincennes, the most obnoxious part of the military, were shut up in their barracks; both M. Mahul the prefect, and M. Plangolm the procureur-general, were constrained ignominiously to desert their posts and leave the city; and General Saint-Michel, the general of division in the district, was so intimidated that he did not venture to direct the forces under his command against the insurgent city.¹

Matters had now proceeded so far that Ministers could not recede without sharing in the disgrace of the civil and military officers, who had suffered themselves to be so ignominiously defeated. The measures of Government, in consequence, were vigorous and decided: the whole authorities, civil and military, at Toulouse, were changed; M. Maurice Duval was sent down as extraordinary commissioner, with unlimited powers; General Saint-Michel was replaced by General Rulhières, an officer of capacity and resolution, and such a body of troops concentrated on the city as rendered farther resistance a matter of impossibility. By royal proclamation, the National Guard of Toulouse was dissolved; General Rulhières made his entry into the city at the head of an imposing force; artillery, with lighted matches beside the guns, were planted in the principal square; and, with the dagger at their throats, the whole National Guard were disarmed. Under protection of this military force, the new

valuation was resumed and completed by the officers of the Treasury. Similar scenes occurred at Lille, Clermont, and many other places, where resistance was in like manner attempted, barricades erected, and blood shed. At length the steadiness of the military prevailed over the desultory and unconnected efforts of the citizens; the tumults were appeased, and the Government valuation completed. But these events left a very painful impression on men's minds, and diffused a general feeling of distrust of the future, which had not been felt since the accession of the present dynasty; for disaffection had now reached a class which had hitherto been most exempt from it, and it had become necessary to disarm the National Guard, which had always shown itself the firmest support of the throne.¹

The summer of this year witnessed the death of one of the brightest ornaments of French literature, M. Garnier Pagès. The rude combats of the Chamber, and excessive anxiety consequent on them, proved too much for a constitution naturally frail, and by no means adequate to the support of his ardent and intrepid spirit. He died on the 28d June in the full lustre of his talents and fame; ten thousand persons attended his funeral, and he carried with him to the grave the ardent affections of the Liberals, the respect of all parties in France. He was succeeded in the representation of Mons, for which he had sat, by a man by no means of the same genius, but more suited to the taste of the extreme Liberal section, and better adapted for the stormy scenes which were approaching. M. LEDRU-ROLLIN was a man of robust health, vigorous intellect, considerable powers of popular eloquence, unflinching energy, and unscrupulous ambition. Drowned in debt, he entered public life in the hope of gaining something which would enable him to discharge it; but though he had unbounded ambition, he had not the firmness of character, or mental resources, to qualify him to play a great part on the stage of public life. He was passionately fond of theatrical display, and desired rather to repeat the dramatic scenes of the first Revolution than advance its principles or secure its objects. His figure and countenance corresponded to this character: a robust and corpulent figure, thick lips, large and heavy eyes, and a harsh, disagreeable voice, he resembled rather a chief of brigands than the leader of a great political party in the State. His character was well known in the clubs, where his first eminence had been attained; in them he was regarded as a man of words rather than deeds, and their members gave him and M. Flocon the nickname of "paper-manufacturers and merchants."²

Though deficient, however, in the qualities required to form a revolutionary leader in troubled times, Ledru-Rollin possessed the ready elocution and courage in words which in the outset of convulsions are generally found to

62. Serious troubles at Toulouse. July 2.

¹ Moniteur, July 17, 1841; Regnault, ii. 143, 147; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 401, 404.

63. Suppression of the disturbances.

July 13.

¹ Regnault, ii. 147, 150; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 404, 405; Moniteur, July 13, 1841.

64. Death of M. Garnier Pagès, and election of M. Ledru-Rollin. June 23.

² De la Hodde, Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes, c. xiv.; Chenu, Hist. des Conspirateurs, c. viii.; Cassagnac, Hist. de la Chute de Louis Philippe, I. 118, 119.

65. Prosecution and acquittal of Ledru-Rollin.

be all-powerful with the multitude. In an address delivered to the electors the evening before his election, he expressed himself in no measured terms on the leading questions of the day, and rudely threw the gauntlet down to the depositaries of power. It made, accordingly, an immense impression; the more so that so undisguised an expression of republican sentiments had for long been unheard, at least from those destined for the Legislature. It was accordingly made the subject of a prosecution, which was directed also against M. Haureau, the chief editor of the *Courrier de la Sarthe*, in which it had first appeared. This state trial was the making of Ledru-Rollin's fortune. The accused were both, in the first instance, convicted; but a formal error caused the conviction of M. Ledru-Rollin to be set aside in the Court of Cassation, and by the new jury, to whom he was sent at the Assizes at Mayenne, he was acquitted. The editor, M. Haureau, however, was not equally fortunate; the formal objection did not apply to him, and thus the final result was that the author of the libel escaped without punishment, while the mere publisher was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and a fine of 8000 francs.

Another libel of a still more audacious description, published by the *National*, was soon after made the subject of three successive prosecutions, in every one of which the accused was acquitted.¹

Another of those atrocious attempts at assassination of some members of the royal family, which had so often disgraced France during the reign of Louis Philippe, occurred at this period. On the 13th September the Duke de Aumale made his public entrance into Paris at the head of the 18th regiment of infantry, with which he had made a successful campaign in Algeria. The Duke de Orleans and the Duke de Nemours went to meet him; and the cortège, in great pomp, was returning into Paris, accompanied by the Governor of Paris and a brilliant staff, when, at the corner of the Rue Traversière, an explosion was suddenly heard, and a ball struck the horse of General Schneider, who was riding immediately on the left of the Duke de Nemours. The assassin was seized by a workman, and soon after by the police officers, and secured after a violent struggle, during which he repeatedly called out in a loud voice, "*A moi, les amis.*" He turned out to be a lawyer, named François Quenisset, who had formerly been in the army, and, having been sentenced to three years of imprisonment and hard labor for mutiny, had succeeded in making his escape from the galleys in 1837. It was clearly proved, in the proceedings which ensued, that the assassin belonged to one of the secret societies, by whom a vague plan of a general insurrection against the Government had been formed, which was to be commenced by cutting off the heir to the throne. After a long

trial the three chiefs of the conspiracy, Quenisset, Bourrier, and Colombus, were found guilty, and sentenced to death; and a number of others to various degrees of transportation and imprisonment.²

So far all was right, and the most vehement

Republican, if not dead to every sense of justice or every generous feeling, could not but admit that the pains awarded was not disproportioned to the offense. But in the eagerness of prosecution, and under the influence of feelings highly exasperated by these repeated attempts at assassination of the royal family, the crown lawyers went a step farther, and mooted a question, in itself of very doubtful legality or justice, and which only widened and rendered irreparable the breach between the press and the Government. Profoundly convinced of what was obviously the fact, that it was the incessant declamation and provocation of the press which produced these constantly recurring attempts at assassination, they took up the idea that the authors of such articles might be included in the charge for the last criminal act, which their words tended to recommend. Their idea was that they were in a manner "accessaries before the fact," although nowise cognizant of what was actually intended, or accessory to the preparations for carrying it into execution. They called this "*complicité morale*;" and however repugnant such a doctrine may be to natural justice or legal principle, it met with a ready reception from the Chamber of Peers; and M. Dupoty, editor of the *Journal du Peuple*, in which a violent article had been inserted five days before the attempt of the 13th September, was convicted "*d'une provocation suivie d'effet*," and sentenced to five years' imprisonment. There can be no doubt that this was an arbitrary and illegal stretch: the authors of such inflammatory articles are guilty of an offense, and liable to punishment; but without something more to connect them with the perpetration of, or preparation for, the last act, they are not accessaries before the fact; such a doctrine is worse than the "constructive treason" so firmly repudiated by the best English lawyers. Such was the indignation of the Parisian editors at this decision, that the majority of them immediately adopted a resolution from that day forward to report none of the proceedings of the Chamber of Peers.³

At length the great question of Electoral Reform assumed such proportions that it could no longer be postponed. A solemn debate on the subject was held in the Council of State, in presence of the Duke of Orleans and the principal officers of state. The chief objection to any change originated with the King himself. He persisted in maintaining that "the cry for reform is a malady of the age, but it will pass away: we must know, however, how to treat it. The Kings of the Continent preserve themselves from it by terror; for my own part, I prefer the homeopathic method, and I find it succeeds." He frequently said, "Am not I too a grandson of Louis XIV.?" M. Guizot thought with him that the cry for reform was "a fictitious one, got up for party purposes; that it had no foundation in the real interests or durable wishes of the country; and that reform might be withheld without endangering the public tranquillity." Several of the Ministry, however, who had been brought more in contact with the middle classes, entertained different

67.

Moral complicity: its dangerous tendency.

Moniteur, Nov. 19, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 410; Regnault, 164, 169.

68.

Debate on Electoral Reform in the Council of State. Jan. 17, 1842.

¹ Moniteur, Sept. 14, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 406, 410; Regnault, ii. 163, 166.

² Moniteur, Sept. 14, 1841; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 406, 410; Regnault, ii. 163, 166.

views, and strongly advocated the expedience of dividing the Liberals by making some considerable concession to the most reasonable of their number. The opinion of the Duke of Orleans in this divided state of opinion was anxiously looked for; and as his connections had hitherto lain chiefly among the Liberal party, and he had on many occasions expressed in public ultra-Liberal sentiments, it was expected he would declare for the same side. To the surprise of every one, however, he did the very reverse. He ranged himself with the King, and this determined the Council, by whom it was resolved to resist all concession to reform. So much was this opinion of the Duke of Orleans at variance with his known preconceived sentiments and political connections, that it was generally surmised that the change was instigated by M. Thiers, with whom he was certainly in close communication, and who was desirous of signaling his own future administration by a liberal measure of electoral reform.¹

¹ Regnault, ii. 231, 236.

Notwithstanding this decision of the Council of State, which rendered hopeless 69. any movement in favor of Reform in the Chambers, it was brought forward, though in a very modified form, by two members of the Chamber of Deputies, who were actuated by any thing rather than a spirit of hostility to the Government. A motion was introduced to the effect that members of the Chamber of Deputies, who were not office-bearers at their election, should be disqualified from receiving appointments during the period when they sat in the Chamber, or within a year after its expiry. The latter moved that the list of electors should be extended to all those who stood on the rolls of departments to act as jurymen. These were very moderate proposals, and obviously of a beneficial character; for the first tended to limit the overwhelming influence of Ministers in the Chamber, while the latter introduced a new element into the electoral body, composed of persons whose capacity to discharge its duties could hardly be doubted, since they were already invested with the right to judge in cases involving the lives and liberties of their fellow-citizens.

The debate which followed was not very long, but it was eminently descriptive of the present temper of men's minds, and prophetic of the future of France.²

On the one hand, it was argued by M. Guizot: "We hear complaints on all sides 70. of the agitation which exists in all classes of society; of the passion for places and honors which has seized all ranks of citizens, even the humblest; of the obloquy which surrounds functionaries, even the most respectable and eminent. Gentlemen, there is but one way to remedy these evils. Establish salutary rules; cause eligibility to office to be the result of years of preparation and study; make it the reward of a life of honor and usefulness, and you will soon surround office with the respectability which should belong to it. Doubtless you will not remedy the evil completely, for it springs from the principles of human nature; but you will alleviate it in a certain degree, and at any rate you will clear yourself of

responsibility, by showing that you have done what you can to limit it. But to do this with effect you must begin with yourselves; your interests, your dignity, the maintenance of your power, alike demand it.

"It is in the fundamental principle of the French Government—democracy—in its sovereignty, in the organs of general opinion, that you can alone find an 71. antidote to this great and growing evil. The only effect of the proposed law would be to lower the character of the Legislature, to impoverish the administration, to enervate the public service, to retain only in its lowest grades those whom talent or merit have pointed out as qualified to enter it. Are you prepared to take away from the electors all self-esteem, all respectability in the eyes of Europe, by openly proclaiming that they are governed in their choice only by selfish or corrupt considerations? Are you content to hold out France, within and without, as a country overrun with a moral gangrene and political corruption, where the Ministers are unworthily swayed by the deputies, the deputies by the electors, the electors by their vile personal ambition and their lowest local interests; and where, in order to obtain the shadow even of honest representation, you must put a precautionary law on the side of each conscience, and a law of distrust beside every vote?

"The real danger of the country, its prevailing vice, is not corruption, it is the 72. want of great public men, of those men who are the living and immortal expression of great ideas, of great passions, of great courage. Placed midway between the ardent youth which is striving to bring back the Republic, and the great proprietors who regret the ancient order of things, where can Government recruit its ranks if not in the property of the middle classes, in the ability of the liberal professions, in the intelligence, activity, and patriotism of the great and laborious central mass of the country? Is it at such a moment that you propose to cripple its resources, to lessen its respectability, to abridge its usefulness, by cutting off from its political support all that intermediate class which participates in the administrative functions? You have not the elements of adequate support to Government in France if you deprive it in the Chambers of the most powerful of these classes. Recollect the deplorable consequences which ensued from the self-denying ordinance passed by the Constituent Assembly. Figure to yourselves the great voices thereby doomed to impotent silence—Barnave without a voice, and unable to ascend the Tribune at the very moment when an insane faction was precipitating France into the abyss.

"The demand for an increase in the number of electors is equally unfounded. By 73. the extension of the suffrage which resulted from the law of 1831, which reduced the qualification from the payment of 300 to that of 200 francs direct taxes, the number of electors swelled at once from 99,000 to 168,000, and since then it has gradually advanced to 224,000. In these circumstances, what reasonable ground is there for a further extension of the suffrage? Are you desirous to swamp the education, intelligence, and property which now form the foundation of the electoral

71. Continued.

72. Continued.

73. Continued.

body, by the immense mass of uneducated persons, destitute of property or intelligence, which any considerable extension of the suffrage would admit into its ranks? The present moment is eminently inopportune for the mooted of any such question. The effervescence produced by the treaty of 15th July has not yet subsided; and if the idea once get afloat that the Chamber is prepared to entertain a project of electoral reform, it will immediately be concluded that the career of innovation is again opened, and the Chamber will turn into a National Assembly.

74. Continued. "That such a change would be perilous must be evident to all, but is it not evident that it is as uncalled for as it is hazardous? The noise made on the subject is a merely superficial and artificial cry got up by the journals and the committees, but which does not spring from the real wishes of the country, its interests, its wants, its necessities. No genuine motive exists for the movement—nothing which should influence the sensible portion of the nation. Unity is the great characteristic of the French monarchy—not merely a geographical unity, but a moral internal principle of homogeneity. The envy produced by rank, the rivalry of classes, has disappeared. There are no longer any interests profoundly at variance in society. There is no line of demarkation between the electors paying 300 francs of taxes and those paying 200 or 50. Their interests are at bottom the same; they live under the same laws, they are subject to the same conditions of civil society. Unlike what has ever before happened in the world, the similitude of interests is allied to the diversity of professions and the inequality of conditions. From this it follows that the distribution of political rights is not, and could not be, the object of perpetual strife, as is the case in societies differently constituted. On this account the passion for political rights can never be very strongly felt in our society, because, how powerful soever may be the springs of vanity in the human breast, how strong soever the desire for the enjoyment of political power, when its exercise is not required for the defense of daily interests, the security of property, the defense of life or of liberty, when its possession, in short, is not necessary to the social state, it will fail in awakening the same ardor in the masses.

75. Concluded. "The cry for reform has been raised by the enemies of the Government, by those who desire the overthrow of the social order; but neither among the Republicans nor the Carlists does it embrace any honorable men, although at the first signal of distress all the factions will precipitate themselves on the Government, to profit by its difficulties. It is your first duty to close every access to their approach, to take from them all pretexts, and to defend the inexperienced public against the illusions which they never cease to propagate. We have a task to perform, more difficult than has ever yet been imposed on any people. We have these things to found: a new society composed of the great democracy, heretofore unknown in the history of the world; new institutions, the representative system, heretofore a stranger to our country; in fine, a new dynasty. Never was such a duty imposed on

any people. Nevertheless we approach our object. The new society is preponderating, victorious; no one contests it; it has demonstrated its strength, it has taken possession of the social land, it has conquered at once the institutions and the dynasty which befit it. The great conquests are all made; all the great interests are satisfied; our first, I may even say our sole duty, is to take possession of the ground we have gained; to secure its complete and lasting enjoyment. But to do this, which is the real enterprise and duty of our times, we require two things: in the first place, stability; and in the second, a prudent administration in the daily affairs of the State. These are the true requirements, the real wants of France. But instead of this, what are the Liberals doing? They are doing just the reverse of what good policy and the real national interests require. They are striving to undermine our laws, our institutions; to sow distrust where there should only be confidence; to shake the stability of the electoral body, of the Chamber, of the Government. And why have they adventured on so perilous a course? Is it to meet the wants of a great majority of the country, the imperious demand of a predominant section of the community? No: it is to satisfy a few ambitions, to gratify a craving felt only by a limited number. And it is for such a miserable factitious object, which springs from individual selfishness, not general interest, that you are called on to endanger our laws, our institutions, our liberties."¹

M. Lamartine thundered in strains of prophetic eloquence in reply: "In all countries, and in all ages, there are men, honorable, well-intentioned, but blind in political passion, intrenched in a numerical majority, who shut their eyes to all new ideas, however good, mature, prepared. In vain have you served these men in their legitimate interests; in vain have you joined them in the days of their dangers and difficulties; in vain have you supported them in those struggles which Government must always maintain with the factious; in vain have you stood forward, to defend or perish with them, to preserve the peace of the world, or the constitutional authority with which you yourselves have invested them, and to which they fly for refuge in the tempest. All is forgotten! You may enjoy their esteem; but from the moment when you propose a measure of innovation, the most prudent, the most wise, the most advantageous to the conservative spirit of the Government, from that moment you become their enemy. I am not indulging in personalities in saying this; I am recounting the history of all the great epochs in our history, those of 1789, of 1815, of this time. It is in vain, with such men, that powers are altered, decomposed; that the moral forces of a country are corrupted, demoralized, under their very eyes. They foresee nothing, they will provide for nothing. Their only resource is to shroud themselves in the immobility of despotism; they would even make use of its burning fetters rather than admit of the smallest agitation. If you listen to such men, you would arrive at the conclusion that political wisdom consists only in one thing—to

¹ Ann. Hist. xxv. 51, 71; Moniteur, Feb. 7-12, 1842.

rest in any situation on which hazard or revolution has cast them, and to remain there immovable, inert, implacable—yes! implacable, even against any amelioration. And if that were really all that was requisite for statesmanship, a man of superior mind would not be required for the discharge of its duties; the most limited capacity would suffice for it.

“You have long inscribed on your banners ‘Resistance—Eternal Resistance.’ I understand this policy during the period which immediately followed the Revolution of July, and down to the close of 1834. During all that period resistance was the first duty of the Chamber, and you have worthily, gloriously discharged it. But after 1834 the danger was over, the necessity for resistance no longer existed; and then arose a variety of questions, on which the ideas of our leading statesmen were not abreast of the spirit of the age. I grieve to say there exists in France, not a feeling of national degradation—the nation will never be degraded; but of important interests strangled, of impassioned desires thwarted. Beware of increasing this painful feeling in that class which you call intelligent, political, and which is certainly more *impressionable* than the territorial body in whom, at present, power is chiefly vested. For the best interests of this great country, you should not lightly reject a proposal which goes to recruit the electoral body with active, living, patriotic forces, which will communicate a new life to its decaying members, and will give it additional strength to resist the underhand but undying coalition of the European powers against our liberties and independence.”*

Memorable in many respects, both from the talent displayed on either side, and the exposition it affords of the views of the two great parties which divided the State on the vital question which soon after overthrew the monarchy, this debate is still more remarkable from the entire ignorance of the disposition and social necessities of the country to which it referred which was evinced by the orators on both sides. M. de Lamartine, with the warm and sanguine ideas of a poet, had no doubt that the opinion of the electors, if their ranks were enlarged and placemen excluded, would bring forward to the Chamber men of superior capacity and power; forgetting that *jealousy of independence of character, or originality of thought*, is the great characteristic of all large bodies of men, and never fails, after a short struggle, to banish self-acting genius and intrepid ability from the Legislature; a jealousy to which he himself, after the revolution of 1848, so soon became a victim. And M. Guizot was clear that the great questions which divided society were now settled, that all interests were identical now that feudalism was abolished, and that the 200-franc votes shielded the 100, the 50, and every other class of society; forgetting that the terrible question of *capital versus labor* still remained to distract the world; that the landed aristocracy had been

abolished only to give place to the moneyed, a still more powerful and dangerous body; and that if the working classes were no longer openly bespoiled by the armed retainers of a feudal lord, they were often still more effectually stripped of the fruits of their toil by the unseen and unobserved operation of monetary laws, which enhance the value of money and lessen the rewards of labor.

Faithful to his system of consulting the material interests of the country, while he resisted any extension of its political power, M. Guizot brought forward in this session a magnificent project for a general system of railways, which was to cover France, and would, it was hoped, secure for its inhabitants the advantages which the more advanced system carried out on the other side of the Channel had already given to those of Great Britain. The plan which was adopted by the Chamber was, that Government should be at the whole expense of purchasing and leveling the ground, constructing the viaducts, bridges, and sleepers; while the companies should buy and lay the rails, and bear the whole charges of working the lines and keeping them in repair. It was proposed to make the railway system very complete in France; so much so, indeed, that the scheme has not yet been fully carried into execution. It was proposed to establish lines—1st. From Paris to the Belgian frontier; 2d. From Paris to the shores of the Channel, on the road to London; 3d. From Paris to the German frontier, by Nancy and Strasbourg; 4th. From Paris to Marseilles, by Lyons; 5th. From Paris to Bayonne, by Orleans, Tours, and Bordeaux; 6th. To Nantes, by Tours; 7th. From Paris to Bourges; 8th. From the Mediterranean to the Rhine, by Lyons, Dijon, and Mülhausen; 9th. From Bordeaux to Marseilles, by Toulouse. It is remarkable, and highly characteristic of the social state of France, and its industrial inferiority to England, how large a proportion of these lines terminate in Paris, and how few led from one part of the country to the other. Such as it was, however, the project was grandly conceived; and being under the entire direction and control of Government, it was free from the ruinous competition of rival lines, which has proved fatal to so many undertakings of a similar kind in Great Britain. The charges it entailed upon the Government, however, were extremely heavy, and largely contributed to swell the floating debt which had now come to hang as so heavy a load on the French finances. The deficit of this year amounted to 63,289,000 francs (£2,520,000), of which no less than 29,500,000 (£1,180,000) was for railway advances.*

* During the discussion of these railway bills, a tragic event occurred on the line from Paris to Versailles, which exceeded in horror any which has since occurred on either side of the Atlantic. On the 8th of May a train, which was taking a crowded company from Paris to a fête at Versailles, ran off the line, and the carriages, in consequence of the sudden shock, ran one above another, and were almost instantaneously piled four deep in a narrow cleft in the line. Unfortunately the fire in the front carriage spread to the next carriage, and being fanned by a strong breeze from the rear, soon communicated to those above, and in a few minutes the whole superincumbent mass was in a blaze. The doors being locked, escape to

* The divisions on these two proposals were as follows: That for the exclusion of placemen was rejected by the narrow majority of 198 to 190; that for the extension of the suffrage by 284 to 198.—*Ann. Hist.*, xxv. 73.

¹ *Moniteur*, April 27–30, 1842; *Ann. Hist.* xxv. 122, 123; Regnault, II. 233, 241.

This was the last act of the session, which closed on the 11th June, and two days after appeared an ordonnance dissolving the Chamber, and directing the electoral colleges to meet on the 12th July. The elections were conducted with sufficient keenness to give serious alarm to the Ministry; but, on the whole, the Conservative majority was decided, though not so much so as to remove the danger of being thrown into a minority, in the event of any considerable defection of their adherents in the Centre. The increased growth of Republicanism in the great towns was very apparent. Paris returned two decided leaders of that party, M. Carnot and M. Marie. Dupont de l'Eure was elected by three colleges; Ledru-Rollin was returned without opposition for La Sarthe, M. Garnier Pagès (the son) for the Eure. On the whole, although the Ministers had still a considerable Conservative majority, it was not so compact or well-disciplined as that of the Chamber which had preceded it; and this, in the circumstances of the country, was equivalent to a defeat. A schism appeared for the first time on this occasion in the Legitimist ranks, similar to that which ere long divided the Conservatives of Great Britain. Some adhered to the old and established idea that any extension of the suffrage was to be avoided as dangerous to the throne; others, better informed as to the social state and real wishes of the vast majority of the *rural* population of France, saw in their steadiness and desire of repose the only guarantee against the turbulence and ambition of the inhabitants of towns, and did not hesitate to invoke universal suffrage as the last and only secure sheet-anchor of the State.¹

This state of things was big with prospect of change, and perhaps disaster, in future times; but a sudden and most afflicting event occurred at this period, which shook the very foundations of the throne, and induced it sooner than might otherwise have occurred. On the 13th July the Duke of Orleans set out at noon to go to Neuilly, in order to bid adieu to the King before his departure to St. Omer to review the troops there assembled. He was alone in an open carriage, called "*à la Daumont*," drawn by two horses, the vehicle in which he usually drove round Paris. When passing the gate of Maillot, the horse which the postillion rode took fright and ran off, and by a singular coincidence turned into the *Chemin de la Revolte*, so styled from having been formed, in the beginning of the first Revolution, for the royal family to go quietly to St. Cloud. The Prince, on seeing that the postillion had lost command of the horses, called out, "You can no longer stop them?" "No, your Royal highness," he replied, "but I can still direct them." Seeing that they still went on at the full gallop, the Prince stood up in the carriage and called out

the greater part of the passengers was impossible, and no less than fifty human beings, a great proportion of them women and children, perished in the flames. A more frightful catastrophe is not recorded in history.—*Ann. Hist.*, xxv. 247; *Chron.* A young mother had a cord passed to her by which she might have escaped, but she would not leave her child who was with her, and perished with it in the flames!—*Ibid.*

again, "Can you not stop them?" "No, my lord," was the reply. Upon this the Duke, who was very active, opened the carriage-door, and, standing on the step, leaped out. He lighted with both his feet on the ground, but the rapidity of the motion caused him to fall with great violence on his side, and occasioned such a shock to the brain that he was taken up in a state of insensibility, and a few hours after breathed his last in a small house adjoining the road-side, into which he had been carried. The King, Queen, and all the royal family, except the Duchess of Orleans, who was at the *Eaux des Plombières*, formed a mournful assembly around the heir to the throne, as he breathed his last in the humble dwelling which had become the last resting-place on earth of one torn from such brilliant destinies.

The death of the Duke of Orleans was an event of such importance that it was equivalent to a revolution. Not only was the direct heir to the throne cut off, and the succession opened to his son, the Count of Paris, a child yet in his nurse's arms, but the Prince, who was thus prematurely cut off, was one who enjoyed deserved popularity, and was eminently qualified to have steered the vessel of the State through the shoals and quicksands upon which it was drifting. Grave in manners, reserved in character, his secret opinions were known only to his most intimate friends, and were judged of by the world in general only from the political complexion of his friendships, which were chiefly among men of science and art, or of the Liberal party, and from a few answers to addresses he had delivered in public, which were decidedly of that character. It was known, however, to those who enjoyed his confidence, that he was much alarmed at the dangers which were accumulating, in consequence of the decided resistance to progress made by his father, and his recent declaration against Reform had in some degree shaken the confidence of the Liberals in his measures. It added to the general regret at this catastrophe, that the postillion pulled up the horses a few seconds after the Prince had leaped out, so that if he had only sat still he would have sustained no injury;* and that, in a remarkable passage in his testament, he had expressed his earnest wish that the Count of Paris, if he succeeded to the throne, should be himself a "man of his time and of the nation; that he should be a Catholic, and *zealous exclusive defender of France and the Revolution*." The ultra-Royalists and Romish party beheld in his death the just punishment of Heaven for the sins of the father in usurping the throne, and observed on the singular coincidence that the blow was dealt out to the heir-apparent "*sur le Chemin de la Revolte*."¹

The will of the Duke of Orleans named the Duke of Nemours as the Regent, in the event of his death during the pupillage of his son. This, however, required the sanction of the Legislature, and the democratic party deemed

* A short time before this the Duke of Wellington's horses ran away with him in his chariot, as he was driving to Ascot. The old veteran calmly let down the windows and sat still, desiring his servant to do the same, observing: "The first hill will bring them up," which accordingly was the case.

the opportunity favorable for asserting in the loudest terms the great principle of the national sovereignty. The Government, on the other hand, brought forward a law, the principle of which was, that the regency, in default of a male heir of the full age, belonged of right to the next heir to the throne after the minor heir, who in this instance was the Duke de Nemours. Ledru-Rollin, who led the Opposition, protested against such a doctrine, which, he maintained, ¹ *Moniteur*, was subversive of the whole rights of the people, who were entitled, Aug. 19, 1842; *Ann. Hist.* xxv. 200, 261; Regnault, II. 267, 269. through the Chamber of Deputies, and without the concurrence of any other power, to nominate a regent on such an event.¹

Guizot and Thiers concurred in supporting the proposal of Government. "If," ⁸⁴ said the former, "you assert that there are in the nation two powers, one constitutional, another constituent; one, so to speak, for working-days, the other for holidays, I answer, that what you assert is a mere dream. I have seen in the course of my life only three really constituent powers in action: one in the year 1800, by Napoleon; one in 1814, when it was exercised by Louis XVIII.; one in 1830, by the Chamber of Deputies. All the rest, the appeals to the people, their ratifications, are a mere fiction and shadow." "The law itself," said M. Thiers, "is open to no exception. It is precisely the law which I would have made; and most certainly I was not consulted on it. Even were the law different from what it is, I would vote for it the same. Had the law contained something which I deemed objectionable, and only applicable to present circumstances, as substituting the regency of women for that of men, I should have voted for it with the same sincerity; for, in the present circumstances, I will not say of peril, but of anxiety for the monarchy, the first duty of every good subject is, not to propose amendments, but to give in his adherence."

"The dynasty of 1830," continued M. Guizot, ⁸⁵ "has received a rude shock; but out of its very misfortunes has arisen evidence of its strength, the most decisive guarantee for its stability, the most touching conservation of its future! The more grave the trial which it has undergone, the more vividly has the necessity of its presence and the grandeur of its mission become manifest to all the world. It has received every where in the country the baptism of tears; and the noble Prince who has been torn from us has demonstrated, in the moment of his departure, how deep were the foundations of which he seemed destined to be the firmest support. There is a joy in that worthy of his great soul, and of the love which he bore to his country. We feel that we have no need to carry to the support of the dynasty which we serve any borrowed strength, any fictitious lustre. It has struck its roots into the earth; there we shall find the foundations of its power. We ask your concurrence only to a law which wisdom sanctions, which patriotism approves, and we desire that it should be considered with all the calmness which befits so solemn an occasion."

"When an unforeseen event occurs in the history of a great people, in what way does com-

mon sense say that it should be decided? Evidently by the most instructed powers, and those best acquainted with the wants and exigencies of society. The ⁸⁶ Continued. first conditions of good government are, experience and the authority which proved experience confers. When you have at hand such power already located in its proper place, charged with its appropriate functions, master of its peculiar duties, it is mere folly to put it aside on any special occasion, and invoke a new power as extraordinary as it is inexperienced. If from the powers to be intrusted with the decision you pass to the subject-matter of it, there is still less room for difference of opinion. The first thing to be considered in any extraordinary contingency is to put every thing as much as possible into the established channel of society; to bring it as soon as possible into harmony with what was yesterday, what will be to-morrow. The spirit of natural sequence, the prudent management of transitions, the maintenance of the bond which should unite all the acts, all the days of the life of society, is an imperious duty.

"The peculiar merit, the invaluable force, of a constitutional Government, consists ⁸⁷ in the due distribution of the powers of the State. It is the important mission and peculiar duty of royalty to carry fixity and strength into the Government; it is the representative of fixity and perpetual power, as well as the executive authority. Whoever considers our institutions and social state with attention, must perceive that royalty has by no means too great strength to accomplish this double object. When the king is in minority, royalty necessarily becomes weakened, both as the perpetual and executive power; it is, both in reality and opinion, less considerable than was foreseen or designed by the authors of the constitutional system. At such a moment, shall we proceed to weaken it still more—to strengthen the movable principle at the expense of the fixed? Yet this is what is really demanded of you when an elective regency is proposed. We, in ruling the regency on hereditary right, preserve all the powers in their appropriate place, and give each the function, duty, and place which the Charter has assigned to it; we maintain the balance of powers, such as the complete constitutional régime has established. You, on the other hand, in establishing an elective regency, would dislocate these powers, and overturn their constitutional balance; you would introduce into one of the powers an additional strength, and do that at the very moment when it did not require it, from the natural weakness under which the hereditary powers are laboring."¹ *Moniteur*, Aug. 21, 1842; *Ann. Hist.* xxv. 261, 275.

M. Lamartine, contrary to general expectation, took a prominent part in the ⁸⁸ debate on the other side, and strongly contended for the regency being conferred, by a vote of the Chamber, on the Duchess of Orleans. "I am not, you know well, the partisan of revolutions. I detest them, and will combat, with all the energy of which I am capable, those who foment them. I mean violent revolutions—revolutions by main force. But where revolutions which I may call regular take place—that is to say, the results of a gradual, pacific,

progressive change of power—it is necessary only to open your hands and receive them. He is a timid man who hesitates in this way to receive the *apprenticeship of power* which is thus, in a manner, forced upon him. I have combated with the Conservatives when I thought the monarchical principle was in danger; but when, by the consequences of a fatal event, the parliamentary power is called to the inheritance—the exercise of one of the duties of which the Legislature can not devolve to another without dispossessing itself—it is shameful to abdicate the power which fortune has placed within your reach. To take refuge timidly, in such circumstances, in a dynastic succession, is to proclaim openly to the world that France is incapable of governing itself. I would not make the nation subordinate to the dynasty, but the dynasty to the nation. I would not make the first dynastic; I would make the last national.

“The proposed law is neither conservative nor dynastic. You call it conservative—
 89. Continued. it is big with revolutions; you call it dynastic—it is charged with usurpations. It chases a mother, the natural guardian of her son, from his cradle, to place in his stead the competitor for the throne! Such a violation of natural justice and common sense on the subject receives no countenance either from the history or institutions of France. The Salic law, which excludes women, has so little influenced this matter, that, out of thirty-two regencies which we have had, no less than twenty-six have been those of women; the Salic law has never been able to prevail against the law of God and of nature, which says that a mother can have no other interest but that of her son, and that she, and not his heir, is his natural guardian. If we would find an instance in which the guardianship of the mother has been excluded, we must go back to barbarous times, when no law or principle was acknowledged but that of force. Doubtless a female regent can not command an army; but has it not always been found that, in case of peril to a monarchy, a woman and a child form the standard round which the soldiers and the people most enthusiastically combat? Need I refer to the Strelitzes vanquished by the courage of Elizabeth of Russia, or the war-cry of the Hungarians—‘Let us die for our King, Maria-Theresa!’

“Without doubt, divisions and jealousies, during a minority, will get up in the palace, especially when the discord incident to a constitutional government is fomented by the press and parties in the Legislature. But in separating the regency from the guardianship of the infant king, is it not evident that the door is opened much wider for the admission of such distractions? Is not this to render inevitable perpetual war between two powers, each contending for the government of the mind and heart of the young prince? If the regent carries the day, the heart of the young king is rendered unnatural; if the mother, the acts of the regent are discredited, and the future reign becomes nothing but a continued revenge for the regency. Two rival equal influences, disputing the command of a crowned infant, can end in nothing but a suspicious or submissive prince, an idiot or a tyrant, a Philippe II. or a Louis XV. By your bill you will condemn

France to receive as kings those whom you would despise as sons. It is possible that the regent may be a woman of a different religion from the majority of Frenchmen, but that could be no objection. On the contrary, the principle of religious toleration, embodied in the person of the chief ruler of the State, would be a guarantee the more for its firm and lasting establishment. The regency of a woman Moniteur, Aug. 21, 1842; Ann. Hist. xxv. 264, 266; Regnault, li. 209, 271. is the government of the country, and Parliament its representative. It is the dictatorship of the nation, instead of the dictatorship of a family or a man.”

This debate, and the part taken in it by the leaders on both sides, is singularly characteristic of their respective positions, and prophetic of the great struggle between the sovereignty of the nation and that of the dynasty which was evidently approaching. The vote at the moment gave a decisive majority in both Chambers to the Conservatives. The division in the Deputies was 310 to 94 in favor of Guizot's bill, conferring the regency on the Duke de Nemours; in the Peers it passed without a division. But notwithstanding this triumphant majority, the division was ominous of the future, and big with the foreshadows of ultimate disaster. Lamartine had now openly joined the Liberal party; he had addressed the Chamber in accents which powerfully thrilled the national heart. It was easy to see that he was destined to be for a brief space the leader of the Revolution. On the other hand, Guizot, with unswerving firmness, had taken his post on the other side, and advocated the descent of the regency to the next heir, because the Crown, during a minority, was naturally weakened, and it required support. Differing from either, Thiers had entirely failed in his design of conciliating the Government by supporting it on a momentous crisis; the majority was too large to oblige them to court his adhesion; and he retired from the debate discredited with the one party, rejected by the other. His last words, on descending from the tribune, were very remarkable: “For my own part, I see nothing but the counter-revolution in rear of the Government; *in its front an abyss*; between them I rest on the narrow space which the Charter has covered. I conjure my friends to bring upon that narrow strip a band which know how to construct, and not to destroy. These words are the result of my sincere conviction; it has cost me much to pronounce them; they will cost me more when I descend from this tribune.”

The character of M. Guizot as a philosopher and historian has already been drawn; but he was much too remarkable as a statesman and an orator not to deserve a permanent place in any history of the nineteenth century. His policy, founded on experience and matured by reflection, was fixed and immovable, and wholly independent of the mutations of passing events. Untainted by vanity, uninfluenced by personal ambition, it was based entirely on public principle; and in the maintenance of that he was guided by the courage of an intrepid, the wis-

dom of a learned, and the disinterestedness of a patriotic mind. It was his firm belief that the utmost limits of safe concession had been reached in the construction of the monarchy of July; that to yield any thing farther would be to precipitate the Government and the nation into the abyss. He was not blind to the dangers with which such a policy was attended, but he deemed it indispensable to face them, to avoid the still greater peril arising from the entire disruption of society, and was willing to stand forward as the champion of order, though it might end in his becoming its martyr. The only way in which he thought it possible to effect this object was to group around the throne a firm, compact majority in the Chambers, which might confer upon it authority, and protect it from all the assaults of the revolutionists; and it was from the dread of weakening or destroying this majority that it appeared to him indispensable to resist at all hazards every advance toward parliamentary reform. In the Opposition of all shades he beheld, and as the event proved with justice, not a body of patriots, desirous of correcting abuses in the State, but a band of conspirators watching for an opportunity to overturn the monarchy and seat themselves on its ruins; not the English Opposition of the nineteenth century, but the Jacobite chiefs of the first half of the eighteenth. He was destitute, as all really great men are, of personal vanity or selfish desires. He was ambitious, but it was for his

country and the cause of order, not himself; he desired justice, but it was that which was reflected from the institutions he had conferred on France, not that which shone from his own exploits.¹

As an orator he is entitled to a very high place, perhaps the highest as a real character statesman in the whole parliamentary history of France. Without the brilliant genius or power over his audience which was enjoyed by Mirabeau, he was incomparably more of a statesman; and in his speeches the political student will find far more that is applicable to the actual state of human affairs. Indeed, no such decisive proof is to be found of the great advance that France had made in real freedom under the Restoration and Citizen King, as in the immense difference between the speeches even of the first-rate men at the commencement of the Revolution, and those of the Ministers of Louis XVIII. and Louis Philippe after a quarter of a century of constitutional government. The first are brilliant Arabian tales, about as applicable to human affairs as Aladdin's Lamp; the last present the result of experience and reflection, which will furnish subject of interest and instruction to every future age. We admire the first as a brilliant dream, where the eye is fascinated as by a phantasmagoria of gorgeous colors; we turn to the last for lessons of wisdom in real life, where every thing has a bearing upon the future concerns of man. Albeit bred at Geneva, and first brought into notice by his activity in the professor's chair, Guizot had none of the blemishes as a parliamentary orator which such a training is generally found to produce. He was neither tedious nor pedantic; he did not prelect as from the professorial chair, nor descant as to a cir-

cle of admiring auditors. His early introduction into public life, and discipline in the rude conflicts of the tribune, had taught him the first and most important lesson for a debater—the necessity of condensing his thoughts, of abbreviating his expressions, and addressing himself not to a standard of ideal perfection, but to that very inferior standard which was the measure of the intellects of those around him. Nevertheless, he was never commonplace or superficial; he never forgot principle; he had the rare faculty of addressing himself to everyday concerns and passing interests, without deviating from the lessons of wisdom matured in the closet. Hence, though a philosopher and a historian, he did not cease to be an orator; and he kept alike the attention of his hearers, and was listened to with as much interest from the tribune as ever he had been from his didactic chair.

Never was contrast more complete than was exhibited by the great rival of the Conservative minister, M. Thiers. Heedless of principle, he was devoted to ambition; careless of consistency, he was set only on self-elevation. There is no side in politics which he has not embraced at some time in his long career; but in these varied espousals of different interests there was not only no inconsistency, but there was the most thorough uniformity in the motives of action. There was no side for which he ever contended, there was no motion to which he ever gave his support, in which he had not clearly before his eyes the Polar star of interest. Yet such was the versatility of his talents, and his power of admirably supporting every newly embraced shade of opinion, that M. Thiers never failed, amidst all his inconsistencies, to attract very great attention, and form a large party both in the Chamber and among the public. His early training as a journalist had given him the power of suddenly turning his talents to any subject, and discoursing plausibly on any theme, or on any side. At the tribune he was rarely eloquent, and never carried away by that flood of oratory which flows from strong internal conviction. But he was always pleasing. He seldom rose above his audience, and never sunk beneath them; his ideas were always those of a part at least of his hearers; and he enjoyed the success which seldom fails to attend those who put our own ideas into better language than we can ourselves.

M. Thiers was the true orator of the middle classes; and it was to the ability with which he followed out that career that his popularity and influence were chiefly owing. He never attempted to lead, and rarely opposed them: he put himself in the rear of opinion, not in its front. A man of expedients—light, airy, plausible—he seldom appealed to principle, and never to the great foundation of morality or religion. But he never failed to put in the very best language, and often to adorn with novel and felicitous expressions, those common ideas which had been previously embraced by a large portion of the nation, and therefore met with a ready reception from his lips. Hence he preserved, even in his crosses and failures, a very great empire over public opinion; while M. Guizot, who was always firm, consistent, and conservative, was never popular even in the highest period of his power.

¹ Casagruac, Hist. de la Chute du Roi Louis Philippe, t. 136, 138.

^{94.} M. Thiers as a statesman.

^{95.}

M. Thiers as a speaker.

Notwithstanding his suppleness, ambition, and popularity, M. Thiers was, on the whole, unfortunate as a Minister; he never was able to retain power for more than a few months at a time. He was set above all things upon becoming and remaining Prime Minister; but his restlessness and love of interference in foreign affairs precipitated him from the helm; first on occasion of the Spanish intervention, and then on the Eastern question. This arose from his love of distinction and thirst for general popularity at all hazards; a disposition which was entirely at variance with the prudent and pacific policy of the King. With all his talents, he wanted the most essential one in a Minister of State—the faculty of reading correctly the signs of the times. This appeared equally in foreign and domestic affairs. In the former, he brought Europe to the verge of a general war in the pursuit of the vain chimaera of French domination on the banks of the Nile, a result which, if attained, could have had no other effect but that of increasing the Muscovite power, precipitating the terrible contest which was approaching between the Western powers and Russia on the shores of the Euxine. In the latter, he was surprised, in 1848 and 1851, by two revolutions, the former of which he had a large share in promoting, but neither of which he foresaw, and of both which he was the victim. For nearly ten years he waged an almost incessant war with the Crown and its ministers; but nothing was farther from his intention than really to impair the royal prerogative—he desired only to wield it himself. He hoped to carry the premiership by assault in the course of the war waged in the Chambers, and in the prosecution of that object he was little scrupulous as to the means employed. His mind was microscopic, not telescopic; he saw present events with the keen eye of a journalist, but he had not the distant glance of a statesman to discern whither they were tending.¹

LAMARTINE differed widely from both these very eminent men, and in his public career is to be discerned the clearest proof of the unfitness of the “literary character” to meet the dangers and withstand the temptations of real life in arduous times. Never did genius appear in brighter colors; never was lofty and chivalrous sentiment couched in more eloquent and touching language than flowed from his persuasive lips; never was courage more determined, sustained by feeling more exalted. Descended from an ancient and noble family, he inherited from his ancestors the feelings of disinterested loyalty. Abreast of his age in thought, he had inhaled the whole spirit of modern philanthropy. Monarchical in principle, religious in sentiment, benevolent in feeling, brilliant in conception, eloquent in expression, enjoying unbounded popularity, he seemed to unite all that was venerable in the associations of the olden time, with all that was required by the wants of the present. He stood forth apparently as the predestined champion of the monarchy in arduous times—the bridge which should unite the feudal age with the spirit of the Revolution. Yet did he prove the worst enemy of the monarchy when the crisis arrived, and by his single influence he

overturned the regency of the Duchess of Orleans, which he had so eloquently supported in the Chamber, and the throne of her son, of which he had declared himself the Protector. Nay, more, by his brilliant historical romance, the *History of the Girondists*, he had done every thing which genius and fancy could effect to clothe in brilliant and deceitful colors the history of the leaders of the first Revolution, and prepare the public mind for the advent and success of the third.

The secret of his discreditable tergiversation not only in action, but in thought, is to be found in that common and lamentable weakness of men of genius, *personal vanity*. After having earned for himself a high and honorable place in the Chambers, by several years' service as representative for Maçon, he aspired, in 1841, to become its President. Had he succeeded in that object, he would without doubt have attached himself permanently to the throne, and been found alongside of M. Guizot when the Revolution broke out. But having been opposed by Government, and failed in attaining the object of his ambition, his next move was to win a place of distinction by taking the lead of the Opposition. This it was which made him support the regency of the Duchess of Orleans; he aspired to be her Prime Minister, in the probable event of the crown opening to her son during minority, by the demise of Louis Philippe. He himself tells us, that by a word in the Chamber, on 23d February, 1848, he could have put the Regent's Crown on the head of the Duchess of Orleans, and secured the succession for her son. But being blinded by vanity, and dazzled by ambition, he then aspired to nothing less than becoming Dictator himself, and for a few weeks he actually enjoyed a perilous and divided share in the Government. His punishment was swift, his fall irrecoverable, and he remains a melancholy example of the insufficiency of the most brilliant parts to compensate the want of steadiness and consistency of character.¹

M. ODILLON BARROT, who also took a prominent part in the convulsions which were approaching, was a man of a very different character and habits from M. de Lamartine, though at bottom he was misled by similar self-sufficiency. An advocate of distinction and celebrity at the Bar of Paris, he had for long been a distinguished leader of the Opposition, and accustomed for above twenty years to the rude conflicts of the Bar and the Tribune. Thus he was not ignorant of affairs like Lamartine, and not liable to be misled by literary celebrity or the admiration of coteries; but from his long success as a chief of the Liberals, he had become impregnated with an illusion little less dangerous. He had unbounded confidence in his ability to direct the mob of Paris; and, while flattering himself he was doing so, he was in fact the dupe of others more designing or ambitious than himself. He was an honest man, of a mild temper, and a benevolent disposition; but it was his misfortune to render himself the agent of others with ulterior designs, which he was far from sharing. He said, in 1846, “I am a supporter of the dy-

¹ Cassagnac, i. 142, 144.

¹ Cassagnac, i. 123, 124; Lamartine, *Révolution de 1848*, i. c. vii. and viii.

nasty, *quand même*," yet he was the dupe of M. Thiers in supporting the fortification of Paris. He became the dupe of Duvergier d'Hauranne, in signing a compact with the Republicans; of the editors of the *National*, in becoming the apologist of the tumults; of his own vanity, in thinking he could rule Paris by his influence as minister, instead of the guns of Marshal Bugeaud. He was in some respects happily characterized by the celebrated expression of Royer-Collard, on occasion of the sack of the archbishop's palace in February, 1832, "I knew you forty years ago; you then bore the name of Pétion." Yet was this character in some respects unjust; for, if he shared the whole illusions of the Girondist mayor as to his ability to coerce the Parisian mob, he was far from being stained by his

crimes, and would never have been implicated in the massacres in the prisons in September, 1792.¹

Another man of literary celebrity who rose to eminence in the convulsion of 1848, was M. MARRAST. Like nearly all the persons who attained brief authority during its fervor, he was a journalist. Originally a professor of philosophy, he had come some years before to Paris, under the auspices of General Lamarque, and in the first instance he tendered the aid of his pen to the Government. But with that jealousy of superior ability, *not entirely pliant*, which unfortunately characterizes not less the cabinets of kings than the committees of democrats, his advances were rejected, and he was thrown into the arms of the Opposition. He was soon discovered by the *National*, in whose ranks he was afterward enlisted. Marrast proved the most inveterate and formidable enemy of the throne. Not only were his education and acquirements of a much superior cast to that of the other democratic leaders, but he was a determined man of action, resolutely set on overturning the Government, and establishing a Republic on its ruins. In the Revolution of 1848, he was the leader who stood forth, and by his decided counsels brought on the crisis which subverted the throne. His early prepossessions were all on the Conservative side; and throughout the struggles of faction in which he was afterward engaged, he preserved a certain refinement of thought and delicacy of expression very different from the coarse and brutal characters by whom he was surrounded. His respect for talent, and candor of disposition, often led him to express in the galleries a great admiration for the speeches of Guizot; nor did he always restrain his sarcasm from those of Ledru-Rollin. But it was for a few minutes only that these his genuine sentiments found vent. When he sat down to the journalist's desk, the necessities of his situation and cravings of his readers drove him into indiscriminate abuse of every one on the opposite side.²

M. LOUIS BLANC belonged to a different school from either Lamartine or Marrast, but it was one which in the end proved more formidable to society than the ambition of either of these men. A philanthropic fanatic deeply impressed with the social evils around him, ignorant of the real cause to which they were owing, and without any of the practical knowledge which might have served

to correct his visionary speculations, he aimed at founding a new sect in politics, and establishing a new order in society. His ideas were taken partly from the community of all things which was established among the aristocratic Spartans, each of whom was attended by six helots, partly founded on the precepts of universal charity which are contained in the Gospel. He entirely forgot two things: first, that the Spartans formed a *war caste*, which was maintained by the labor of ten times their number of servants; and that, while our Saviour incessantly inculcates the *giving* of our goods to the poor, there is not a word to be found in the Gospel authorizing the *taking* of their goods from the rich by the poor. Overlooking this obvious and vital distinction, Louis Blanc thought he was following out the precepts of Christianity when he advocated a social system similar to that of Lycurgus, which should *forcibly* divide all the property of the State, and distribute it to every man, in proportion to his wants and necessities, in the form of daily wages. He promised the working classes, in his own words, during a period of extreme disaster, "at present, the means of subsistence during periods of difficulty, wages *equal to those enjoyed during prosperity*, with a participation of profits; in future, the free exercise of their faculties, the entire gratification of all their wants, and *even their desires*; in fine, the maximum of happiness."¹ These doctrines, which betrayed an entire practical ignorance of human affairs, were sufficiently perilous without imputing to him the formation of the *ateliers nationaux*, which, as will be shown in the sequel, he opposed, though they flowed almost necessarily from his principles. Under his system the whole territory of France was to be divided, as among the fellahs of Egypt or the ryots of Hindostan, among certain communities or convents, by whom every thing was to be enjoyed in common; and the last stage of European civilization was to be the general establishment of Asiatic socialism, and the despotism of the Pharaohs.²

To this long list of able and dangerous men who formed the leaders of the "*Extrême Gauche*" must be added another, not less formidable, though belonging to an entirely different class of politicians. It could not be said that M. BERRYER was the leader of a party in the Assembly, for the Legitimists had so generally kept aloof from the elections that not a dozen votes were ranged under his banner; but his oratorical power was so great, and his private character so respected, that when on any casual question he spoke on the side of Opposition, he proved a serious addition to the forces which Government had to encounter; and though the orators of the *Gauche* were far, indeed, from approving his principles, they were fain to borrow the aid of his eloquence, when an occasion occurred on which they could act in common. He had not a very powerful intellect, and none of the robust mental strength which bears down opposition in a popular assembly; but he had a sonorous voice, and elegant language at command, and great power of moving the feelings. The influence of these qualities was much enhanced by his noble countenance

¹ His own words. Conférences du Luxembourg, April 29, 1848.

² Cassagnac, l. 320, 321; Louis Blanc, *Nouveau Monde*, Sept. 15, 1849.

102. M. Berryer.

and courtly manners, and the respect which, even in a corrupted age, had been won by a known life of private disinterestedness and public consistency.¹

To oppose this formidable band of varied talent, M. Guizot had no adequate parliamentary forces at command. M. DUCHATEL was intrusted with the arduous duty of forming and disciplining the majority in the Chamber; and his mild character, pleasing manners, ready oratory, respectable character, and ample fortune, peculiarly qualified him for the task. He was a valuable ally, and good everyday debater at the tribune; but he was not a great orator, and unequal to a serious crisis. On all such occasions the weight of the conflict fell on M. Guizot. It is true, he had the support of the veteran military experience of Marshal Soult, and of the noble manners and courteous character of Count Molé. But though both of these gave weight to the administration, and were of essential service in the Cabinet, they could not be relied on as likely to be of much use in the conflicts in the Chamber. The veteran marshal was no orator, and was listened to in the Chamber of Peers, rather from respect for his character than the influence of his arguments; and though Count Molé was a ready speaker, he had neither the practical acquaintance with affairs, nor the vigorous intellect necessary to give him an ascendant in the Assembly. He was an agreeable companion, an elegant nobleman, a distinguished converser; qualities admirably fitted to give him the lead in the saloons of fashion, but little likely to qualify him to sustain the conflicts of a robust democracy in the daily conflicts in the forum.

¹ Cassagnac, l. 129, 130.

Such were the men upon whom was now to devolve a conflict, upon which the destinies of France, and with them, in a great degree, those of the civilized world, were to depend. But in addition to the weakness in debate, the administration of M. Guizot had to contend with two still more serious difficulties, arising from the construction of the Chambers, and the temper of the civic force upon which, in a conflict in the streets, it would have principally to depend. The first of these was the entire discredit into which the Chamber of Peers had fallen, in consequence of the loss of its hereditary character, and the absence of any great fortunes among its members, or any other qualification for admission but court favor or ministerial necessities. So powerful had these causes of degradation become, that the votes of the Upper Chamber were scarcely ever thought of or inquired after in any political question; and if any one was accidentally pushed to a decision, the decision was usually 118 to 8 in favor of Ministers. Thus every thing had come to depend on the Chamber of Deputies; and though the ministerial majority there was very decided, yet it was doubtful whether the influence of the Crown in the country was not rather weakened than strengthened by its composition. The needy circumstances of the greater part of the Deputies, and the universal thirst in France for official appointment, was the main cause of this discreditable state of things. Both were the di-

rect consequences of the Revolution. The great territorial and mercantile fortunes having been destroyed by that convulsion, while at the same time the colonies and outlets in trade and manufactures had been for the most part swept away, nothing remained for the rising youth of the country but government appointments, either in the civil or military line. To secure these for themselves, their relations, dependents, or constituents, was the chief object which men proposed to themselves by going into Parliament; and the success which attended the step to several was sufficient to excite a universal thirst for these highly advantageous situations. Before we stigmatize the French as corrupt or venal on this account, we would do well to consider the circumstances in which they were placed when it occurred, and to ask ourselves whether, if Australia, India, our foreign trade and manufactures, were swept away, less competition for office would exist in the British House of Commons and among their constituents throughout the country.

But it is easier to see to what cause the corruption of the elective Chamber and universal thirst for official employment its great extent in France was owing, than to palliate its enormity or overestimate its effects. These were only the greater, from all the world being so thoroughly disposed to engage in the same practices, and the fortunate intrants being the object not only of political animosity but of personal envy. The most vehement declaimers against the corruption of the Legislature, both in the press and in the Chambers, the loudest approvers of the purity of election, were themselves the most abject petitioners for favors, and not unfrequently the most successful in obtaining them. The system of buying off the Opposition by offices, as well as going into Opposition in order to be so bought off, was brought to even greater perfection on the south than it had been on the north of the Channel. One Opposition chief, who had been particularly loud in a circular to his constituents against the traffic in places, had modestly demanded only THIRTY-FIVE for himself and his brother. Another, equally virtuous and indignant against the prevailing vice, had actually solicited THREE HUNDRED AND FOUR PLACES for himself, his family, and constituents. A third deputy went still further; he had actually obtained THIRTY-FIVE places for himself and his friends, and he had the effrontery to move for an electoral inquiry into the corruption practiced by the Government; and on 22d February, 1848, he signed the demand for a formal accusation of the Ministers from whom he had received such favors. In a word, it was difficult to say whether the King's government or the King's opposition was most thoroughly steeped in corruption, or most ready to sacrifice every thing to the attainment of the grand object of universal ambition, the gaining or retaining of offices under the Ministry. The great extent to which this tendency proceeded in France, under the system of uniform suffrage which there prevailed, suggests a doubt whether it can by possibility be checked by any other mode than a representative system, based on dis-
ferent interests, which may set one selfish motive to counteract another.¹

^{104.} Corruption of the Ministerial majority in the Chamber.

¹ Cassagnac, l. 97, 99; Regnault, III. 47, 48.

The second great and serious danger which at this period had come to threaten the monarchy was the demoralization which had seized upon the great majority of the National Guard of the metropolis. If there is any one truth more than another clearly demonstrated by experience, it is the utter inadequacy of a civic guard to avert the dangers or crush the violence of a revolution. From the time of its first institution in 1789, till its final revolt against the King in 1848, it proved itself utterly inadequate to coercing the excesses of the people. United by no common bond, animated by no patriotic feeling, inspired by no generous sentiments, it yielded to every passing influence, and, instead of forming a barrier against perilous change, became the chief and most dangerous instrument by which it might be carried into effect. The deep game so long played by the Revolutionists had at length come to tell with fatal effect on its dense battalions; *the Government was utterly discredited*, and every act of those in power was, by ingenious sophistry, twisted into an argument against them. Was peace preserved—it was the result of a base submission to England, which degraded France into the rank of a second-rate power; were the armies victorious in Africa—they were fighting the battles of the dynasty, not the country, and shedding their blood in a cause alien to that of their fatherland; was commerce flourishing—it was enriching the burgher aristocracy by the produce of the sweat and labor of the people. All the efforts of Louis Philippe to conciliate the burgher class, which had placed him on the throne, his support of the undiminished *rentes*, his resistance of all measures tending to free trade, his anxious and successful maintenance of peace, were, by the bitterness of faction, used as so many subjects of reproach against him, and considered as such by the vast majority of the citizens. Sixty thousand of these, with arms in their hands, were enrolled in the legions of the National Guard—a formidable force, not so much from its courage or discipline as from its moral influence, and the grave doubts which existed as to whether, under any circumstances, the regular troops could be brought to act against it.

Such was the state of France, socially and politically, at this period. The peasants in the country, forming two-thirds of the entire inhabitants of the realm, were ground down by the weight of debts and taxes, and not practically in the enjoyment of a third of the fruits of their labor; the bourgeois in towns, though prosperous so far as material interests went, were generally discontented, and yielding without resistance to the declamations of the Liberal press, which aimed by their means at subverting the Government; the urban working classes were impoverished by excessive competition, and seeking refuge from their sufferings in the dreams of the Socialists; the National Guard had lost all the feelings of honor belonging to soldiers, and was rapidly turning into an armed body of janizaries, capable of controlling or overturning the throne. The finances of the nation were in extreme disorder; and Government, to give the idle and discontented bread, was obliged to add every year several millions sterling to the floating debt of the State, to be expended on public works, from which no immediate return could be expected. The press had become the inveterate and envenomed enemy of the Government, and the majority of talent in the Chamber was ranged on the Liberal side. But, on the other hand, the country, generally speaking, was tranquil; external peace was preserved; the army was splendid and numerous, and had proved itself on every occasion faithful to its duty; and those formidable conspiracies which, for long after the Revolution of July, had disturbed the State, had come to an end. A decided majority in the constituencies was inclined to support the existing order of things, and they secured not only a working, but a decided majority in the Chamber, which the immense patronage at the disposal of Government enabled it to retain in willing obedience. Apparently, and so far as appearances went, every thing was tranquil and prosperous; but many deep-rooted seeds of evil existed in the bosom of the State, only the more dangerous that Government, relying on the fidelity of the army, and the strength of its majority in the Legislature, was ignorant of or disposed to ignore their existence.

106.

Demoralization of the National Guard.

107.

Resumé of the state of France at this period.

CHAPTER XLV.

WAR OF THE FRENCH IN ALGERIA, FROM THE REVOLT UNDER ABD-EL-KADER IN 1840 TO THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN 1848.

THE northern part of Africa, in which the French have now formed a lasting settlement under the name of ALGERIA, is divided by nature into three separate districts or zones, which, beginning with the blue waters of the Mediterranean Sea, stretch southward till they are lost in the Great Desert. The first of these is the level country known by the name of the Tel, probably derived from the Latin word *Tellus*; the finest part of which, the Metidja, extends over about 1,500,000 acres of arable land lying between the sea and the first slopes of the Little Atlas range. The soil here is of incomparable fertility, peculiarly adapted for the raising of wheat crops. It was from its rich fields that the Romans drew the vast quantities of grain which for so long formed the staple supply of the empire, and overwhelmed Italian agriculture by foreign competition. From this rich and level plain extends to the south a series of eminences, which gradually rise in elevation until they come to the pastoral region, and reach the rugged ridges of the Great Atlas. This uneven surface, watered by the plentiful rains which are precipitated from the clouds that strike against its rocky peaks, is almost entirely devoted to pasturage. Vast herds of cattle and flocks of sheep feed on the immense plateaus, at the height of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet above the level of the Tel, and the produce of which is exchanged for the grain which ripens on the sunny fields in the plain beneath. This region is called the *Sahara*; though that word is in common European parlance applied to the desert which lies still farther to the south, and extends, with the interruption of a few oases, to the banks of the Niger, eight hundred leagues from the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. This immense region consists of plains of level sand, and varied only by green and wooded spots, where water is to be found, in which the palm raises its graceful summit above the umbrageous thickets which form the resort of lions and other beasts of prey.

The portion of this vast region which forms, properly speaking, the French province, is about 250 leagues in length, with a mean depth of 60 leagues, and is divided from one extremity to the other by the chain of the Little Atlas—the superior region lying between the Great Atlas and the Little, and the inferior or maritime between the latter and the sea-coast. The communication between these two regions is formed entirely by three or four dark ravines between overhanging rocks, by which the waters of the first region find their way to the ocean. From the Little Atlas stretch out several lesser ridges like lateral ribs, which divide the intermediate plains on

either side, and form so many separate detached valleys, the inhabitants of which are nearly shut out from communication with each other. The whole maritime region, when the mountains of the little Atlas approach the sea, is composed of narrow valleys, the waters of which run toward the sea, and which, ranged side by side, resemble the stalls of a stable. The valleys of the superior region are more extensive than in the lower, by reason of the waters which, kept back by the barrier of the Little Atlas, have formed vast basins; these have in process of time become drained, by the rocks which retained them having given way under the constant action of the water. Each of these valleys forms a little world within itself, having scarcely any communication with the adjoining one; and to get the command of two lying contiguous, it is necessary to establish a force on the ridges which separate them. From the sea-coast to fifty leagues inland the country forms the Tel, or arable district, and it presents an extent of about 40,000,000 English acres, a surface equal to two-thirds of the whole of England, and second to no part of the world in natural riches and fertility.

It follows from this peculiar conformation of the country, that the power which holds the Tel must always be, in a great measure, the ruler of the pasture or desert tracts beyond it. They depend on it for their daily bread, the strongest bond which can unite man to man; the dwellers in the Tel only depend on those in the Sahara for wool, cattle, and fruits, which, however agreeable or useful, are not essential to human existence. Hence the tribes of the desert have a proverb: "He is our lord who is lord of our mother, and our mother is the Tel." Nearly all the Sahara tribes, in consequence, pay an annual visit to that fertile region. During winter and spring they in general find water and vegetation in the desert; and they roam about from place to place in search of pasture and streams for themselves and their flocks. But toward the end of spring, when the wells begin to fail and the herbage withers, they are obliged to resort to the towns which, from the long-established influence of this necessity, have sprung up in the oases of the desert. They arrive in them with their horses and camels laden with wool, dates, and stuffs, which they exchange for such articles of rude clothing as they may require. From thence they move northward to the Tel, where they arrive in harvest time in the beginning of summer, and again pitch their tents, and remain till the approach of winter reminds them that they will again find water and grass in their native wilds. Thither, accordingly, they return, laden with corn for their winter food, and some small articles of lux-

1. Jouffroy, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June, 1838; Borrer, *Campaign in Kabylie*, 287, 238.

2. Influence thence arising to the rulers of the Tel.

1. Jouffroy, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, June, 1838; Castellane, *Souvenirs d'Afrique*, 286, 237.

ury or comfort which they have earned by their labors in getting in the harvest. In the middle of October they, in general, reach their sequestered homes, and gather in the dates from the palm-groves which are then ripe; and before the winter storms have set in they migrate still farther into the desert, where they roam about from well to well, from grove to grove, till the heat of the ascending sun again parches the earth, and sends them back to their great parent, the level fields of the Tel.

Unlike what we generally suppose of the African deserts, the varieties of heat and cold experienced in the Sahara and the Atlas are very great. This circumstance augments in a fearful degree the difficulty of carrying on war in the country. The soldiers must be proof alike against the burning heat of the tropics and the severity of the arctic zone. In the higher regions of the Sahara and the Atlas it almost constantly rains, while in the valleys and the desert the rays of the sun descend with a ceaseless and intolerable ardor. The soldiers who in July and August have been toiling under a cloudless sky, with the thermometer at 92° in the shade at night, are called on in December to bivouac on the snow under a cold of 20° Fahrenheit, which often continues for weeks together.

The name of *Kabyles* is given indiscriminately to all the mountain tribes of Algeria in every direction. But in the military annals of France this appellation is given chiefly to the inhabitants of a mass of mountains forming part of the Atlas, lying to the west of the province, where the hills come down to the sea. Great part of it can scarcely be approached, at least by an army, except by sea; and the Romans, to secure their hold of the country, accordingly constructed some spacious harbors in the magnificent bays which are sheltered by the rocky ranges which project into the ocean. The inhabitants of this mountain range are poor, hardy, and industrious; living in peace in their native villages in the mountains, and for the most part maintained by the labors of agriculture. If attacked, however, by a foreign enemy, none can defend themselves with more resolution; and as they are all armed, and perfectly acquainted with the means of improving the advantages which the inaccessible nature of their country has afforded them, there is none whom it is more difficult to overcome, or whom it cost more to the Romans in ancient and the French in modern times to reduce to subjection. The courage and perseverance with which the mountaineers often defend their country is worthy of the highest admiration, and would enlist our warmest sympathies in their behalf, were it not disfigured, as is the case with most savage nations, by frightful habits of cruelty, which lead them always to massacre their prisoners, sometimes even to burn them alive.

The European population of Algeria consisted in 1846 of 110,000, of whom no less than 68,734 were in the province of Algiers immediately around the capital. The native inhabitants, of whom an enumeration has been made, were 1,983,000, in all

nearly 2,100,000. But to these must be added the migratory tribes of Arabs, of whom no enumeration was practicable, who were loosely estimated by Marshal Bugeaud at 1,000,000 more. These tribes are eminently warlike, and can on an emergency bring 200,000 fighting men into the field, in part admirable horsemen, mounted on swift and hardy steeds; in part hardy mountaineers, skilled in defending their fastnesses, and in the use of their long matchlocks. Whatever advantages the French may have derived from this colony, riches can not be considered among the number. In 1840 the revenue from it was only 5,600,000 francs; and even in 1846, after sixteen years of conquest, it was only 24,773,000 francs. Like other Asiatic tribes, the Arabs in this part of Africa are extremely simple in their habits, without artificial wants, and content with the rudest fare; but they are nevertheless passionately desirous of gold, which, when gained, they bury in the earth, or invest in arms or costly ornaments for their persons. This habit may in some degree account for the heavy expenses of the colony, which has proved a serious drain on the French Treasury ever since their arms first obtained a footing in the country. Between the years 1830 and 1846 the colony had swallowed up no less than 1,000,000,000 francs of French treasure, over and above the scanty revenue extracted from it. The annual expenses of the colony, including the immense military forces required to keep it in subjection, are not less than 100,000,000 francs.

Unlike the Transatlantic and Australian colonies of Great Britain, Algeria has never proved a successful field for emigrants. This is no doubt in part owing to the vicinity of the Arab tribes, whose natural condition is now, as it has been from the earliest times, a state of ceaseless warfare with the peaceful and comparatively rich indwellers in the plains. But it is in part also owing to the extreme poverty and inefficient habits of the emigrants themselves who have attempted to settle in the country, and to the neglect or inability of the Government to give a title to the lands assigned to them. So powerful has been the operation of these causes, that in the years 1845 and 1846 the total number of emigrants, French and foreigners, who settled in the colony was only 1172 and 1882 respectively, although every possible encouragement had been given to them by the grant of free passages across the sea, and otherwise. The consequence is, that labor is extremely high in the colony; and though the waste lands are assigned by the Government for a mere trifle, yet, as two or three years' toil are in general necessary before any return is obtained, it is long before the colonist can reap any fruit from his soil. The condition of the settler is in general miserable in the extreme. Perched upon arid spots, distant from water, the poor tenants lie panting under the rays of the sun or the blast

* REVENUE OF ALGERIA FROM 1840 TO 1846.

Years.	Francs.	Years.	Francs.
1840.....	5,610,707	1844.....	17,655,096
1841.....	8,859,190	1845.....	20,425,423
1842.....	11,606,478	1846.....	24,773,625
1843.....	15,964,475		

—Stat. de l'Algérie, 1845-46, 350.

of the sirocco, and seeking in vain the promised land, which tempted them to leave their distant and oft-regretted homes. Cultivation, in consequence, proceeds very slowly, even in the richest spots; and the agricultural produce of the Metidja is greatly less than when the standards of Charles X. first approached its sunny plains.¹

It may readily be conceived that when such, at first at least, is the condition of Exports and most of the new settlers in the colony, its exports and imports can not present a very flattering return. Such as they are, they are chiefly owing to the expenditure of the Government on the supplies required for the large body of troops permanently stationed on the African shore. The imports in 1845 were 99,360,000 francs, and the exports only 10,491,000—a state of things which sufficiently demonstrates that it was the consumption of the army which alone kept alive commerce. The troops in Algeria, since 1840, had risen from 50,000 to 100,000 men, and the European inhabitants from 25,000 to 99,000, and it is their expenditure, drawn from the salaries they receive from the Government, rather than their own industry, which occasions the immense disproportion between the imports and exports of the colony. The entire imports from 1831 to 1845 were 634,000,000 francs, and 1845-'46, the exports during the same period 394,395 only 65,854,000 francs.²

But although not as yet abounding in the wealth which in the British colonies has attended the effects of laborious and persevering industry, there never was a colonial establishment so well calculated to draw forth what both the Government and the nation still more desired, the military prowess of the army. In this respect Algiers has been of inestimable importance to France; and in the severe training which its ceaseless wars have given to the generals and soldiers engaged, is to be found the main causes of the recent resurrection and present formidable state of its military power. The interior of the country was by no means conquered with the reduction of Algiers. For about twenty years after, the Arab tribes and indigenous Africans in the mountains, the plains, and the deserts, maintained a desperate and persevering war with the invaders, as their ancestors had done with the Roman legions. Abd-el-Kader proved as formidable an enemy to the French as Jugurtha had done to the ancient masters of the world. Like them, the modern invaders were compelled to cut roads through mountains and forests, to penetrate deserts, to throw bridges over torrents; and so identical is the art of war in all ages, and such perfect masters were the ancients in all its parts, that the French engineers, in general, had only to follow the still remaining highways with which the Romans had penetrated, eighteen hundred years before, the wilds of nature. The bivouac of the soldiers of Louis Philippe was often spread out within the precincts of a camp of the legions; their fortified posts were almost always constructed on the site of a Roman fort, and often with the very stones which had been cut and laid down by the hands of the legionary soldiers.³

In this prolonged and desperate warfare the talents and energy of all ranks of the army were constantly taxed to the very uttermost. Summer and winter they were in presence of the enemy: alike in heat and cold they were required to make expeditions, to be prepared to repel assaults. In the heat of spring, or under the ardent rays of the dog-days, they were called on to force their way up steep ascents, through rocks and thickets, swarming with expert marksmen, or over waterless deserts, where the enemy, constantly in sight, was nevertheless rarely accessible, except when numbers or advantage of ground gave them a decided superiority. In winter, the garrisons left in the forts to keep up the communications were isolated for months together amidst ice and snow, and often compelled to depend for their subsistence upon a *razzia* or predatory sweep among the herds of an enemy, ever as vigilant in repelling an attack as skillful in effecting a surprise or deluding their opponents into an ambushade. The very providing the troops in such a warfare with supplies was often a matter of extreme difficulty; the conveyance of them with the columns required great previous preparation, and no small amount of experience and energy on the part of the commissariat. To provide for themselves, and trust to no one else; to construct their huts, cook their victuals, carry their food, mend their garments, and look after their effects, was a matter of necessity to the common soldiers, and soon became a habit. To handle large bodies of men in a mountainous country, and concentrate attacks at the same moment, by many different columns which had to cross ridges, traverse torrents, and penetrate forests in their advance, was the task frequently imposed upon the officers. No military man need be told what a school such a warfare is for training an army; and if any doubt could exist on the subject, it would be removed by the perfection in which the best qualities both of officers and soldiers have been exhibited by the troops brought from Algiers to the Crimean war. In the campaigns to be narrated in this chapter will appear many names which have since become as household words over all the world; and they appear at first with a faint radiance, an uncertain light, gradually expanding in brightness, as the stars which on the approach of night become visible, one by one, in the azure firmament, till with the increasing surrounding gloom they shine forth with a clear and imperishable lustre.

CHANGARNIER, by the common consent alike of his friends and his enemies, is to be placed at the head of this bright band. Though political causes have kept him in retirement since the accession of Louis Napoleon, and he took no part in the war in the Crimea, he has already done enough in those of Algeria, and in the streets of Paris, to earn for himself an imperishable renown. Grave and taciturn, like Napoleon in early life, in his ordinary demeanor, his thoughts were constantly on his military duties, and his ambition fixed on military distinction. No one revolved more anxiously in his mind the chances of an enterprise before it was attempted; no one, when he deemed it practicable, carried it into execution with more

¹ Stat. de l'Al-
gérie, 1845-
'46, 180; Bor-
rer, 226, 227.

² Stat. de
l'Algérie,
1845-'46,
394, 395.

³ Great im-
portance of
Algiers as
a school for
war.

^{10.} Qualities
called out in
the officers
and soldiers.

¹ Castel-
lane, 46.

^{11.} Character of
Changarnier.

vigor or celerity. Such was the confidence which his constant success inspired in the soldiers, that it was a common saying among the men, when he was put in command of a *razzia*, "We already smell the sheep"—a saying repeated by them in subsequent years in the streets of Paris, to the great astonishment of the Parisians, when employed to charge a body of insurgents. When a dangerous expedition was in contemplation, the general commanding in chief sent for Changarnier, who, after maturely considering the chances for and against success, delivered his opinion without reserve to his commander. If it was

¹Castellane, 46, 43, 57. in favor of the attempt, he received the command, and seldom failed to return adorned with the laurels of victory.¹

Like Hannibal, Cæsar, and all great commanders, he was extremely attentive to the provisioning of his troops, and also to giving them, whenever it was practicable, an adequate amount of repose. He

was careful, also, to avoid imposing on them unnecessary fatigue. His practice was, the moment a company arrived on its ground, to pile the arms, lay off the knapsacks, and then every one ran to get water, cut wood, or cook victuals, as circumstances might require. His maxim was, "To eat well and sleep well are the two most important things in war. Sancho Panza was right when he said, 'The man does not make the belly, but the belly the man.'" "Couscous" was the name of his favorite charger, a little Arab, active and indefatigable, which seemed inspired as with a demon when the musketry began to rattle. The soldiers said, "There is then one devil mounted on another." On a line of march he was always at the head of his men, alone, silent and contemplative, generally walking beside his horse, which followed him like a dog, to show the men he did not shrink from sharing their fatigues. But if an alarm was given, or an attack was to be made, he was instantly at the front giving his orders amidst a shower of balls, as if he were on a peaceful parade. On one occasion he was wounded on the shoulder while giving his orders; he dismounted, sat down under an olive-tree, and the surgeon arrived. His first words to him were, "Be quick, I pray, with your arrangements, for the affair is going on, and I have orders to give." The surgeon examined the wound, and his countenance revealed his apprehensions—he thought the bone was broken. Having, however, sounded it, a smile came over his features, and he said, with a joyful voice, "My General, it is nothing; the bone is not touched; in two months you will be able to mount on horseback."—"Rather sooner, I hope," replied the General, with a smile; and no sooner was the wound dressed than he mounted his horse, and resumed his orders with his usual *sang froid* and energy. His genius for war, like that of Napoleon, was marked from the very first, and he only required a larger theatre to have rivaled in renown, as

²Castellane, 50, 58. he assuredly did in talent, the greatest warriors whose deeds have illustrated French history.²

CAVAIGNAC did not by any means possess the military talents of Changarnier; but nevertheless he has left a name which will never be forgotten in French story, for with it is indissolubly connected the terrible

strife in Paris in June, 1848, and the final overthrow of the Revolution of the Barricade. His character was singularly calculated for the discharge of that necessary but painful duty; for, without possessing the inventive genius for war which is closely allied to that for mathematics, he had all the resolution, patience, and energy which are so essential to the success of its enterprises. Absolute in command, slow in comprehension, energetic in action, concealing the laborious process of thought under a grave exterior, he was esteemed by all, feared by many, loved by few. Wrapped in thought, and ruminating his designs in the recesses of his own mind, he lived solitary and secluded even in the midst of a numerous staff, and rarely sought the counsel of others in forming his designs. Like most men of this temperament, he was of a proud and unbending character, disdained to solicit either employment or promotion, and accepted the command awarded to him as his right, not as a matter of favor or distinction conferred upon him by his Sovereign.³

Originally a sincere Republican, like so many men of that party he found himself, when in high command, called on to restrain its excesses, which he did with a vigor and decision never exceeded. Hence he immediately became the object of the most impassioned invective to his former supporters, and hence his character has been variously drawn by writers of different parties, and even by those of the same party at different times. His early training took place, and his character was developed, in the wars of Algeria—the severe school in which all the military talent of Young France has been trained. No one was better acquainted with the necessities of that extraordinary warfare, or prepared more cautiously beforehand the means of insuring it success. His orders to the captains of companies, when setting out on a nocturnal *razzia*,⁴ were a model for all those intrusted with similar enterprises. He was appointed to considerable commands from his known character for firmness and resolution in an early period of the campaign, when the French dominion, literally speaking, extended only over the ground which their military posts occupied; and its subsequent extension was not a little owing to the resolution, vigor, and perseverance with which he discharged the duties intrusted to him. In January, 1841, he was made governor of a heap of ruins, dignified with the name of the town of Medeah. Being asked how far his command extended, "Load a gun," said he, "with a full charge, and fire." When the piece was discharged, and the ball had struck the earth, he said, pointing to the dust which it had thrown up, "There is the limit of our possession;" and such, in truth, at that period, was very nearly the situation of the whole French settlements in Algeria.⁵

CANROBERT has attained a more enviable celebrity than Cavaignac; for, bred like him in the wars of Algeria, he was afterward called to the chief command

³ His orders were: "Silence absolu toujours et de toute manière. Etouffer la toux dans les plis du turban. Pas de pipes. Si on reçoit des coups de fusil pendant la marche, redoubler de silence, ne pas riposter, doubler le pas. Faire des prisonniers avant tout. Ne tuer qu'à la dernière extrémité. Après les prisonniers, s'occuper du troupeau."—CASTELLANE, p. 86.

in the Crimea, in a period of anxiety and danger of the army, and his chief deeds were against the Russians, not his own countrymen. Without the military genius of Changarnier, or the indomitable moral resolution of Cavaignac, he was a most distinguished General, and in elevation of soul and magnanimity of character he was superior to either. His presence of mind and coolness in danger never were surpassed; and it was a common observation, that the precision and rapidity of his orders increased with the danger in which he was placed, and were never so great as when the enemy's balls were falling around him. On one occasion his presence of mind appeared in the most striking manner, and extricated the corps which he commanded from the most serious danger. In 1848 he was commanded, with his regiment of Zouaves, to take part in the siege of Naatcha. The cholera had broken out in his ranks during the march, and had already made fearful ravages. The beasts of burden with the corps were overcharged with the sick and the dying; and it was of the utmost moment to avoid an engagement, for there was no possibility of carrying on the wounded. At this critical moment, while passing a narrow defile, a nomad corps appeared prepared to dispute the passage. He immediately made his dispositions for the combat, and advancing alone with his interpreter in front of his column, he called out aloud: "You know I bring the plague with me; if you do not allow me to pass with my men, I will throw it, along with ourselves, on you." The Arabs, who had followed his track for some days by the new-made graves which lined it, were seized with terror, and allowed him to pass without molestation. Character, when thus decidedly marked, rarely changes. The same magnanimous spirit appeared on a greater theatre, when he offered the command of the allied army to Lord Raglan, in the most critical period of the siege of Sebastopol.¹

MARSHAL BUGEAUD, though advanced in years when he was intrusted with the command in Algeria, was second to none in Bugeaud. the essential qualities of a great general. He possessed in the very highest degree—one which is alike the distinctive mark of military genius and the sure herald of military success—the confidence and affection of his soldiers. In their familiar language they called him "Father Bugeaud;" and it was no wonder they did so, for never did parent evince more solicitude for his children than he did for them. Easy of access, communicative in conversation, familiar without abasement, he felt himself among his men as in a large family, and he was beloved accordingly. These affectionate dispositions were increased by the respect which all felt for his coolness and decision when the moment of danger arrived. Then all eyes were turned to their beloved chief, and the rapidity and *coup-d'œil* with which his orders were given justified the confidence of the soldiers, and seldom failed to prove the salvation of all. His talents were peculiarly conspicuous in the strategic arrangement of a campaign, and the converging directions of many different columns coming from different quarters to the decisive point. In the administrative department, and the civil government of the country, he shone equally conspicuous, and it was

mainly owing to his abilities that the obstinate resistance of Abd-el-Kader and the Arab tribes was overcome, and the French power established in a solid manner in their hard-won conquest. He worthily earned his Marshal's baton on the fields of Algeria, and was, in the last extremity, called to defend his Sovereign's throne in the Revolution of 1848. He did not prove unworthy of the choice; for had his counsels been followed, and his arm left unfettered, beyond all question the insurrection would have been subdued, and the Orleans family might have been still seated on the throne of France.

Differing from Marshal Bugeaud in several essential qualities, GENERAL DE LA-MORICIÈRE was yet in every way General de worthy of the high consideration Lamoricière. which he enjoyed in the army. Unlike many of his brother officers, he was of good family and aristocratic connections; but this circumstance only increased his influence with his men, as is always the case when real merit is discovered in one of superior birth. His activity and energy were unbounded; his head-quarters resembled rather a busy counting-house than the abode of a military chief. His indefatigable activity communicated itself to every department, but scarcely any could keep pace with the powers of endurance in the General. After having worn out all his secretaries, he often retired for the night to his chamber, and appeared in the morning with a memoir on some intricate question, or a dispatch which he had composed and written with his own hand when the rest were buried in slumber. His enterprises in general proved successful; and in carrying them into execution he availed himself, with the happiest results, of the insight which he had obtained into the Arab character.* Though his mind was essentially contemplative, and he often turned by predilection from military pursuits to questions of political economy or philosophy, yet no one was more energetic when the moment of action arrived, or exhibited more coolness and decision in giving his orders in circumstances of difficulty or danger.¹

* On one occasion, an Arab having been taken prisoner, and brought before him, the following characteristic dialogue took place:

"Je te connais," lui dit le prisonnier au bout d'un instant. Te rappelles-tu que c'est moi qui t'ai remis une lettre un soir du Général."

"Où," répondit le Général, "alors donne-moi des renseignements sur les bataillons."

"Sur Dieu, jamais; je serai muet."

"Fais attention: je vais faire appeler les chiaous; le bâton frappera."

"Frappe; je serai muet."

"Non, je ne vais pas m'y prendre ainsi avec cet homme," dit-il à ses officiers. "Bentzman, allez chercher un sac de mille francs et versez-en la moitié sur la table." Au bruit des pièces d'argent, les yeux de l'Arabe commencèrent à s'ouvrir.

"Tu le vois," dit le Général; elles appartiennent à toi si tu me mènes où sont tes bataillons."

"Les gens sont-ils prêts? partons," dit l'Arabe.

"Ce n'est pas tout," et il fit signe de verser le reste du sac; "il me faut ta tribu."

"Je suis prêt, je te conduirai," dit l'Arabe, qui ne quittait pas l'argent du regard; "partons."

"Si tu es prêt, je ne le suis pas encore; mais demain si tu me fais rencontrer tes bataillons, la moitié de cet argent sera à toi."

"Le lendemain la colonne surprenait les bataillons de l'Emir; et depuis, cet homme fit faire un grand nombre de razzias au Général; mais aussi le succès de ces entreprises était rendu plus facile par l'habileté de nos soldats."—CASTELLANE, p. 286, 287.

If General de Lamoricière was not favored by fortune in obtaining a greater theatre of action, the same can not be said of his rivaling glory, GENERAL BOSQUET. Called to the brightest destinies, his character proved equal to them. An iron will, a brilliant courage, a thirst for glory, were in him united to a solid judgment, a discriminating intellect, and an extraordinary power of rapid decision in the most trying circumstances. Beloved by those who approached him, from the simplicity of his manners and the kindness of his disposition, he was yet regarded by all with the respect which never fails to environ those who, it is foreseen, are born for great achievements. No one could converse with him without feeling that he was born for command; that he was one of the men capable of saving from danger, when all had come to despair of fortune. Like the youth in Tacitus, he loved danger itself, not the reward of courage; like Nelson, he never calculated odds when duty called. Fortune was not wanting to these great endowments; his subsequent career justified these expectations, for it presented a theatre for the display of these qualities. His name will never be forgotten in British story; for he commanded the noble band of Zouaves who rushed to Castellane, the rescue when the English Guards 305: St. Ar- were dying at their post on the ridge and, II. 267. of Inkermann.¹

MARSHAL ST. ARNAUD was not so fortunate as General Bosquet; he did not reap a harvest of glory, for he was called away when the sickle was just put in. He had not the military capacity which characterized Changarnier, or the daring spirit which burned in Bosquet; but nevertheless he was a most eminent man, and well worthy of a place in the gallery of contemporary portraits. His mind was essentially heroic: he had that thirst for glory which invariably characterizes elevated characters, and is of all qualities the most inconceivable to the majority of men. His talents for war shone forth with peculiar lustre in the Algeria campaign; for he was cautious in design and yet rapid in execution, and possessed that talent for combination which was of so much importance in a country so difficult of access, and when the troops required to converge from so many distant points to achieve decisive success. His disposition was affectionate, his heart warm: these qualities appear in every page of his correspondence, one of the most charming works which military literature has ever produced. In it we see, as in Collingwood's letters, the deeply interesting combination of military ardor and pursuits with the amenities and affections of private life. It was St. Arnaud's wish that he might die in the hour of victory, after having planted the French standards on the ramparts of Sebastopol; and if not exactly fulfilled, it was so in substance. For his enthusiastic spirit, when on the verge of death from a long and painful malady, enabled him to bear the long-protracted fatigues of the fight at the Alma; and among the last sounds which reached his ears were the enthusiastic cheers of the allied troops when the fiercely disputed heights were won.

If St. Arnaud exhibited the interesting combination of warlike ardor with domestic love, very different was the character of his successor, who, like him, trained in

the wars of Algeria, but more fortunate in the next contest, gave the finishing-stroke to the immortal siege of Sebastopol by the capture of the Malakoff. Stern, unrelenting, and determined, PELISSIER had all the qualities required to bring a sanguinary and long-protracted contest to a successful termination. Such was his determination that the prospect of the most terrific slaughter could not deter him from attempting what he deemed essential to success, or following it up, when once begun, with the perseverance which so often in war, as in civil life, commands it. When in the attack of the Cemetery on the right of the Bastion du Mât at Sebastopol, immediately after he succeeded to the command, the French, after a desperate conflict, were driven at night out of the work they had won, he gave orders that every regiment in the army should be led to the assault till it was finally secured; and he was as good as his word. Nor did he hesitate himself to share the perils to which he exposed his troops, for he fed the assault on the Malakoff with an incessant stream of stormers, till ten thousand men had fallen within its walls, and then he himself fixed his head-quarters there for the night amidst the perpetual risk of a mine being sprung, determined to preserve his conquest or perish. It was the same in Algeria: he succeeded in subduing the country by a determined prosecution of his designs, regardless, like Napoleon, of the cost of human life at which it was purchased. And if humanity shudders at some of his sanguinary deeds—and the destruction of a whole tribe, including women and children, by smoking them to death in a cave, is pointed to as one of the most terrible acts recorded in the annals of the world—history, in justice, must recount the provocation he had received, and the atrocities perpetrated by the Arabs on such Frenchmen as fell into their hands.

In the African wars which drew forth the talents and confirmed the character of this cluster of illustrious men, there ^{21.} The Zouaves also arose a body of soldiers who, both in the campaign in Algeria and in the contest in the Crimea, have acquired the very highest renown. The name of the ZOUAVES will never be forgotten as long as the story of the siege of Sebastopol endures, and it will take its place beside those of Troy and Jerusalem. They were originally intended to be regiments composed of Frenchmen who had settled in Algeria, or their descendants; but the intermixture of foreigners in their ranks ere long became so considerable, that when they were transported to the shores of the Crimea, though the majority were French, they were rather an aggregate of the *Dare-devils* of all nations. In their ranks at Sebastopol were some that held Oxford degrees, many those of Göttingen and Paris, crowds who had been ruined at the gaming-table, not a few who had fled from justice, or sought escape from the consequences of an amorous adventure. Yet had this motley crowd, composed of the most daring and reckless of all nations, become, in the rude school of the wars in Algeria, an incomparable body of soldiers, second to none in the world in every military duty, perhaps superior to any in the vehemence and rush of an assault. Without the disciplined steadiness of the British infantry, who have so often perished like the Spartans at Thermopylae rather than abandon their post, they

were superior to them in the vigor and impetuosity of a sudden attack. So little was it deemed possible that they could ever fail in such an operation, that when they were formed for the storm of Naatcha, in the Algerine wars, their commander said to them, "Recollect, Zouaves,

¹ Castellane, 378. if the retreat is sounded, it is not for you." They amply justified this

high character on the fields of the Alma and Inkermann, and at the assaults of Sebastopol. Ever leading the column of stormers, they rushed forward in a tumultuous swarm, which at first excited the apprehensions of the British officers who witnessed it; but this feeling was soon changed into one of unmixed admiration when they beheld how gallantly they mounted the breach, with what vigor they forced themselves into the embrasures, what desperate hand-to-hand encounters they maintained when they got into the interior, and the difficult task of holding it against the assaults of the Muscovites had commenced.

The colony of Algiers had hitherto been garrisoned only by an insufficient body of troops, and in consequence it had never acquired the consistency or security necessary to render it a flourishing settlement. Extending from Bona on the east to Cherchell on the west, both of which were on the sea-coast, it did not reach more than thirty leagues to the southward into the interior. Constantine, Milianah, Medeah, Huenza, and Setif, formed its original frontier line of strong-holds intended to overawe the Arab tribes in the mountains; but since Milianah and Medeah had been ceded to Abd-el-Kader by the treaty of La Tafna, this line of defense was entirely broken through, and the enemy was encamped, as it were, in the middle of the French territories. After the general insurrection of the Arabs under that

indefatigable chief in 1839, already ² Ante, c. xxxiv. § 59. narrated,² great advantage had been taken by him of this commanding central position, and he gained the advantage in several detached encounters, while a French brig sailing from Oran to Algiers was attacked and plundered by the Kabyles near Cherchell. To avenge this affront an expedition of twelve thousand men was sent from Algiers, in March following, and made itself master of that town with very little difficulty. But this success was of little avail as long as Milianah and Medeah remained in the hands of Abd-el-Kader. Sensible of the importance of these strong-holds, which, being both situated in the mountains, were difficult of access, the Arab chief had made of the first the centre of his military operations, from whence his predatory bands could ravage the whole of the Metidja, and even threaten Algiers itself. Marshal Vallée, who at this period commanded the French armies in Algeria, perceiving the advantage which the enemy derived from this position, resolved to wrest it from him; and with this view a grand expeditionary force, consisting of ten thousand men, was collected in Algiers, and broke up for the south on the 25th April. To give additional éclat to the expedition, the Duke of Orleans and the Duke d'Aumale received commands in the army, and set out with the troops.³

They were not long in reaching the enemy.

On the 27th the Marshal crossed the Etriffa, and soon fell in with a body of twelve hundred Arab horse, with whom he had a serious encounter; and the following days were spent in continual skirmishing with these redoubtable cavaliers, who retired as the main body of the enemy advanced. To operate a diversion, Abd-el-Kader directed a serious attack with seven thousand men on the French garrison left in Cherchell; but his efforts were defeated by the obstinate resistance of General Cavaignac, who commanded the place. Meanwhile Marshal Vallée advanced toward the Atlas, the passes of which were occupied by the Arab chief with eleven thousand men, which he required to cross before reaching Medeah. The principal one, and that alone practicable for artillery, was the Col de Mouzaia, on the northern slope of which Marshal Clausel, in 1836, had made a road passable by wheeled carriages. The summit of the pass, however, had been strongly occupied by Abd-el-Kader, and strengthened by field-works, abatis, and trenches, manned by the Kabyles, second to no troops in the world in the defense of mountain positions and the skillful use of the musket. Notwithstanding the strength of the position, the Marshal had sufficient confidence in the courage of his troops to hazard the attempt to carry it by a front attack. He intrusted this perilous enterprise to the Duke of Orleans, whose corps was formed into three divisions. The first, under General Duvivier, was intrusted with the attack on the intrenchments on the French left; the second, under Lamoricière, was to scale the peak on the right, which commanded the whole position, and, having carried it, take the Arab works in the centre in rear; the third, commanded by General d'Houdetot, was destined, during the confusion produced by these flank attacks, to force the intrenchments which barred the great road in the centre. The Arabs and Kabyles made a vigorous defense at all points; and Duvivier's division, when it had forced the summit against which it was directed, found itself enveloped in clouds, which made them uncertain where to go, and caused a temporary halt. But Lamoricière's division, headed by the Zouaves, by a splendid charge carried the peak on the right; his guns were ere long heard above the clouds, and soon a loud cheer announced that the summit of Mouzaia was in the hands of the assailants. Upon hearing this joyful sound the Duke of Orleans pushed on the columns in the centre; a terrible fire of grape on its flank tore the ranks and caused a temporary disorder; but when the French guns came up, they speedily silenced those of the enemy, and the pass was won. Panic-struck after this courageous resistance, the Arabs fled on all sides, and the French standards were planted on the summits of the Atlas. From thence they advanced down the southern slope of the mountains, and on the 17th occupied Medeah, which was evacuated by the enemy.¹

23. First operations of the campaign, and capture of Medeah.

24. Expedition against Milianah.

¹ Ann. Hist. xxiii. 401, 408; Regnault, i. 247, 249.

² Ann. Hist. xxiii. 408; Regnault, i. 249, 257.

³ Expedition against Milianah. June 4.

here the difficulties of the French situation in Algiers became painfully apparent. The pass was found as strongly occupied as before by the Arabs; and the indefatigable Abd-el-Kader was at their head, prepared to dispute the passage back. It was only by a fierce attack that the pass was again forced, and the troops passed through and reached Blidah. Thence Marshal Vallée again set out in the beginning of June with an immense convoy of ammunition and provisions, directing his steps, in the first instance, to Milianah, which he proposed to occupy permanently with a garrison of two thousand men, and thence convey a sufficient store of food to Medeah to enable its garrison to hold out during the winter. Milianah, situated on the slope of a mountain which overlooks the vast meadows through which the Cheliff meanders, is the ancient *Masiana* of the Romans, and contains the ruins of several stately edifices which attest its former splendor. It was now, however, only a wretched village in the midst of the remains of ancient magnificence; but its position, like that of all others chosen by the Romans, rendered it a military post of the highest importance. Abd-el-Kader at first seemed disposed to defend it, but on the approach of the French columns he set fire to the town and withdrew to the mountains. Marshal Vallée left a strong garrison of three thousand men, amply provided, to hold the post, and pursued his route by the valley of the Cheliff toward Medeah, with a view to victualing that fortress. To reach it, it was necessary to cross a branch of the Col de Mouzaia a third time from south to north. The Arab chief was anticipated by the rapidity of the Zouaves in the occupation of the pass; but he had his revenge by a skillful manoeuvre which he adopted, and which brought the French within a hair's-breadth of destruction'.¹

Advancing parallel to the French columns, and in perfect silence, shrouded by a ridge of rocks, the Arabs reached the summit of the pass unperceived at the same time as their opponents; and as the rear-guard was descending the slope toward Medeah, a sudden volley from an invisible enemy stretched great numbers on the earth. Instantly the Arabs, leaping from their places of concealment, armed each with a yataghan, a poniard, and two pistols, threw themselves on the French when reeling under the discharge, and destroyed great numbers. But the Zouaves and the Chasseurs de Vincennes, in number eight hundred, were there. Quickly rallying, they commenced a fierce resistance; the bayonet was crossed with the cimeter; the swords parried the yataghans, and, after a fierce conflict, in which the Arabs with desperate gallantry returned four times to the charge, the French were finally victorious. They had to lament the loss, however, of a hundred and twenty killed, and three hundred wounded—above half of the heroic band thus furiously engaged. The corps, nevertheless, pursued its way with the convoy, and reached Medeah in safety, which was amply provisioned, and left under the orders of Duvivier for the winter, as was Milianah under those of Chanzy. But during these successes the Metidjah was left without any adequate protection,

and the Arabs, taking advantage of its defenseless state, burst into the province, and carried fire and sword up to the very gates of Algiers. Such was the terror in that city, that four hundred military convicts within its walls were hastily armed for its defense, and by an express order no inhabitant was allowed to go beyond Hussein-Dey, which was only a league from the gates. Of all the French conquests in this brilliant campaign, there remained only at its close the towns of Cherchell, Medeah, and Milianah, each beleaguered by the enemy, and not commanding a foot of ground beyond the range of its guns—a melancholy result for a campaign begun with forces so considerable, and illustrated by so many deeds of glory.¹

The undecided issue of this campaign suggested to the cabinet of M. Guizot the necessity of appointing a more energetic officer to the command than Marshal Vallée. The truth was, however, that the secret of this want of decisive success was not to be found in any deficiency of military vigor or capacity in the troops employed, but in the force being inadequate to the task of subduing the numerous and warlike tribes which held the interior of the country. Sensible of this, the French cabinet increased the national troops in the colony to sixty thousand, and placed the whole under the command of Marshal Bugeaud, whose character promised at once to gain external success and secure the attachment of his soldiers. He resolved to carry the war into the centre of the enemy's power, and pursue Abd-el-Kader at all points, without one moment of repose. The Arab chief, on his side, changed his tactics, and instead of concentrating his forces as he had done in the preceding campaign, separated them so as to keep a sort of guard over every part of the country, and at the same time avoid the risk of any considerable body being defeated. He transported the theatre of war from the neighborhood of Algiers to Tlemcen and the western provinces of Algeria, where they were strongly reinforced by the Kabyles, who inhabited the mountains in the vicinity of Oran and the borders of the empire of Morocco. Medeah and Milianah, however, were still kept in a state of close blockade; and as their garrisons were beginning to suffer under want of provisions, the first care of the commander was to direct convoys, escorted by a large military force, to their relief.²

The expeditionary force of ten thousand men set out from Blidah on the 27th April, and advanced to the relief of Milianah, which was now hard pressed by a large force under Abd-el-Kader in person. Taught by former disasters, the Arab chief made no attempt to prevent the revictualing of the place; and the French marshal having attacked him a few days after the entry, he was worsted in a general encounter, which was only prevented from being converted into a total rout by an imprudent charge which the Duke de Nemours made in the centre; this caused the enemy to retire before the turning of their flank by the 17th light infantry, intended to cut off their retreat, had taken effect. Marshal Bugeaud was extremely disconcerted by this untoward event, concerning which he expressed himself in no

¹ Regnault, l. 260, 260; Ann. Hist. xxiii. 404.

²⁵ Bloody combat on the Col de Mouzaia. June 15.

¹ Regnault, l. 360, 362; Ann. Hist. xxi. 360, 362.

²⁶ Campaign of 1841.

² Regnault, l. 206, 207; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 422, 423.

²⁷ Successful campaign of 1841.

May 3.

measured terms, the more so as the presence of the princes at head-quarters, with their large retinue and immense mass of baggage, seriously incommoded the troops. Having revictualled Medeah and Milianah, Bugeaud transferred his head-quarters to the town of Mostaganem, on the sea-coast, near the mouth of the Cheliff, which was made the base of operations against the western tribes of Algeria, where the principal adherents of Abd-el-Kader were now to be found. The army advanced along the course of the Cheliff without experiencing any serious resistance, and the important town of Mascara was abandoned without striking a blow. The French general stationed a corps of two thousand men in that town to overawe the western tribes in the vicinity of Oran. Encouraged by these appearances, he sent letters to Abd-el-Kader, inviting him to surrender, and representing the ruin which the continuance of the war was bringing on the country. But the Arab chief replied: "The submission of the Arabs will be represented by a horse without a tail; such an animal is unknown in our mountains; when our mares have produced one, we will send him to you. The injury which your army

¹ Regnault, ii. 207, 208; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 423, 425.

does to the fertile Africa, in the furrows which it painfully traces in her bosom, is less than is experienced by the ocean when the swallow plunges in its bosom to seize a fish."¹

Dividing his army into five columns, Bugeaud pressed the Arab chief on all sides: in the glowing language of the French annalist, he found an iron circle wherever he turned. While he himself pressed the tribes which dwelt between Mascara and the left bank of the Cheliff with twelve thousand men, General Lamoricière advanced between Mascara, Oran, and Tlemcen; General Baraguay d'Hilliers manœuvred on the right bank of that river, between it and the sea-coast; while General Negrier acted on the offensive in the extreme east, in the provinces of Constantine and Setif. Thus the Arabs found themselves attacked in five places at once; the war assumed a unity of design by which it had never before been characterized; and Abd-el-Kader, in spite of all his activity and resources, found himself unable to withstand the reiterated attacks of so many different corps in different places at the same time. That commanded by Bugeaud in person, setting out from Mostaganem on the 13th September, was

for fifty-three days in constant activity, in the course of which several severe cavalry actions took place with the Arab horse, in which the superiority of European discipline and courage was uniformly asserted. The results of this active campaign were very great. Tribe after tribe sent in their submission, or were driven off into the desert: the Medgeers first abandoned the cause of the Emir, and united their forces to those of the French; their example was soon followed by six lesser tribes, who also followed the tricolor standards. Strengthened by these alliances, Bugeaud at length led his forces against the Hachema, a powerful tribe in the west, and the principal source of the Emir's strength. They were driven from their homes to seek refuge in the desert: upon this success the whole other tribes in the west sent in their submission, and on the 28th December, in a vast

plain in front of Tlemcen, swore allegiance to a new Sultan, Mohammed-ben-Abdallah, who the same day concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with France.¹

¹ Regnault, ii. 209, 211; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 423, 424.

Amidst this wreck of his fortunes, the indomitable Arab chief still maintained, with mournful resolution, the standard of independence, and when no longer able to keep the field against the increasing forces of the enemy, he shut himself up in Tlemcen, declaring his determination to defend that strong-hold to the last extremity. Thither, however, he was followed by the indefatigable Bugeaud, who broke up from Oran on the 26th January, in the depth of winter, to drive the enemy from that last position. Abd-el-Kader evacuated the town on his approach, taking with him a large part of the inhabitants, with whom he retired toward the frontier of Morocco. Though joined by a few faithful adherents in his retreat, others more numerous fell off from his standards, so that he reached the banks of the Tafna, the frontier stream of Morocco, with only two hundred and fifty-eight horsemen. Thither he was followed by the French movable columns, who spent several days in searching for the Emir, and being unsuccessful, they advanced to Taponna, which had been erected into a strong fort by Abd-el-Kader, and formed his principal dépôt of arms and military stores. This last place of refuge was taken and destroyed, while the Emir sought refuge in the solitude of the desert, and all the tribes in the vicinity laid down their arms. At the same time, General Lamoricière pursued to the last extremity some remains of the tribe of the Hachema, which still on the frontier of the desert maintained the cause of independence, and forced them too to seek refuge in its solitude. The power of Abd-el-Kader seemed, by this long and active campaign, to be finally broken; he had been driven into the wilderness beyond the utmost limits of the French territory, and the tribes which had constituted his strength were now for the most part ranged under the French standards against him. To secure these important advantages, Marshal Bugeaud stationed General Lamoricière, with six thousand men, in Mascara, while General Bedeau, with five thousand, was placed in Tlemcen.²

^{29.} Final defeat and flight of Abd-el-Kader. Jan. 26, 1842.

² Marshal Bugeaud's Dispatch, Feb. 5, 1842; *Moniteur*, Feb. 27; Regnault, ii. 239, 240; Ann. Hist. xxiv. 424, 425.

To all appearance the power of the Emir was now finally broken, and the French dominion firmly established in the north of Africa. This flattering illusion was confirmed by the conduct of the chief of the Arab tribes on the frontier of Morocco and the desert, who, like all Asiatics, bowed, for the time at least, to superior strength, and ranged themselves on the side of victory. But meanwhile the Emir was not idle. At the head of a few faithful followers, he went from chief to chief, from tribe to tribe, in the wilderness, every where preaching a holy war, and calling on all true believers to join in a general crusade for the extermination of the infidels. In the remote situation, simple habits, and limited knowledge of these secluded tribes, he found resources which he never could have found on the frontiers of civilization. The horsemen of the desert had

^{30.} His reappearance.

never met the French troops: they were ignorant of European arms and discipline, and took up arms at the eloquent words of the Emir, as their ancestors had done at the voice of Mohammed. The French marshal had just sent a steamboat to Tangiers to remonstrate against the shelter afforded to Abd-el-Kader in the Morocco territories, when suddenly the unconquerable chief appeared at the head of 6000 horsemen in the vicinity of Tlemsen, and commenced pillaging the tribes which had entered into amicable relations with the French Government. A vigorous sortie by General Bedeau repelled them from that vicinity, but the Emir withdrew to the desert with his forces undiminished, and laden with booty. Encouraged by the success of this enterprise, numbers of Arabs joined his standard, and the whole French frontier was soon in a state of alarm from Cherchell to Milianah. A long and fatiguing campaign followed, consisting chiefly of cavalry actions, in which, though success was various, yet the advantage was generally on the side of the French. At length, however, an occasion presented itself, in which

¹ Regnault, II. 324, 325; An. Hist. xxv. 305, 306; xxvi. 216, 217.

the Duke d'Aumale struck a blow which affected the Emir in the most sensitive quarter, and powerfully influenced the imaginative and excitable minds of the Arabs.¹

In the middle of May, 1843, Abd-el-Kader, pressed by General Lamoricière with the forces brought from Tlemsen, and two other columns which had issued from Medeah and Mascara, was skillfully extricating himself from their pursuit, and making for the mountains of Djebel-Amour, when accident brought him into the vicinity of the Duke d'Aumale, who was coming from Boghur with 500 horse to join in the pursuit. Informed of the place where his redoubtable adversary was encamped for the night, the Duke, without waiting for his infantry coming up, set off with the utmost expedition to make the attack. Favored by darkness, the surprise was complete. The Arabs were ten to one, but they were overwhelmed by the sudden charge of the chasseurs and spahis. The Emir had scarcely time to mount on horseback and make his escape with a few followers. His mother and chief wife got off with the utmost difficulty, but the remainder of his harem, the wives and daughters of his principal lieutenants, with his whole camels and baggage, fell into the hands of the enemy, whose loss was very trifling. After this disaster Abd-el-Kader fled into the deserts to the southwest of Tlemsen, where he hoped to effect a junction with one of the most able of his officers, Sidi-Embauck, who brought to his standard from the eastern province 700 men, the remains of the garrisons of Medeah and Milianah. Before the junction could be made, however, Sidi-Embauck was attacked and routed by Colonel Tempoure, himself slain, and his followers entirely dispersed. Upon this the whole tribes on the frontiers of the desert made their submission, and for the first time since the French invasion of the country,

² Regnault, II. 325, 327; Cas-tellane, 372, 374; Borrer, 179.

tranquillity reigned in the whole provinces of Algeria, from Algiers to Boghur, and from Constantine to Tlemsen.² In acknowledgment of these glorious services, General

Bugeaud was made a Marshal of France, and Louis Philippe began to make arrangements for the establishment of the Duke d'Aumale as viceroy in his newly-acquired transmarine possessions.

Though driven in this manner out of his own country, Abd-el-Kader found in his individual firmness and inexhaustible mental resources the means of still maintaining the contest. Retired into the distant wilds of the empire of Morocco, where the wandering tribes dwelt on the frontiers of the great desert, he exerted his powers of eloquence, which were very great, in rousing the Mohammedans against the Christians—no difficult task at any time, but especially easy at this, owing to the serious encroachments which the followers of Jesus were now making in so many quarters on the domains of Islamism. His efforts, accordingly, were attended with considerable success; and in the spring of 1844 he found some thousand brave fanatics again assembled round his standards in these distant solitudes. At the same time he surrounded the Emperor with emissaries who represented in the strongest terms the necessity of all true believers uniting in defense of the Prophet, and the imminent danger of Islamism being rooted out of Africa if all its powers did not unite in defense of the faith. The Emperor was not insensible to these representations, but he was inspired with not less apprehension of the Emir than of the enemies of Islamism, and viewed, not without secret satisfaction, the desperate war which these two enemies, alike formidable to him, were waging with each other. It might have been long, therefore, before he yielded to the Emir's representations, had it not been for an incident which united them together in cordial alliance against the French.¹

^{82.} Commencement of difficulties with Morocco.

¹ Regnault, II. 394, 395; An. Hist. xxiv. 216, 218.

There had for long been a difference between Louis Philippe and the Emperor of Morocco on the subject of the frontier line of their respective dominions—the one contending for the line of the Tafna River, the other for a considerable territory on its western bank. The dispute, however, had not assumed a very serious aspect till the French began to build a fort at Lalla-Maghonia, on the left bank of the river. "You see," wrote the Emir to the Emperor, "what I predicted is about to be realized. I have always warned you that your compliance would encourage the infidels to make encroachments on your territories, and now you see they are building a tower on your frontier, in order to acquire an entire command over you." At this news the court of the Emperor was thrown into the most violent commotion. On all sides were heard imprecations against the infidels—declamations on the necessity of checking their insolence. Religious fervor, ever so powerful an agent in the Eastern world, shook the whole population. Nothing was heard over the whole empire but the din of preparations for war; and the Government, so far from checking these feelings, gave them the most open encouragement. At a great review held at Mogador, the governor of the town thus addressed the troops:² "The infidels are coming; you

^{83.} Which lead to a rupture.

² Regnault, II. 394, 397; An. Hist. xxvii. 256, 257.

must prepare to combat them, for you are superior to them, and God is above all."

Hostilities began on the part of the Emperor of Morocco sooner than was expected by the French. Without any previous declaration of war, his troops assembled on the disputed frontier in such numbers as obliged General Lamoricière, who commanded in that quarter, to concentrate his men in order to avoid a surprise. On the 30th May a body of 2000 Morocco horsemen, with their standards flying, appeared on the banks of the Mouillah River, and advanced two leagues in battle array into what the French claimed as their territory. General Lamoricière was not the man to decline the combat thus offered. Accordingly, without a word being spoken, or a message exchanged on either side, he advanced to meet them, having General Bedeau with the Zouaves on the right, and Colonel Roguet with the chasseurs and two battalions of foot on his left. The fire became extremely warm as the two hostile bodies approached each other, and the Moors sustained the discharges of the French with a firmness which could hardly have been expected from Africans who were now for the first time brought into collision with European troops. They even made a considerable movement in advance, with a chosen body of horse, between the column on the French right and a ridge of rocks which bordered their position on that side. Lamoricière purposely made no resistance to the advance of that column, and, when it was fully abreast of the French line, suddenly charged the column in flank with two squadrons of chasseurs. This movement was decisive. Violently assailed on a side where they did not expect an attack, the black horse were divided in two, the advanced portion cut to pieces, that in the rear dispersed and driven headlong back toward Ouchda. The whole Morocco troops now took to flight, and were pursued by the French with great slaughter to the banks of the Mouillah.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xxvii. 250, 260; Regnault, II. 397, 398.

This flagrant violation of the French territory unquestionably was equivalent to a formal declaration of war, and amply justified the immediate commencement of hostilities. But the French Government, anxious not to bring another enemy on their hands, when Abd-el-Kader was still unsubdued, and possibly desirous not to add to the chances of embarrassment with England, already in some degree irritated by the Otaheite affair, by extending their conquests in the direction of Gibraltar, affected to consider the invasion of the French territory as a mere unauthorized act on the part of the Morocco generals. They accordingly directed Marshal Bugeaud to request a conference with the Morocco chief, to endeavor to bring about an accommodation. The proposal was readily acceded to by the Emperor, and the conference took place on the 15th June, in a place mutually fixed on, three-quarters of a league from the French camp at Lalla-Maghonia. General Bedeau attended it on the part of the French; El Guennaoni on that of the African Government. Lamoricière, with two battalions and a squadron, lay at a little distance, and Marshal Bugeaud

^{35.} Conference between General Bedeau and the Morocco chief.

himself, with the remainder of the army, was still farther back in the direction of Tlem-¹ sen. The Emperor of Morocco himself, with 30,000 men, was at no great distance on the other side.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. xxvii. 260; Regnault, II. 401, 402.

El Guennaoni showed himself very accommodating in every thing which concerned the Emir, whom he promised to expel from the Morocco territories, and prohibit from entering them again.^{36.}

^{36.} The conference ends in hostilities.

But matters assumed a very different aspect when they came to discuss the frontier on the La Tafna River. On this point the Arab insisted on that river being the boundary, to which Bedeau positively refused to accede. "It is, then, war which you wish?" replied Bedeau: "well, you shall have it." "God will direct the issue," replied Guennaoni. "And men also," rejoined Bedeau; and with these words they separated. While this was going on, the Arab followers of the Morocco chief's guard, to the number of several thousands, came pressing round the place of conference; several shots were fired into the air, and some of the most forward even shook their arms in the French general's face. The Morocco chief in vain ordered these irregular hordes to withdraw; they refused to obey; the regular guard alone complied with the injunction. The circumstances were critical, closely resembling those which preceded the murder of Sir W. Macnaghten in Afghanistan five years before.² Bedeau, however, preserved a good countenance, and withdrew slowly, facing the enemy till he reached his horse, when he mounted and rode off. General Lamoricière and he were of opinion that the insult offered was not sufficiently grave to warrant the commencement of hostilities; but Marshal Bugeaud was of an opposite opinion, and gave orders for the troops to make preparations for an immediate attack. He did so accordingly, and with such success that the Morocco troops were entirely routed, and driven off the field with the loss of four hundred men left dead on the spot.³

² Anta, c. xl. § 124.

³ Ann. Hist. xxvii. 260, 261; Regnault, II. 402, 403.

No sooner did the French Government receive intelligence of this second insult than they gave orders to commence immediate hostilities by sea and land.^{37.} The Prince de Joinville received orders to proceed from Toulon, with three sail of the line and four frigates, and cruise along the African coast. Mr. Drummond Hay, the British consul at Tangiers, did all in his power to avert hostilities; and Sir Robert Wilson, the Governor of Gibraltar, sent several messengers to Fez to endeavor to effect an accommodation. Meanwhile Marshal Bugeaud broke up from his camp, and, advancing into the Morocco territory, occupied Ouchda without resistance; and Abd-el-Kader having withdrawn to the mountains, the Marshal retired into the French territory, leaving a garrison in that place. The efforts of Sir Robert Wilson at length brought about a convention with the Prince de Joinville; his fleet stood out to sea, and the danger appeared to be averted. But meanwhile Admiral Owen, with the English squadron, who was ignorant of the convention concluded by Sir Robert Wilson, approached Tangiers, upon hearing of which the Prince de Joinville returned to that town, and made dispositions for an immediate attack. On learning,

^{37.} Commencement of hostilities with Morocco by sea and land.

however, that Admiral Owen had approached only for the purpose of observation, he again withdrew. The negotiations between Marshal Bugeaud and the Emperor of Morocco having again failed, he approached Tangiers a second time,

¹ Ann. Hist. xxvii. 261; An. Reg. 1844, 262, 263; Reg-nault, ii. 428, 429.

and no answer having been returned within the time accorded by the French Government to their ultimatum proposed to that of Morocco, he made preparations for a bombardment.¹

³⁸ Bombardment of Tangiers and Mogador, Aug. 6, 1844.

Tangiers is an old town situated on the sea-coast, built on a series of heights lying in a semicircle, descending from a considerable elevation to the water's edge. It is surrounded on all sides by a high wall, on which, toward the sea, eighty heavy guns were mounted on bastions, constructed after the European fashion. The more elevated of these batteries were placed on two hills about a hundred and fifty feet in height, the others were on the water's edge. Seeing matters growing so serious, the Emperor informed Mr. Hay, as the Prince de Joinville was standing in toward the harbor, that he had accepted the ultimatum of the French Government. But meanwhile a steamboat came into the bay with dispatches from the Cabinet of Paris, which enjoined that, if the ultimatum was not accepted, the attack should immediately commence. Fortified by this authority, the Prince, disregarding the communication made by Mr. Drummond Hay, as to the acceptance of the ultimatum by the Morocco Government, or deeming it unsatisfactory, gave orders for an immediate attack. Accordingly, at daybreak on the morning of the 6th August, the three line-of-battle ships, the *Suffren*, *Jemappes*, and *Triton*, and the *Belle-Poule* frigate, were towed into the bay by the war-steamers, the *Viton*, *Platon*, *Gassendi*, *Pharo*, and *Rubis*. Admiral Owen, with three sail of the line, was in the bay as a spectator, as well as a Spanish squadron and an American frigate. The French took up their ground steadily, the *Suffren*, which bore the flag of the Prince de Joinville, being nearest to the batteries, and within four cable-lengths of them. The instructions of the Prince were to destroy the exterior fortifications, but to spare the town. This was soon accomplished. As at Algiers and Acre, the Mohammedans allowed the enemy to take the positions assigned to them without firing a shot; the fire commenced on the part of the French at half past eight, and was immediately answered by the discharge of ninety guns, for the most part of very heavy calibre, from the batteries.² But the Moors, not expecting the French vessels to come so near, had leveled too high, and great part of their shot went above the masts. The contest was soon found to be unequal, and at the end of an hour their fire was silenced, and the batteries in ruins. This success was gained with the loss only of three killed and sixteen wounded, which demonstrated how unequal the contest had been, for in the attack of Algiers in 1816 Lord Exmouth lost 816 men.³

² Prince de Joinville's Dispatch, Aug. 7, 1844; Ann. Reg. 1844, 263; Ann. Hist. xxvii. 267, 269; Reg-nault, ii. 430, 433.

³ Ants. c. ii. § 73.

This was followed by an attack upon Mogador, on the 16th of the same month, which, after a severe contest, was ruined, and the island at the mouth of the harbor

carried, after a desperate resistance, by the French sailors and marines.

These gallant and decisive actions sufficiently demonstrate that the Moorish batteries were no match for the European broadsides, and that the days were far gone when the pirates of Tangiers swept the Mediterranean in search of Christian slaves. But it was not by maritime victories that the empire of Morocco, a power essentially inland and military, was to be overcome; the real blows were to be struck by Marshal Bugeaud with the land forces. They were not long, however, of being delivered. The Emperor's son had at length taken the command of the army, and it was daily swelled by the accession of large bodies of savage warriors from the interior, who advanced as to certain victory under the standard of the Prophet, to exterminate the infidels. Fresh reinforcements, consisting chiefly of infantry from the hill tribes, were daily expected, which were to assail the French on the side of the mountains, on which their left flank rested; while the numerous squadrons of the Moorish horse enveloped their right, which was in the plain. In a few days the enemy's forces would be raised to 40,000 men, while the French had no corresponding addition to their numbers to look for. In these circumstances, the general-in-chief wisely judged that he had every thing to fear and nothing to hope from any farther delay, and he resolved upon an immediate attack—a determination which diffused universal enthusiasm in the army. Yet was the resolution, though prudent in the circumstances, a bold and venturesome one; for the French forces were only 8500 regular infantry, 1500 regular and 2100 irregular horse, while the Moors had 25,000 cavalry and 10,000 foot-soldiers around their banners.

³⁹ Critical position of the French, and their resolution to fight.

¹ Ann. Hist. xxvii. 270, 271; Reg-nault, ii. 437, 438; Ann. Reg. 1844, 265.

Having taken his resolution, Marshal Bugeaud made every disposition which skill and prudence could suggest to insure success. To guard against the sudden irruption of the Moorish horse, the danger which was most to be apprehended, the whole army was drawn up in the form of a large square, composed of as many lesser squares as there were battalions. The *ambulances*, or carriages for the wounded, the baggage, the beasts of burden, were placed in the centre, in which also were the cavalry, arranged in two columns, one on each side of the convoy. The artillery was placed at the four sides at the openings between the battalions, which were 120 paces broad. This was the order prescribed for the combat; in approaching it, the arrangement was somewhat different. The advance was made by one of the angles led by the column of direction, on each side of which the other battalions followed, each keeping their square formation, on the right and left. The whole army, when in march, was thus formed in a great rectangle, composed of columns, advancing at half distance of battalions, ready at a moment's warning to fall back into the great square. Immediately behind the leading battalion were two other battalions in close column, not forming part of the square, but at the head of the convoy, and composing a reserve intended to act according as their services might be required. In this rectangular order the whole army set out

⁴⁰ Dispositions for the battle.

at three in the afternoon of the 18th; at night the foragers, who had been sent out on all sides of the column, returned to their respective corps, which halted still in the order of march, in silence, and without lights. After resting three hours, the whole broke up at midnight, and advanced straight, in the same order, toward the River Isly, on the other side of which the enemy were encamped.¹

The Isly, at the point where the passage was to be effected, was divided into two branches, both of which required to be crossed before the enemy's camp was reached. The first was crossed before the enemy were aware of their approach—a fortunate circumstance, as the passage would have been very hazardous if made in presence of their numerous and fiery squadrons. The alarm had reached their camp, however, before the second crossing was effected, and when the leading columns of the French reached the heights which overhung its right bank, they beheld the enemy's camp stretching as far as the eye could reach on the left bank, and the opposite shore crowded with the squadrons of the enemy prepared to dispute the passage. There was not a moment to lose, for their numbers were every minute increasing; and on an eminence in their centre was to be seen a dense group of horsemen, which marked the spot where the Emperor's son, with the imperial banners displayed, had taken his station. The battalion of direction immediately was turned toward that eminence, with orders, when it was reached, to move to the right, still holding the summit of the eminence by the left face of the great square. Hardly were these orders given, when the rattle of musketry was heard in the front, arising from the leading files of the French tirailleurs, which were beginning to cross the river by three fords, and had become engaged with the Moors. They pressed on, though assailed by a warm fire from the enemy's light troops, and ere long reached the foot of the hill on which the Emperor's son was placed. Judging from the crowd there that some person of eminence was on the spot, the Marshal directed the fire of four field-pieces on the group, and, from the confusion which soon prevailed in it, evidently with fatal effect. Encouraged by this circumstance, the French tirailleurs, closely followed by the squares, still in the oblong order of march, steadily advanced up the slope, driving the enemy's light troops before them.²

At this moment enormous masses of the Moorish cavalry, hitherto screened by the high grounds on either side, suddenly made their appearance on the summit of the crest on the right and left, and with loud cries charged the French squares. The latter had need of all their firmness, for the moment was terrible, and a heavy fire was at the same time opened upon them by the musketeers, who showed themselves between the Moorish squadrons. But not a sign of disorder appeared, not a square was broken. With admirable coolness, the tirailleurs outside the columns on their flanks retired before the advance, firing as rapidly as they could, and when the horsemen were

close upon them, they lay down to give room for the squares behind to open their fire. The Moors recoiled before the terrible discharge of grape and musketry which immediately succeeded; the French continued their advance, and the height was won. Immediately the prescribed change of order took place; the square moved upon the camp, and by their advance separated in two the immense mass of the Moorish cavalry. At this moment the French horse, under Colonel Tartas, issued from the square, and dashed in a headlong charge into the enemy's camp, which was obstinately defended, but at length taken, with the whole tents and baggage which it contained. A serious danger, however, awaited the victorious cavalry in the moment of their triumph. A body of ten thousand Moorish horsemen, placed in reserve in the rear of the camp, suddenly charged them when disordered by success, and scattered over the surface among the tents. But Colonel Morris, at the head of the *chasseurs-à-cheval*, three hundred in number, charged the Moors with such vigor, in a compact mass, that they in their turn were broken, and driven off the field. The whole French army then advanced against a confused mass of infantry and cavalry, which was striving to rally in the rear; it was speedily put to the rout, and the whole took to flight. The victory of the French was complete: the Moors lost eight hundred killed, and double that number wounded, besides eleven guns and their whole tents and ammunition; while the French were only weakened by twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded.¹

These repeated disasters, and more especially the last bloody defeat, convinced the Moorish Government that the star of Islamism was not now in the ascendant, and that the only wisdom was to come as soon as possible to an accommodation. The cabinet of the Tuileries had equally cogent reasons for wishing to restore peace to Africa, for its relations with Great Britain at that period stood on the most precarious footing, owing to the Otaheite dispute; and the recent increase of the strength of Admiral Owen's squadron to six sail of the line at Gibraltar, revealed the imminent danger in which their Algerine possessions would be placed if, when engaged with a formidable enemy on the African shores, their communications with home were to be cut off by the superior fleets of Great Britain. Influenced by this pressing consideration, they agreed to terms with the Government of Morocco, more favorable than the latter could have expected after such a series of disasters. These were, that the extraordinary Moorish armaments on the frontiers in the neighborhood of Onchda should be dissolved, the officers who directed the attack on the French on 30th May punished, Abd-el-Kader outlawed and banished from the Morocco territory, and the frontier between the two States settled on the footing on which it stood before the rupture, when the province of Algeria was in the hands of the Turks. On these terms the treaty was concluded; and Abd-el-Kader withdrew into the desert. The Prince de Joinville, who was the plenipotentiary on the part of France, was very indignant that the Moors were not obliged to pay the expenses of

¹ Regnault, ii. 438, 439; Ann. Hist. xxvii. 270—App. 145; Marshal Bugeaud's Dispatch, June 14, 1844; Ann. Reg. 1844, 265.

41. Battle of Isly, Aug. 14, 1844.

¹ Marshal Bugeaud's Dispatch, Aug. 14, 1844; Ann. Reg. 1844, 265; Regnault, ii. 441, 443; Ann. Hist. xxvii. 270, 271.

42.

Peace with Morocco. Sept. 10.

² Regnault, ii. 440, 441; Ann. Hist. xxvii. 270, 271; Marshal Bugeaud's Dispatch, Aug. 14, 1844.

42. Glorious victory of the French.

the war. But the opinion of Marshal Bugeaud prevailed. "Why stipulate for a payment of money? It would never be paid, and another war would be the consequence of their failure to do so. The Opposition journals in Paris were also loud in their condemnation of the treaty

¹ Journal des Débats, Sept. 24, 1844; Treaty, Ann. Hist. xvii. 155, Dec. Hist.; Regnault, iii. 15, 17.

for the same reason, and openly asserted that it was to propitiate England that terms so discreditable were agreed to; but a happy expression in the *Journal des Débats* in some degree appeased their indignation: "France is rich enough to pay for its glory."

After this treaty, the Duke d'Aumale, who had distinguished himself in the war, was made Governor of Algeria, and Abd-el-Kader withdrew beyond the limits alike of the French and the Morocco possessions into the desert. The campaign was commenced in the following year by a grand expedition of Marshal Bugeaud into the Greater Kabylie, which—after a great deal of hard fighting in the defiles of the mountains, defended by thirty thousand mountaineers—terminated in the submission, for the time at least, of the hardy tribes which inhabited it; and the capture of the important post of Azrou, which it was hoped would overawe them in future. Meanwhile, Abd-el-Kader was not idle; he had again collected a considerable army, but his hostility was now directed against the Emperor of Morocco, whom he accused of having shamefully deserted his cause and that of the Prophet, by having concluded a treaty with the French. He obtained at first considerable success in this new warfare; but the Emperor, having collected considerable forces, and the French frontier being carefully guarded, the Emir ere long found himself reduced to considerable straits, and his troops, as usual with Asiatics in such circumstances, began to desert him. In the hope of reinstating his sinking fortunes, he adopted the gallant resolution of making a nocturnal attack on the Morocco camp, which, in the first instance, was attended with entire success. But when day dawned, and the small number of the assailants became visible, the Moors returned to the charge, and the Emir was constrained to make a precipitate retreat. The Morocco columns pursued him with vigor, and he was soon driven up against the French frontier. Finding farther retreat impossible, he made a desperate attempt, at the head of a few followers, to break through the Morocco lines on the banks of the Malonia River; but he was driven back with great slaughter. Upon this he made straight for the French frontier, which he crossed, and on the morning of the 22d December two officers appeared at the

head-quarters of General Lamoricière, saying that Abd-el-Kader wished to tender his submission, which was immediately accepted.²

Next morning the famous chief made his appearance at the French outposts, when he was received by Colonel Montauban at the head of four hundred horse, by whom he was conducted to Generals Lamoricière and Cavaignac, to whom he stated it as a condition of his submission,

that he was to be permitted to retire to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre. Afraid he might escape and renew the war if this condition was not acceded to, the two Generals at once agreed to this, and the Emir was conducted to Nemours, where he was introduced to the Duke d'Aumale, the new Governor-general of the province. Before entering, he put off his sandals at the door-way, stood up till the Prince made a sign to him to sit down, and he then said, "I could have wished to have done earlier what I have done to-day, but I awaited the hour appointed by God. The General (Lamoricière) has given me a promise to which I commit myself. I have no fear of its being violated by the son of a great King like that of the French." With these words he tendered to the Prince a beautiful horse, the Arab symbol of submission. The Duke at once ratified the promise made by his lieutenant, but it was immediately violated in a dishonorable manner. Instead of being conducted to Alexandria or St. Jean d'Acre in terms of his capitulation, he was embarked on the day following, with his wives, children, and servants, on board a frigate, which forthwith made sail for Toulon, from whence he was taken to a castle in the interior of France, where he was kept, with his attendants, in strict confinement! It is unnecessary to say any thing as to this dishonorable breach of faith toward a noble and fallen enemy. It excited the indignation of every generous mind in Europe, many of whom, especially the late Marquis of Londonderry, whose chivalrous disposition led him warmly to sympathize with the fate of the African hero, made the most strenuous efforts in his behalf; and at length, under a new government, the stain was washed out from Christendom by his liberation, in terms of the capitulation, by the orders of Louis Napoleon.¹

But how much soever the glory which the French arms acquired in the wars of Algeria may have been dimmed by the unworthy act which signalized their conclusion, the submission of Abd-el-Kader was not the less decisive in terminating the contest on the African shores. All regular or national resistance to the French dominion was thereafter at an end. The Mussulmans received the blow as the stroke of Fate, to which it behooved them to submit as the decree of Providence. The submission of the Kabyles and other mountain tribes, however, was more nominal than real, and they were not finally subdued till 1857, when their entire subjugation was effected by General Macmahon, at the head of the veterans who had followed him to the assault of the Malakoff. But these hostilities, like those so long maintained by the Romans with the mountain tribes in the Rhetian Alps, or by the Russians with the Circassians in the defiles of the Caucasus in modern times, were not proper wars, but the struggles of indomitable mountaineers to maintain their independence, trusting to the strength of their mountains and the tenacity of their character. They were generally unsuccessful, and of a local description, not interfering with the general administration of the province.

^{45.} Capitulation of Abd-el-Kader, and its violation by the French.

¹ Ann. Hist. xxx. 294, 295; Regnault, iii. 333, 334; Montieur, Jan. 15, 1848.

^{46.} General submission and pacification of Algeria.

² Regnault, iii. 331-33; Ann. Hist. xxx. 274, 280, 283.

The province of Algeria, thus won after eighteen years of almost incessant fighting, and at length brought into entire subjection only by an army of 95,000 men, constantly fed by reinforcements from France, was now a region of vast extent, abounding in valuable resources of many different kinds, and in part at least of extraordinary and surpassing fertility. The Libya of the ancients, it was for centuries the granary of the Roman Empire, and, even at the time when it was devastated by the arms of Genseric and his Vandals, contained twenty millions of inhabitants. At present it did not contain of all nations and religions a fifth part of that number. It was divided into three provinces, that of Oran on the west, of Algiers in the centre, and of Constantine on the east; and its entire length, from Nemours on the west to a little beyond Bona on the east, was three hundred leagues. Its mean breadth was about forty leagues, but in that space was embraced nearly the whole country which was available for human sustenance between the ocean and the great desert. This vast region was checkered by every variety of country, from the level plain to the arid peak, and it was clothed with magnificent forests, exhibiting the richness of tropical vegetation. In the sunny vales, watered by the numerous streams which descend from the summits of the Atlas, tropical plants of every description are to be found in abundance, wheat grows in magnificent crops on the plains, and the climate brings to maturity sugar, coffee, and cotton, and all the choicest productions of warm climates.¹

Although so largely gifted by nature, and bringing to maturity the plants both of the temperate and the torrid zones, this magnificent province, after a quarter of a century's occupation by the French, during the last half of which the largest part of it has enjoyed unbroken tranquillity, has by no means increased in resources and industry to the extent which might have been expected. The exports of the province, which in 1845 were, as already noticed, about 10,000,000 francs, had only increased in 1854 to 42,170,000 francs; the imports of 100,000,000 francs had receded to 81,234,447 francs. The European inhabitants, which at the former period were 94,820, in the latter had increased to 155,607. The army of occupation was, before the Crimean war, still 75,000 strong; the entire native inhabitants 2,056,298 souls.* These figures are very remarkable, especially when contrasted with the vast industrial produc-

tions of the same country in ancient times, and the rapid growth during the same period of the colonial possessions of Great Britain, and particularly of the Cape, situated at the other extremity of the same continent, and, like it, exposed to the incursions of savage tribes, whose devastating hostility could be averted only by a powerful military organization. Algeria is a valuable conquest to France, and it has proved of immense service to that country by affording a field for the exertion of its warlike qualities, and a school for the training of its officers and soldiers in the whole duties of their profession. But it is not a colony in the proper sense of the word; it is a great colonial conquest. The genius of France has in every age been for territorial extension and military glory, not industrial pursuits or pacific colonization. There seems little chance of its changing the direction of the national bent in the present, or rendering Algeria, in a commercial point of view, a valuable acquisition.

In this respect the British colonial empire in India affords a much closer parallel to the French acquisitions in Algeria; for it too is not a colony, but a great colonial conquest. Yet here, too, the contrast is equally striking, and eminently descriptive of the opposite general character of the two nations. In India, the British have never in any year had more than 50,000 English troops of all arms, and the average number for the last twenty years has not exceeded 40,000, including the European troops in the service of the East India Company. This diminutive force has maintained the British dominion over 180,000,000 of natives, and contrived to discipline and maintain under its banners a native auxiliary force of 250,000 soldiers, at the distance of 14,000 miles from the British Islands. In Algeria, a hundred thousand French have painfully won, and with difficulty maintain, the empire over little more than two millions of natives, within a few days' sail of the French shores. The industrial productions of Hindostan have increased 70 per cent. since the British dominion was established over it; the agricultural produce of Algeria, after a quarter of a century of French occupation, is less than it was when the French standards first approached its shores. The imports of Algeria from France are still double the exports from it to that country, proving that the magnitude of the former is owing to the military expenditure of the colony; the exports of India to Great Britain considerably exceed the imports she takes from it, and the balance is paid in cash, the magnitude of which constitutes one of the principal monetary difficulties of our situation. These facts are extremely remarkable, as indicating what so many other passages in history demonstrate, how indelible is the influence of national character, how incapable it is of modification by any change in climate, institutions, or external circumstances, and how decisively it influences the destinies of different races, not only in the seats where they were originally established, but in those to which their descendants have removed.

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, EUROPEAN POPULATION, AND FRENCH ARMY IN ALGERIA, FROM 1850 TO 1855.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	European Inhabitants.	Army.
	Francs.	Francs.		
1850	9,800,000	85,317,000	125,963	95,321
1851	19,792,791	66,950,000	131,283	91,417
1852	21,554,519	65,592,041	132,900	72,950
1853	30,782,592	72,788,015	134,075	74,649
1854	42,176,068	81,234,447	143,387	65,882
1855	49,320,029	105,452,027	155,135	66,789

—*Statistique d'Algérie*, 83, 655: Paris, 1856.

CHAPTER XLVI.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS OF FRANCE AND EUROPE, FROM THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS IN 1842, TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1848.

THE external policy of France underwent a great change during the eighteen years that Louis Philippe held the reins of power. Erected amidst the smoke of barricades, supported by the arms of the insurgents, his throne was not only at home, in words at least, "surrounded by republican institutions," but his external policy evinced a sincere desire to surround his dominions with governments of a similar description. England, from the effects of the long political struggle which terminated in the passing of the Reform Bill, was for the time actuated by similar desires, and hence the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, and the soothing of jealousies which had grown with the strife of four centuries. Each felt that the despotic powers of the North were its natural enemies, and each not only willingly leaned on the other for support, but felt desirous of securing the aid of the neighboring powers, by establishing among them institutions of a description similar to those which they themselves already enjoyed. Hence the partition of the Netherlands, and the establishment of a revolutionary throne in Belgium, and hence the quadruple alliance and change of the order of succession to the advantage of the revolutionists in Spain and Portugal. But with the progress of time these dispositions were essentially changed on both sides; and what is very remarkable, they changed in both countries from the internal strength of the party in opposition to the altered policy of the Government. Yet is it not difficult to see to what this apparent anomaly was owing. England, so long the leader of conservative Europe, was now foremost in fomenting troubles, and promoting organic changes in the adjoining States, because the party in possession of power was threatened by a strong Conservative opposition at home, against which it was fain to seek the support of external Liberalism. France, so long the chief of revolutionary powers, gradually became estranged from them, because its constitutional monarch, perpetually threatened by a desperate anarchical faction in his own dominions, felt himself drawn closer to the Continental sovereigns, whose fixed policy was the overthrow of its machinations. This consideration furnishes the key to the alteration in the foreign policy of both countries in the latter years of the reign of Louis Philippe, and explains the extraordinary fact which will soon appear, that at its close England was at the head of the revolutionary, and the Citizen King in close alliance with the conservative, powers of Europe.

The settled policy of the French Liberals by every possible means to discredit the Government, received a most favorable opportunity for exerting itself in the affair of Otaheite, of which a full account has been given in the history of England at this period. Great dissatisfaction had been

excited by the disavowal of the French Government of the taking possession of the island by Admiral Dupetit-Thouars in name of the King of France; and the limitation of the right claimed to a protectorate, only at the request of the English Government. This was of course represented as a base concession to Great Britain, and a lasting reproach to France. Already the Liberal press was resounding with vehement declamations on the subject, when intelligence was received of the arrest of Mr. Pritchard, and his removal from the island by the French authorities. This was made the subject of strong and not very considerate invective on the part of Sir R. Peel in the House of Commons. "I do not hesitate," said he, "to declare that a gross insult, accompanied with a gross indignity, has been committed. The insult was committed by a person clothed with a temporary authority in Otaheite, and, so far as we can discover, by the direction of the French Government. I trust the French Government will make the reparation which, in our opinion, England has a right to demand." The Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen expressed themselves in more measured terms, but to the same effect; in the House of Peers. The French interpreted these expressions, which were perhaps more true in themselves than prudent in Ministers of State, as a direct defiance on the part of England, and both the Chambers and the press took the matter up as a national insult, which it behooved every good Frenchman to interest himself in and revenge.¹

Fortunately, however, the Sovereigns and Ministers both of France and England at this period were sincerely impressed with the importance of coming to an accommodation, and not plunging into hostilities for a rash quarrel among officers of the two countries in the islands of the Pacific. Louis Philippe's ideas on this subject were fully matured, and have been decisively proved by his confidential correspondence with the King of the Belgians, discovered in the archives of the Tuileries after the Revolution of 1848.* Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen met him

* "Les dépêches de Guizot sur Tahiti, et ses tristes bêtises, doivent avoir été communiquées à Lord Aberdeen. Je n'ai pas de patience pour la manière dont on magnifie si souvent des bagatelles de misère en *casus belli*. Ah! malheureux que vous êtes! Si vous saviez comme moi ce que c'est que *bellum*, vous vous garderiez bien d'étendre, comme vous le faites, le triste catalogue des *casus belli*, que vous ne trouvez jamais assez nombreux pour satisfaire les passions populaires, et votre soif de popularité. Il n'y a plus d'état qui puisse faire la guerre sur ses propres ressources; et quelle que soit ma haute opinion des ressources de l'Angleterre, je ne crois pas qu'elle puisse y suffire, surtout avec la ruine générale qui ne tarderait pas à suivre, dès qu'une fois la

2. French excitement on the affair of Otaheite. July 31, 1844.

1 Parl. Deb. July 31, 1844; Regnault, *il.* 414, 425; Guizot, *Vie de* Peel, 167, 169.

3. Pacific views of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot.

fully half-way, and M. Guizot had the wisdom and magnanimity to run the risk which he was well aware, in the excited state of his countrymen's minds, necessarily attended any concession, how trifling soever, to the demands, if at all menacing, of Great Britain, rather than involve both countries in a senseless and ruinous war. He assigned, with justice and good sense, the following reasons for preserving in the mean time a prudent reserve on the subject in the Chamber.

"There are here," said he, "questions of fact and of international right to discuss between the two Governments. They do not always furnish a fit subject for discussion in this House. There are moments when discussion throws light on a subject, there are others when it brings in nothing but fire. It would never do for the tribunes of either House to discuss daily the diplomatic transactions of Government after the manner of the daily journals. I am so convinced that, for the lasting interests of both Governments, it is expedient to abstain from debating this question, that I absolutely refuse to go into it. When things have followed their natural course, when the opinion and conduct of Government have been maturely determined, when the facts of the case and their mutual rights have been fully ascertained between the two countries, I shall be the first to come forward and invite a full parliamentary discussion on the subject."

¹ *Moniteur*, July 30, 1844; Guizot, *Vie de Peel*, 167; *Regnault*, ii. 381, 383. Thus M. Guizot gained, what is of inestimable importance in all such cases, time; and by the concession of a moderate indemnity to Mr. Pritchard the question was adjusted.¹

No words can describe the fury of the French Liberals both in the Chamber and the country, and the violence of the journals, at this wise and judicious adjustment of a most difficult and dangerous question. One of the Radical journals gave vent to the general indignation in the following terms: "The disavowal of M. Dupetit-Thouars is a worse act than the Ordonnances of July. M. de Polignac violated our liberties; M. Guizot has sacrificed our honor. The one would enslave France, the other would dishonor it. To weaken the Revolution was the aim of the first, to weaken France is the object of the last. Of M. de Polignac, then, or M. Guizot, which is the more criminal?—he who sacrificed the Revolution at the feet of the Grand Alliance, or he who puts France at the feet of England? M. de Polignac has been punished; M. Guizot can not be absolved. No! the scandal of such an acquittal will never be given by the Chamber to a country which has exhausted its patience, and shudders to its inmost vitals at the indignity it has received." Whether these declamatory statements were true or not, was a matter of very little consequence to the violent journals by which they were brought forward. It was enough that they, with the general highly-wrought feelings, appealed to the strongest passions of the French people, and forwarded the general plan, which was systematically acted upon, of discrediting the Government in the eyes of the country. So strongly were these feelings impressed on the nation, that the

guerre serait allumée. Ce serait le cas de dire, *The world is unkinged*."—LOUIS PHILIPPE au Roi des Belges, January 17, 1844; *Revue Retrospective*, p. 169.

Government was very near undergoing a defeat on the question. The paragraph in the Address, approving of the concessions made to Great Britain on the Otaheite affair, was carried only by a majority of 8 in a very full House, the numbers being 213 to 205. Nine Cabinet Ministers voted in the majority, so that, deducting them, the Ministry were in a minority of one.¹

Strongly as these violent declamations on the Otaheite dispute spoke to the national feelings of the French, and violently as they excited the Liberal party against the Government, they yet yielded in ultimate importance to the internal schism which took place immediately after between the University and the clergy; that is, between the abettors of secular and religious education. To understand this subject, it must be premised that, ever since the Revolution of 1830, the national establishment for education, called the University, had remained entirely detached from the superintendence or control of the Catholic clergy, and that the Jesuits had schools of their own under the control of the superior officers of their establishment. But the Government ere long discovered that this entire separation, and the bringing up so large a portion, especially of the bourgeois class, in a state of practical separation from the Church, was too favorable to the spread of republican ideas; and attempts were made in some degree to reunite them. Encouraged by these appearances, the clergy had, under the direction of the Jesuits, ventured on several illegal acts encroaching on the rights of the University. In this they were secretly supported by the Government, which had discovered what an important element, in electoral contests, the Catholics of the rural districts had become. For this purpose M. Villemain brought forward a bill, on 2d February, 1844, for the erection of certain schools under the authority of the University, but with a certain power of visitation on the part of the clergy. To this proposal the most violent resistance was made by the Liberals, headed by M. Cousin; but the measure was carried by the Government in the Peers. So violent, however, was the altercation that it ruined the health of the Minister of Public Instruction, M. Villemain, who was obliged to retire from office, and was succeeded in the beginning of 1845 by M. Salvandy.² With his accession to office the strife between the secular and religious parties was by no means terminated; and on May 2, 1845, M. Thiers made a formal motion

¹ *Moniteur*, May 3, 1845; *Regnault*, iii. 41, 43. "Souvenez-vous de l'affaire de M. Pritchard," said the French ambassador in London to Lord John Russell in 1847. "A coup sûr, jamais nos deux Gouvernements, nos deux nations, n'ont été plus unis qu'à cette époque. L'affaire était minime en elle-même. Nous avions tort jusqu'à un certain point, et il nous était d'autant plus facile de le reconnaître que le Gouverneur de Tahiti avait donné officiellement tort à son subordonné. Nous ne demandions pas mieux que de terminer le différend comme il s'est effectivement terminé. Mais des paroles imprudemment hasardées dans le Parlement ont failli rendre tout accommodement impossible. Il ne s'en est fallu que de quatre voix que le Ministère Français ne fût renversé, et que son successeur ne fût obligé de refuser toute réparation, ce qui aurait entraîné la guerre entre les deux pays."—M. DE BROGLIE à M. GUIZOT, September 16, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 298, 299.

calling on the Government to enforce the laws against the Jesuits.

6. **Argument of M. Thiers** "The moment has now arrived," said he, "when it becomes the Government to take a decided line on the subject, for a collision has already arisen between the secular and religious authorities. Real danger exists; it is

mere weakness any longer to shut our eyes to it. This collision springs from a false idea of what liberty consists in, which many think amounts to a power to do any thing. To protect the religion of the country is indeed a duty; but it is not less so to make the ministers of religion respect the laws. Is it from the laws having been executed with too much rigor against the clergy that the collision has arisen? No; it has arisen from another cause, which is this: A religious movement had commenced, which might have been salutary if it had been conducted with discretion. But some excited minds saw in that the dawn of a new power; they hoped to find in it the means of regaining for the clergy the entire control of the education of youth. Had this been only a vision, there would have been nothing to say against it. But so far from this being the case, they proceeded to outrage one of the great institutions of the State, the University. And who did this? Was it obscure and unauthorized missionaries? No! it was done by pastors, bishops—that is to say, men who, from their position, are entitled to respect, and on whom their august rank has imposed the most serious obligations. The Council of State recognized this transgression; but what was done in consequence of it? Nothing, or rather it was approved. By acts of collective authorities, by declarations signed by the whole bishops of a province, the illegal act was supported. By these deplorable acts the collision became serious and flagrant. It is necessary to put an end to such a state of things; and there is no remedy for it but in the immediate and severe execution of the laws.

7. **Concluded.** "If in the execution of laws which are incontestable you experience difficulties, the Chamber is ready to give you its unanimous support. We are not the men to throw difficulties in your way, in order to enjoy your embarrassment. The conduct we are pursuing at present proves that, if there are difficulties, we are willing to share them with you. There are not wanting those who assure us that the opinions we advocate would, if carried out, assure to us at no distant period a very great influence. But to all these representations my answer has been, that our first duty is to make the laws triumph, that should our cause suffer in some degree from the energy with which we support them, we will willingly resign ourselves to our fate. Our first wish is that the laws of the country should be executed, and that the wise and moderate principles of the French Revolution should triumph over its enemies."

8. **Answer of M. Guizot and M. Le Martin du Nord.** To this it was replied by M. Martin du Nord, the Minister of Public Worship, and M. Guizot: "We need not hesitate to admit that the Government is armed against the illegal religious associations. Not one of the laws

has fallen into desuetude; but is this the time when it is necessary to bring them again into full operation? No. Collision is threatened; certain imprudences alone have been committed, and they are not such as to call for active measures. The Government is armed; it will make use of its legal rights when it becomes necessary; but a certain liberty as to the time and mode of action must be allowed it. The apprehensions expressed as to the encroachments of the Church are entirely chimerical. If Bossuet or Fénelon were to revisit the earth, would they be with the University in its strength or the Church in its weakness? At the time when these two great geniuses arose there was, as now, a schism between the bishops and the magistrates; but Bossuet the Gallican, and Fénelon the ultramontane, concurred in saying, 'Woe to the kingdom if the liberties of the Gallican Church are understood in the sense of the magistrates!' The Catholic Church is not an army encamped in the midst of France, as its adversaries suppose; it is not at war with the government of the King; the Catholic Church is not an advanced guard of an army opposed to the Government. The Catholic Church is a French and universal Church, which in France is under the protection of the Government, which profits by its laws, which respects them, and gives to the whole world the example of such respect. There is no war between us and them; these words¹ are false and deceitful which may be heard in the Chamber, but should not have their dwelling-place there."²

Every one felt that these words of the Ministers were hypocritical; that they denied the existence of danger, because they did not venture to admit or face it. They strangely contrasted with what was soon after said by M. de Montalembert on the part of the Catholic party, which amounted to a proud defiance and declaration of unmitigated hostility to the temporal power.* But a great majority of the Chamber, aware of the danger, and in secret fearful of displeasing their constituents on one side or the other, avoided the difficulty by adopting the motion, "That the Chamber, relying on the Government for the execution of the laws of the State, passes to the order of the day." So powerful had the Jesuits already become, that the Government, to avoid a defeat, were fain to take advantage of the forms of the Chamber, which allowed them to avoid an encounter.³

* "Non-seulement tous les Catholiques en France, mais ce qu'on appelle le Parti-Catholique, n'est pas Jésuite, et n'a pas son général à Rome. Tout le monde, excepté les Jésuites eux-mêmes, demeurent en possession des libertés données par la Charte. Ainsi donc l'avant-garde Catholique avait dû déposer les armes; cela fait, il restait encore l'armée tout entière; il restait ces quatre-vingts évêques qui avaient réclamé l'année dernière contre le Projet de Loi sur l'enseignement des enfans, et les soixante évêques qui avaient protesté contre les envahissemens du Pouvoir temporel sur la liberté de conscience. Rien n'était fixé, rien n'était changé, il n'y avait qu'un prétexte de moins: la question de la liberté de l'enseignement, de la liberté religieuse, restait entière. Irait-on à Rome demander l'approbation du Monopole Universitaire? Cela était essentiel, sinon la lutte serait longue encore. Une main sur l'Evangile, et l'autre sur la Charte, nous continuerons la lutte que nous avons engagée contre le monopole; nous vous attendrons sur ce terrain-là l'année prochaine."—*Moniteur*, May 5, 1845.

¹ *Moniteur*, May 3, 1845; Regnault, iii. 43, 45.

² Regnault, iii. 44, 50; *Moniteur*, May 8, 1845.

³ *Moniteur*, May 7, 1845; Ann. Reg. 1845, 273, 276; Regnault, iii. 44, 47.

Matters, however, had now gone so far that the difficulty could not be eluded by merely declining to recognize it; and Government were anxious, if possible, to bring so interesting and agitating a question to a final adjustment. For this purpose, a member of the Royal Council of Public Instruction, M. Rossi, was sent to Rome, in the summer of 1845, to endeavor to obtain from the Pope a formal order on the Jesuits to close their establishments and leave France. The Court of Rome at first endeavored to avoid the difficulty, by pleading their incompetence to interfere with the internal laws of France; but, on a powerful representation of the difficulties to which the present state of things exposed the Government of France, they at length relented, and an order was issued by the Holy See enjoining the Jesuits to submit to the laws of the State. They professed obedience, and ostentatiously closed some of their establishments; but it was in name and form only. Under the title of "Fathers of the Faith," they continued their labors as zealously as before. To adjust matters, a royal commission was issued on August 10, 1845, for the purpose of revising and reducing to one distinct code all the various statutes and ordonnances relating to the University; and by another ordonnance, soon after, the Royal Council of the University was declared to rest on the basis of the organic decree of Napoleon, 17th March, 1800, which first established that celebrated body, and all subsequent decrees or ordonnances were revoked or declared to be illegal.¹

^{10.} Negotiations with the Court of Rome on the subject, and ordonnance against the Jesuits.

^{Aug. 10, 1845.}

^{Dec. 7, 1845.}

¹ Moniteur, Dec. 8, 1845; Regnault, iii. 50, 55.

This was a great advantage to the Jesuits, for it virtually abrogated all that had subsequently been enacted against them, especially since the Revolution of 1830. As such it was strongly opposed by M. Cousin and the secular education party in the Chamber, who contended that, under pretense of re-establishing the system of general education on its original basis, the real object of the ordonnance was to subject it to Cabinet influence. "Demand arbitrary power if you will," said M. Royer-Collard, "but do not disguise your demand under a legal form." M. Odillon Barrot and the Liberals joined M. Cousin and Royer-Collard on this occasion; but the Government succeeded in obtaining an adjournment of the discussion *sine die*, the result of which was that the royal ordonnance of 7th December, 1845, remained untouched. This debate between the secular and religious party thus terminated at the time, not in an overt, but a real and considerable advantage to the clergy, who not only remained in possession of the ground they had gained, but acquired a great deal more—a memorable example of the patient and persevering policy of the Church of Rome, and its able militia, the Jesuits; and of the manner in which the influence of religion, so seriously weakened during the time it was in alliance with power, had been regained when it was entirely detached from it.²

^{11.} Effect of these measures.

^{Feb. 21, 1846.}

² Moniteur, Feb. 22, 1846; Ann. Hist. 1846, 64, 67; Regnault, iii. 57, 62.

so marvelously carried into execution, of basing an imperial throne and despotic power on universal suffrage and religious influence.

At this period, the heat having in some degree subsided on both sides, M. Guizot and Lord Aberdeen succeeded in concluding a treaty regulating the right of search for negroes crossing the Atlantic. It was arranged between the Duke de Broglie on the part of France, and Dr. Lushington on that of England. The reciprocal right of search was no longer expressly insisted on, but it was stipulated that each of the two contracting parties was to maintain a force of twenty-six armed sailing vessels or steamers to cruise on the western coast of Africa, from the Cape de Verd Islands to the 16° 30' of south latitude, and that these forces should act in every respect in concert, and in full possession of the powers of which the Crowns of France and England are in possession for the suppression of the slave-trade. The delicate matter of the reciprocal right of search was eluded rather than adjusted by the following clause: "Considering that, though the flag borne by the ship is *prima facie* proof of its nationality, yet that presumption can not be considered as sufficient in every case to bar a visit for its verification, seeing that, were it otherwise, the flags of all nations might be abused by being converted into a cover for piracy, the slave-trade, or any other illicit traffic; and in order to prevent all difficulties in the execution of this convention, it is agreed that instructions founded on the law of nations, and the constant practice of maritime powers, shall be addressed to the commanders of the French and English squadrons and stations on the coast of Africa." The treaty was to be in force for ten years from its date, which was 29th May, 1845. It is evident that the difficulty was only eluded by these ambiguous words, since there was no declaration what the law of nations on the subject really was. But the jealousy of the French was appeased by there being no express recognition of the right of search on the face of the treaty; and the national passions having taken a different direction, the Liberals no longer made this an engine for discrediting the Government, and the treaty was ratified and carried into execution without further objection.¹

^{12.} Treaty regarding the right of search for slaves.

^{May 24, 1845.}

¹ Treaty, May 29, 1845, Martin's Sup.; Regnault, iii. 446, 449.

All-important as this topic of religious education was to the future interests of France and the fate of its Government, it yielded in present interest to the excitement produced at this period by the insurrection which broke out in Galicia, followed by the destruction of the little republic of Cracow, established by the treaty of Vienna in 1815, and its incorporation with the vast dominions of the house of Austria. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that the condition of the native Poles since the last partition in 1794 had been very different in the portions allotted to the three partitioning powers. The Russians, aware that the nobles were the class in which the hostility to them was strongest, and fearful of the effects of a national revolution on the extreme frontier of their immense empire, had made the greatest efforts to ameliorate the condition of the peasants. Like the English in India, and for a

^{12.} State of Poland since the termination of the war.

similar reason, they sought a counterpoise to the enmity of the nobles in the attachment of the great body of the cultivators of the soil. Wielding despotic authority, and intent on this object, they carried through innovations and established improvements which under no other circumstances could have been effected in so short a time. The condition of the peasants became greatly superior to what it had ever been under the old national government and their stormy *Comitia*. The peasants were all emancipated, and put on the footing of farmers, entitled to the whole fruits of their toil, after satisfying the rent of the landlord; and the Code Napoleon was made the basis of these laws, which has proved so unspeakable a blessing to many states in Europe. Russia has reaped the full benefit of those wise ameliorations, in the tranquillity of her Polish provinces under circumstances of no ordinary peril, when she was waging a desperate and consuming war with France and England in the Crimea, and the chief military strength of the empire was grouped around Wilna to make head against the threatened hostility of Austria.¹

In Prussian Poland, styled the Grand Duchy of Posen, the changes were still more radical, and perhaps erred on the side of undue concession to the popular demands. In 1817, the Prussian Government, under the direction of the able and patriotic Baron Stein, had adopted a change which a revolutionary government would hardly have ventured to promulgate; they established to a certain extent an agrarian law. In lieu of the services in kind, which by the old law they were bound to give to their landlords, in consideration of being maintained by them, the peasants received a third of the land they cultivated in property to themselves, and they were left to provide for their own subsistence. The old prohibition against the sale of lands on the part of the nobles was taken away, and facilities given for the purchase of the remaining two-thirds by the peasants, by permitting twenty-five years for paying up the price. This was a very great change, which at first sight seemed to be fraught with the dangers of revolutionary innovation; but being free of the most dangerous element in such changes—the excited passions of the people—it was not attended with any such effects. The nobles, who were to appearance despoiled of a third of their land, ere long found that, from the enhanced value of the remainder, and being freed from the obligation of maintaining their peasants, they were in effect gainers by the change, and they were perfectly contented with it. In a word, this great change of Baron Stein's was not a revolutionary innovation in the proper sense of the word, but a wise and well-considered mode of making the transition from the mixed state of property, and burden of maintenance implied in serfdom, to the state of separate and unburdened possession which belongs to freedom, somewhat akin to the giving the slaves two days a week to work on their own account, and banana-grounds, in the West Indies, which is found to be a benefit to the masters rather than the reverse.²

In Austrian Poland, on the other hand, and

especially in that large portion of it called Galicia, although certain changes had been introduced with a view to ameliorating the condition of the peasants, they had not been so well considered, and had by no means been attended by the same beneficial results. The serfs were in form emancipated, and the proprietor was even bound to furnish them with pieces of land adequate to the maintenance of themselves and their families. If matters had stopped here, all would have been well; the insurrection which followed would have been prevented, and the frightful calamities which followed in its train would have been spared to humanity. But unfortunately the peasants, instead of being left in the undisturbed possession of their patches of ground, were subjected to a great variety of feudal services and restrictions, which being novel, and such as they had never previously been accustomed to, excited very great discontent. The cultivators, though entitled to the fruits of their little bit of ground, were not, properly speaking, proprietors; they could neither alienate them nor acquire other domains; and if any of them abandoned his possession, it devolved, as a matter of course, to another peasant, who became subjected to the *corvées* and seigniorial rights exigible from every occupant of the land. On the other hand; the nobles, who alone could hold lands in fee-simple, were not entitled to sell them, and this reduced almost to nothing the value of such estates as were charged with debt. So strongly was this grievance felt, that numerous petitions were presented to the Aulic Council, praying for deliverance from the onerous exclusive privilege of holding lands. At length the Government yielded, and the sale of lands was authorized. Immediately a class of small proprietors began to arise, who promised, by the possession of a little capital and habits of industry, to be of the utmost service to the country. But Metternich and the Government ere long took the alarm at the democratic ideas prevalent among these new landholders, especially in the year 1819, when all Europe was in commotion; and by an imperial edict, published in 1819, the perilous privilege of exclusively holding land was generally re-established. The only exception was in favor of the burghers of Leopold, who were almost entirely of German origin, and were permitted to acquire and hold lands.³

The *corvée* also, or legal obligation on the part of the peasants to pay the rent of their lands in the form of labor rendered to their landlords, either on that portion of the estate which remained in his natural possession, or on the public roads, excited great discontent. Nothing could be more reasonable than such an arrangement, which is also established in Russia, Hungary, and several other parts of Europe, and is still to be found in various counties of Scotland. In truth, it is the only way in which rent can be paid in those remote districts where the sale of produce is difficult or impossible, and the cultivator has no other way of discharging what he owes to his landlord but by services in kind. Both parties, however, in Galicia, expressed the utmost dissatisfaction at this state of things. The landlords sighed for payments in money, which might enable them to join the gayeties or share in the pleasures of

¹ Tegoborski, *Etat de Russie*, iv. 272, 274; Regnault, iii. 69.

¹⁴ Beneficial changes in Prussian Poland.

² Stein's *Lebensgeschichte*, v. 247, 251; Regnault, ii. 69, 70.

³ Regnault, iii. 70, 71; Ann. Reg. 1845, 273, 275.

¹⁶ Disputes about the *Corvées*.

Vienna or Warsaw; while the peasants anxiously desired to be delivered from all obligations to render personal service to their landlords, and allowed to exert their whole industry on their possessions for their own behoof. Both parties were led to be the more anxious to desire a commutation of feudal services from the example of Austria Proper, where it had recently been established, and with the happiest effects. So numerous were the petitions on the subject presented to Government, that they laid down certain regulations for the commutation of services in kind into money payments; but the formalities required were so onerous and minute, that they remained generally inoperative, and the services in kind continued to be rendered as before. At length the whole states of Galicia presented a formal demand to the Government for the entire abolition of *corvées* in that province; but the Cabinet of Vienna eluded the demand, alleging that, before it could be carried into effect, a regular survey or *cadaastre* would require to be made of the whole province, and that they had no funds to meet the expenses of such an undertaking. Upon this the nobles formally declared, in a general assembly of the Four Estates, that they would themselves bear the whole expense of the survey; but with their characteristic habits of procrastination, the Austrian

July 7,
1845.

Government allowed the offer to remain without an answer. Meanwhile, as the cognizance of all disputes between the landlords and their peasants was devolved upon the Austrian authorities, and as the taxes were progressively rising, the Government shared in the whole unpopularity accruing from the vexed question of the *corvées*, and the discontent, both among the nobles and peasants of the country, became universal.¹

These causes of difference were in themselves sufficiently alarming; but they would have passed over without serious commotion had it not been for the efforts of the Socialists, who seized upon the rude, unlettered peasants of this province, who in every age have shown themselves in an especial manner prone to illusion and superstition, and propagated among them the dangerous doctrine that their only masters were "God and the Emperor;" that the landlords had no right to any portion of the fruits of their toil; and that, on the contrary, their whole property belonged of right to themselves.* These doctrines, which were precisely the same as those so much in vogue at that period in Great Britain and France, and which aimed at the extinction of the capitalist, who was deemed a dangerous and unnecessary middleman between the Government and the workman, who ought to be abolished, speedily spread among the enthusiastic and illiterate peasants of Galicia. The fuel for the flame was supplied by the Polish committees at Paris and

* A single passage from the innumerable pamphlets which at this period were circulated among the Galician peasants will show what was their tendency: "Il faut obéir à l'Evangile. Or, que porte l'Evangile? 'Rendez à César ce qui est à César, et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu.' Nous connaissons Dieu qui est au ciel, nous connaissons César qui est à Vienne. Il n'est pas question des Seigneurs dans l'Evangile, pas plus que des Propriétaires. Nous n'avons donc pour maîtres que Dieu et César. Nous ne devons rien aux Seigneurs: tout ce qui est à eux nous appartient."—REGNAULT, III. 75.

Versailles, and the chief place from whence it was disseminated in Galicia was the college of Zarnow. The principal instruments of excitement employed among the peasants were emissaries who went from village to village, as the missionaries had formerly done in some parts of the West Indies, who inculcated the doctrine that the *corvée* had been abolished by the Emperor seven years before, and was illegally kept up by the seigneurs, who refused to carry his paternal intentions into effect. Thus the Galician insurrection acquires an importance in general history which would not otherwise have belonged to it; for it was the first practical application of the doctrines of the Socialists, then spreading secretly through every country of Europe, and destined ere long to overturn the French monarchy, and shake to its foundation every established government in the Western world.¹

¹ Regnault, III. 75, 76; Ann. Hist. 1845, 289, 291—1846, 264, 267.

Two peculiar circumstances existed in Galicia, which aggravated in a most serious degree the dangers, already sufficiently great, arising from the spread of such dangerous doctrines among an ignorant and excitable peasantry. The first of these was the multitude of Jews who were there, as elsewhere in Poland, settled in the chief towns and villages, and who monopolized nearly every situation of profit or importance in them. The greater part of their emoluments were derived from the sale of spirits and other intoxicating liquors, to which the Poles, like all Northern nations, were immoderately addicted. The proprietors and the priests had long endeavored to check this propensity, which there, as elsewhere, consumed nearly the whole substance of the working classes in debasing pleasures; and considerable success had attended their efforts. This was sufficient to set against them the whole body of the Jews, on the same principle as the publicans and spirit-dealers of Great Britain and Ireland were excited against Father Mathew and the advocates of the temperance movement in the British Islands. The Jews secretly inculcated the tenet that the temperance movement was a deep-laid plan devised by the nobles and priests to enable them to enfeeble the peasants, and grind them to the dust, by depriving them of the liquors which sustained their strength, animated their spirit, and supported their courage. It may be readily conceived with what shouts of applause these doctrines were received in the cabarets and among the half-drunken circles of Galicia.²

² Regnault, III. 78, 79.

The second circumstance which aggravated the hostile passions and increased the dangers of Galicia was the number of disbanded soldiers spread through the province, who were secretly retained as a sort of disguised police by the Government. As the troops for the public service were levied in Galicia, as in Russia, not by ballot, but by a requisition of a certain number from each landlord, they were composed, for the most part, of the most restless and dangerous characters, whom it was deemed advisable to get quit of in this manner. Eight thousand of these unscrupulous persons had been disbanded in the end of 1845; but the Government, aware of the dangers which threatened the province, and secretly dreading both the nobles and the peasants, retained them in their

18.

Injurious influence of the Jews.

19.

And disbanded soldiers.

pay, and authorized them to seize and hand over to the Austrian authorities any persons belonging to either party who might be the first to threaten the public tranquillity. Deeming the nobles the more formidable, and likely most to embarrass the Government, these agents inculcated on the peasants the belief that a general massacre of them was in contemplation, and to keep themselves well on their guard against the first aggressive movement on the part of the landlords. Thus the conflict which was approaching in Galicia was not between the Government and the

people, but between the nobles and the peasantry, akin to the *Jacquerie* in France, the insurrection of the Boors in Germany, or the rebellion of Jack Cade in England.¹

Under these circumstances, a collision at no distant period was inevitable; but the first blow was struck by the nobles. Driven to despair by the knowledge of an approaching Socialist insurrection among the peasants, they organized a *coup-de-main* against Zarnow, the chief place of the Communists, where they hoped to be joined by the whole artisans, mechanics, and bourgeois of the province. The means at their disposal, however, to effect this object, were miserably inadequate; the forces at their command were only two hundred, and the Austrian garrison of Zarnow was two thousand strong. The national party at Cracow strongly sympathized with these movements, and did their utmost to expand them into a general insurrection, extending over the whole of Old Poland, and which might terminate in the re-establishment of the national independence. Thus was the country at the same time threatened with a double insurrection, and yet so strangely were the leaders of the two movements ignorant of each other, that not only was there no concert, but there existed the most deadly enmity between them. The nobles and superior classes were not more exasperated against the Austrian Government, which had so long evaded their petitions, and refused to redress their grievances, than the peasantry were against the nobles, by whom they had been led to believe the prodigal gifts of the Emperor to them had been intercepted or concealed. Both parties were prepared to take up arms; but the two classes of insurgents were not prepared to fight in common against the Government, but to massacre each other! A strange and portentous state of things, but not unusual among a people just emerging

from the fetters of slavery, and of which an example had previously occurred in the commencement of the terrible insurrection in St. Domingo fifty years before.²

The *seignorial* insurgents appointed their rendezvous at the village of Lysagora, three leagues from Zarnow, where one hundred of them met on the night of the 19th February. The cold was excessive, the ground covered with snow, and the conspirators, who for the most part arrived in sledges, were already almost frozen to death when they arrived, with their arms falling from their hands, at the place of rendezvous. But the Government authorities were aware of what was going on, and at day-break on the following morning the little band

was surrounded by a greatly superior force, composed of Austrian soldiers and armed peasants. The conspirators, ignorant of the intentions of the band by whom they were surrounded, laid down their arms, calling upon their comrades to fraternize with them; but no sooner had they done so than the peasants threw themselves upon them, bound them hand and foot, and thrust them into a cellar, from whence they were conveyed in wagons to Zarnow. Hearing of this disaster, another band of conspirators near Ulikow threw away their arms and dispersed; but they were pursued with unrelenting fury by the peasants, by whom the greater part were tracked out and cut down. These events, inconsiderable in themselves, became the source from which calamities unnumbered ensued to the whole province. Every where, when the news was received, which it generally was with great exaggeration, the peasants flew to arms, and commenced an attack on the chateaus of the seigneurs in their vicinity. By a refinement in cruelty which indicated too clearly the infernal agency at work among them, the peasants of each estate were directed, not against the chateau of their own landlord, but against that of the neighboring one, in order that no lingering feelings of humanity might interfere with the work of destruction. Under such direction, it proceeded with a rapidity, and terminated in a completeness, which might satisfy the most demoniacal spirit. Every where the landlords were hunted out and massacred, with their sons, servants, and domestics; and though the women and children were in general spared, the chateaus were committed to the flames. Unknown agents every where presented themselves, and said, "A few leagues hence they are massacring your brethren." These words were implicitly believed, and followed by a general insurrection and march against some neighboring chateau, where the work of conflagration and massacre was soon complete.¹

Volumes would barely suffice to recount the varied horrors of this disastrous insurrection, where the worst passions of human nature were brought to the aid of the infernal work of destruction. The cry was every where heard, "We are allowed three days of liberty and pillage;" and soon it was so generally acted upon that the whole country resembled a town taken by assault. A few tragic examples will show the terrible nature of the revolt. Rotarski, landlord of Olasna, had been distinguished for a life of beneficence, which had deservedly won for him the title of King of the Peasants. Seized by the peasants, he asked to be allowed to confess as he was taken past a church. "Go on—there is no God!" cried the tigers who surrounded him. The curé of the church was brought out and put beside him on the cart, and both were beaten with clubs till the noble expired. Hodorynski had been concealed by his wife in a strong box, but being discovered, she supplicated them, in the name of Heaven, to convey him to a place of safety. They feigned to comply, and, putting him in a cart, harnessed the wife in it instead of the horse, saying, "Since you will have him in a place of safety, drag him yourself." She strove to do so, and dropped down of fatigue, while her unhappy husband was beat to death by her side with clubs. The fate of

¹ Ann. Hist. 1846, 374, 377; Regnault, iii. 77, 92.

^{20.} Commencement of the insurrection of the nobles.

² Regnault, iii. 79, 81; Hist. of Europe, c. xxvii. § 10.

^{21.} Commencement of the insurrection. Feb. 19 and 20, 1846.

¹ Moniteur, March 6, 1846; Ann. Hist. 1846, 812, 814; Regnault, iii. 83, 85.

^{22.} Horrors of the insurrection.

Brosinski was still more frightful. They cut off his nose, tongue, and ears, scooped out his eyes, and cut off all his fingers, before he died. His wife was obliged to witness the atrocious spectacle. The house-steward had his head scalped, as by American savages, before death put a period to his sufferings. Fourteen persons perished in this manner at Zgorskha, twenty-three at Zarnow. At Niedzwiadka a whole marriage-party, including the bride and bridegroom, were massacred together in the church where the ceremony was commencing; in the chateau of M. Bzowski, where a funeral-party was assembling, all the persons as they arrived were slain, and interred in the same grave with the original deceased. The peasants bore the heads of their victims about with them, and received ten florins (£1) for each from the local authorities. Such were the features which Socialism assumed at its first rise in the European family. To the disgrace of the Austrian Government, some of the

leaders, stained with the worst of these atrocities, in particular Jacques Szela, were publicly rewarded for their conduct in the insurrection after its suppression.¹

During these horrors the effervescence in Cracow reached its climax. That free town had long been the centre in which a general Polish insurrection was organized, and from which the revolutionary emissaries were dispatched in every direction throughout Lithuania and Poland. The original movement, which terminated so disastrously in Galicia, was concerted with the leaders of the committee there, who had been formally installed in power by the committees in all parts of Poland on the 24th January, and the insurrection was definitively fixed for the 24th February. These preparations, and the general effervescence which prevailed, did not escape the notice of the consuls of the three powers resident in Cracow, and

so early as the 16th February they formally demanded of the Senate whether they could guarantee the public tranquillity. They replied that they could do so from all internal dangers, but not from such as came from without; and that if danger threatened from that quarter, they abandoned themselves to the prudence of the three residents. Upon this a body of Austrian troops, under General Collin, marched toward the town, and entered it on the 18th. The conspirators were surprised by this sudden inroad, which took place before the day fixed for the insurrection, and made very little resistance. Two days afterward, however, a serious attack was made on the Imperialists by a body of insurgents who came from without, in which the Poles were unsuccessful. But the accounts received next day of the progress of the insurrection in Galicia, and its ramifications in every part of Poland, and the magnitude of the forces which were accumulating round Cracow, were so formidable that Collin deemed his position untenable, and

two days afterward evacuated the place, taking with him the officers of Government, Senate, urban militia, and police, and made a precipitate retreat toward Galicia, abandoning the whole state of Cracow to the insurgents, by whom a provisional Government was

immediately appointed as for the whole of Poland.* The first step of the new authorities was to publish a manifesto, in which, after stating that "all Poland was up in arms," it was declared that the order of nobility was abolished, *all property was to be divided* among the peasants occupying it, and the slightest resistance to the revolutionary authorities was punished with instant death.¹

Even if the insurrection had ever had any chances of success, they were utterly destroyed by this violent and ill-judged proclamation. Every one saw that a democratic despotism was about to arise, endangering life, destructive to property, and fatal to all the ends of the social union. The insurgents increased considerably in strength, and in a few days 2500 bold and ardent spirits were concentrated in Cracow, chiefly from the neighboring provinces. But the end was approaching. The alarm had now spread to all the partitioning powers, and orders were given to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian forces to advance against the city. All was soon accomplished. The Austrian general, Collin, stopped his retreat, and retook Wieluzka and Podgorze, which he had evacuated in the first alarm consequent on the insurrection, while large bodies of Prussian and Austrian troops also advanced against the insurgents.² Resistance

* "Procès-verbal rédigé le 22 Février à 8 heures du soir par les soussignés, pour l'établissement du Gouvernement National de la République Polonaise."

"Quatorze années d'efforts des braves enfants de la Patrie, pour parvenir à lui rendre son existence nationale, ont créé dans toutes les parties de la Pologne opprimée de nombreuses Associations, dont les membres s'exposent aux plus terribles dangers. Mais malgré cela, on est parvenu à diriger tous les efforts vers le même but, celui de recouvrer une Patrie en rendant la liberté à toute la Nation Polonaise. Le 24 Janvier de cette année, des comités de toutes les associations de la Pologne remirent le Pouvoir gouvernemental entre les mains d'une autorité composée de cinq personnes, qui furent, avec adjonction d'un secrétaire, choisis dans le Grand Duché de Posen, la ville libre de Cracovie et son territoire dans la Russie, et parmi l'Emigration, laquelle devait se compléter ensuite par l'élection de deux membres, l'un pour la Pologne réunie, l'autre pour la Lithuanie. Et tandis que nous admettons au sein du Gouvernement un citoyen de la Pologne réunie qui accepte les Pouvoirs à lui délégués, nous nous tendons mutuellement la main, et jurons à la face de Dieu et de la Nation Polonaise, que nous exercerons les Pouvoirs Révolutionnaires jusqu'à ce que toute la Pologne soit affranchie; que nous regardons comme un moyen propre à arriver à ce but un mouvement produit parmi toute la population, par l'abolition de tous les privilèges, et la concession de la faculté illimitée de posséder les terrains qu'elle exploite, faculté dont les paysans ne jouissent aujourd'hui que sous certaines conditions. Les membres choisis et le secrétaire ont accepté les pouvoirs qui leur étaient délégués, et devaient se trouver avant le 24 Février (jour fixé pour l'explosion de l'Insurrection) à Cracovie. Les membres pour Cracovie et son territoire, pour la Galicie et l'Emigration, s'y trouvèrent effectivement avant le terme fixé, tandis que le Représentant du Grand Duché de Posen fut arrêté, et que celui de Russie ainsi que le Secrétaire n'étaient pas encore arrivés. Le membre de l'Emigration ayant, à l'arrivée des troupes Autrichiennes à Cracovie, conçu des craintes pour sa liberté, s'était tout-à-coup enfui au-delà des frontières. Ces événements imposent aux membres du Pouvoir gouvernemental, qui ne sont pas encore arrivés, le devoir sacré de venir se charger sans délai, et avec d'autant plus d'empressement, des pouvoirs qui leur ont été délégués, que le zèle le plus ardent se refroidirait, et que les propriétaires nos frères, qui pourraient frapper les coups les plus vigoureux, n'oseraient pas prendre part à l'insurrection."—REGNAULT, iii. 450, 451.

28.
Disturbances
at Cracow,
and its abandon-
ment by
the Austrians.

Feb. 16.

Feb. 18.

Feb. 20.

Feb. 22.

Ann. Hist.
1846, 321, 329;
Regnault, iii.
92, 94; Procès
Verbal, Fe-
vrier 22, 1846;
Ibid., iii. 450.

24.

Recapture
of Cracow.

Ann. Hist.
1846, 361,
364; Reg-
nault, iii.
92, 95; Proc-
lamation du
l'Empereur
d'Autriche,
Nov. 13,
1846; Ibid.,
456.

March
2 and 8.

in such circumstances was hopeless; and in the night of the 2d of March the insurgents, still 2500 strong, evacuated the town, and the whole soon after capitulated to the Prussians. Meanwhile a Russian battalion and some Cossacks penetrated into Cracow, which was immediately declared in a state of siege, and next day jointly occupied by the forces of the three partitioning powers.

This event led to an important change in the east of Europe, attended by lasting consequences on the balance of power and future destinies of the Sarmatian population. After a long deliberation, it was resolved to repeal the treaties of 21st April, 1815, which established the Republic of Cracow, and to restore it to the Austrian Government, from whose dominions it had been originally taken. This was accordingly

done by the treaty 16th November, 1846, which, after narrating the repeated conspiracies of which the republic of Cracow had been the theatre, and the open insurrection and attempt to revolutionize Poland which had just been organized in its bosom, declared the existence of the republic terminated,

and itself, with its whole territory, restored to Austria, as it stood before 1809. Thus was the last relic of Polish nationality finally extinguished.¹

These events, as might easily have been anticipated, produced a very great sensation over Europe. Ancient feelings were revived; old wounds bled afresh. The cause of Polish nationality had been so long associated in every part of Europe with generous sentiments and heroic efforts, that the last act of the mournful drama reawakened all the heart-rending emotions with which its progress had been attended. In Great Britain and France these feelings were in an especial manner warm and general; and the debates on the subject in the Legislatures of both countries were warm and frequent, and such as revealed the extent to which the general mind had been stirred. It does not appear to be necessary, however, to give an abstract of these debates, because the question lies in a very narrow compass, and the official instruments published by the provisional government at Cracow, on the 22d February, 1846, put the case in the clearest point of view. It is there admitted that a general insurrection of all Poland, including Lithuania, had been organized in the different provinces, a provisional government appointed at Cracow to direct and superintend the movement, and that the outbreak was to take place on the 22d February. The Austrians received intelligence of the design, and anticipated it by entering that city on the 20th, and permanently occupying it in conjunction with the Prussian and Russian forces on the 2d March.

These facts put an end to the case, and blew to the winds the whole eloquent declamation on the subject in the British House of Commons and French Chamber of Deputies. It is clear the allies were throughout acting on the defensive: their occupation of Cracow was a measure dictated by the duty of self-preservation, and which no government similarly situated could, consistent-

ly with its obligations to its subjects, neglect. True, Cracow was an independent State; but it was a State which had permitted a vast conspiracy, having for its object the entire restoration of Poland, and its resumption from the present occupants, to be matured in its bosom; and the Austrian invasion of its territory did not take place till within two days of the time when the general insurrection was to have broken out. Having thus drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, the inhabitants had no reason to complain if, being vanquished, they underwent the usual fate of war; and the entire tranquillity of Poland since the annexation of Cracow to the Austrian dominions proves of how much importance it was to its material interests that the nursery of discontent and revolutionary propagandism which that little republic afforded should be prevented from any longer disturbing the tranquillity of the east of Europe. The real reproach against the Austrian Government in this transaction is neither the invasion of Cracow nor its incorporation with the Imperial dominions, but the manner in which it allowed its agents to rouse the passions of the peasantry, and the atrocious deeds of cruelty by which the suppression of the insurrection was disgraced.

The Governments both of France and England were much embarrassed with the Polish question, when interrogated on the subject in Parliament. In answer to an eloquent speech of M. de Montalembert, in the Chamber of Deputies, on the subject, M. Guizot observed: "I am not called upon either to de-

fend or condemn the acts of a foreign Government. We are, and always shall be, ready to discuss our own affairs, our own acts in reference to our connection with foreign countries; but we are under no similar obligation in regard to the internal affairs, the domestic acts of these governments themselves. I should not know how to do so; I am not bound to do so. I only ask that you will draw no conclusion one way or other from my silence in this particular. It is no part of my duty either to admit or deny what M. de Montalembert has advanced on the subject. The discussion, the judgment concerning it, is going on before the whole of Europe. It is there that public opinion is to pronounce finally upon it. It is not in France, or at this tribune, that any thing of the kind can be done."

The answer of Lord Palmerston to similar questions in the British House of Commons was in substance the same, though a stronger leaning to an intervention in favor of Poland was apparent in his expressions.* There can be no

* "The general treaty," said Lord Palmerston, "to which England and France are parties, does contain a stipulation with regard to the freedom of the city of Cracow; and this was arranged in the conferences to which England was a party, and at a period anterior to the conclusion of the separate treaty to carry out these arrangements. It is perfectly plain, therefore, that the arrangement as to Cracow was founded upon stipulations to which Great Britain was a party, and that the violation of that treaty is a violation of the arrangements to which Great Britain was one of the contracting parties. The ground which I take, therefore, is, not that it is not for this House to take into consideration the question of our foreign relations, but that, if the House should take such a resolution as is proposed on a question of such grave importance as the conduct of foreign powers, it is not fitting that such a resolution should pass without following

Embarrassment of M. Guizot and Lord Palmerston on the Polish question.

1. *Moniteur*, July 3, 1846.

28.

26. Great sensation produced by these events in Europe.

27. Justification of the annexation which this conduct of the Cracow insurgents afforded.

28.

doubt that the declinature to interfere thus expressed by the Ministers of the two Western Powers was founded in wisdom and justified by necessity; for neither the one nor the other could reach Poland, even if the ground for intervention had been much stronger than it really was. The Germanic Confederation, with its 300,000 armed men, backed by Russia with as many more, lay between. But it affords a striking proof of the ascendant which Liberal principles had now attained in Europe, and the extent to which they had shut out the light of reason, that neither the one government nor the other ventured, in their own defense, to state the real truth, which was, that the occupation of Cracow, and its incorporation with Austria, was a measure of self-defense fully justified by the attempts made in that republic to wrest all the provinces of Old Poland from the partitioning powers, and re-establish the ancient monarchy. The Poles were perfectly entitled to make such attempts, for their partition had been a scandalous act of injustice; the Austrians were as clearly entitled to resist them. But it may readily be conceived what a handle the declinature of France to interfere on such a question afforded to the Liberal orators and journals, and how largely it tended to aid their fixed policy of discrediting the Government.

The effect of the excitement produced by the events in Poland appeared, as was too often the case in France at this time, in a fresh attempt upon the life of the sovereign. On the 16th of April, as Louis Philippe was returning from a hunt in the forest of Fontainebleau, seated in an open carriage, accompanied by M. de Montalivet, with the Queen and princesses in similar conveyances behind him, as he was entering the great park near the walls of the inclosures of Avon, two reports of fire-arms were suddenly heard from the top of the wall. No one was struck, but the wadding of one of the fusils fell still burning between the King and M. de Montalivet. The assassin was immediately seized by some of the foresters, and proved to be a man of the name of Lecomte, who had formerly been in the royal service as an officer in the forests, and even considerably promoted, but had been deprived of his situation in consequence of a serious delinquency. On being seized, he said only, "I was in too great a hurry." It was fortunate he was so, for he was known to have been so expert a marksman that he scarcely ever missed a fawn at 150 paces distant. He admitted that he intended to have killed the King, and had come to Fontainebleau for that purpose. There was no evidence to connect him with any of the secret societies, and his offense seems to have arisen from an exaggerated idea of private wrong, coupled with the excitement produced by the political declamation of the period. He was found guilty, and underwent the extreme sentence of the law with unshaken resolution.¹

Shortly after this infamous attempt, and when the trial of Lecomte was going on, an event

¹ *Moniteur*, April 17, 1846; *An. Hist.* 1846; *Chron.*, April 16; *Regnault*, III. 105, 106.

occurred fraught with the most important results in future times, and which, in a manner, links together the story of Louis Philippe with that of the Republic and Empire which succeeded his dethronement. This was the ESCAPE OF LOUIS NAPOLEON FROM THE CHATEAU OF HAM, which took place on the 25th May, at mid-day. During his prolonged captivity in this gloomy abode, where he had occupied the apartments formerly tenanted by Prince Polignac, the young Prince had been constantly occupied with grave and serious pursuits; and he had during this period, in an especial manner, made himself master of the general domestic policy and pacific designs of his uncle, the great Napoleon. This appears in the clearest manner from the very remarkable work *Les Idées Napoléoniennes*, composed by the Prince to beguile the weary hours of his captivity, which had now continued above five years. During this period his chief correspondence and intercourse was with the French Liberals and extreme democrats; and on more than one occasion he expressed himself in the most unequivocal manner an uncompromising adherent of their principles.* He had been engaged in the spring of 1846 in a negotiation with the French Government for liberty to leave Ham on his parole to visit his aged father, who was dangerously ill. The Cabinet of the Tuileries were not disinclined to make the concession; but they attached such conditions to the favor that the Prince refused to subscribe to them, and preferred the chance of making his escape an unfettered agent. This was a very difficult task, for the citadel of Ham is of great strength,

* "Enfant de la Révolution, héritier de l'homme qui ne me semble grand que parcequ'il a tout fait pour le triomphe la Révolution, je ne connais d'autres principes que la souveraineté du Peuple, d'autre but que de s'efforcer à organiser la démocratie, et à améliorer le sort des classes pauvres, tout en relevant notre drapeau vis-à-vis de l'étranger."—LOUIS NAPOLEON à M. —, 23 Août, 1843.

"Elève dans des sentiments démocratiques dès que j'eus atteint l'âge où l'on réfléchit, j'admirai le chef de ma famille, non-seulement comme grand capitaine, mais surtout comme le représentant glorieux de la Révolution Française. Je ne vis alors que deux causes distinctes en Europe: celle qui avait vaincu le 14 Juillet, 1789, et celle qui avait triomphé le 18 Juin, 1815. Toutes les divisions intermédiaires me parurent des divisions puériles, alimentées souvent par des intérêts personnels.

"Aujourd'hui la question est la même pour moi. Je ne vois en France que des vaincus et des vainqueurs à Waterloo. Les vainqueurs ont le pouvoir, ils avilissent et oppriment notre pays. Les vaincus souffrent et gémissent. Quels que soient les noms que ceux-ci se donnent, et le lieu qu'ils habitent, ils sont tous les enfants d'une même mère, la Révolution. Si jamais la lutte recommence, ils se réuniront sous le même drapeau, par la même raison qui depuis des siècles a toujours réuni les hommes—l'opposition à un ennemi commun.

"Convaincu que le Gouvernement actuel faisait le malheur de la France, dans ce sens que la corruption et la lâcheté mettent une nation bien plus près de sa ruine que la tyrannie, je me suis résolu à tout entreprendre pour le renverser, bien décidé à laisser le peuple entier choisir la forme de gouvernement, qui lui conviendrait le mieux. Le rôle de libérateur suffit à mon ambition. Je n'étais pas assez fou pour avoir la prétention de fonder une dynastie sur un sol jonché de tous les débris des dynasties passées."—LOUIS NAPOLEON à —, Ham, March 9, 1844; *RENNET*, I. 316, 317. So far did Louis Napoleon at this period carry his democratic principles, that he embraced and strenuously supported those of the Socialists, and wrote many articles in the journal *Du Progrès du Pas de Calais*, enforcing their views, which were afterward collected in a pamphlet entitled *Extinction du Paupérisme*, *ibid.*, I. 316.

and deemed so secure a place of confinement that it had been purposely selected as a state prison for the most important political offenders for a long period. Nevertheless Louis Napoleon succeeded in making his escape from it, and got clear out of France. It was effected in the following manner.¹

Notwithstanding the length of his confinement, the vigilance and rigor with which Louis Napoleon was watched had undergone no diminution. Two sentinels were always stationed at the bottom of the stair leading to his apartment; its windows were strongly barred; at night the guards were doubled; and at all times the utmost precautions were taken to prevent approach to the fortress from the outside. Fortune, however, threw the means of escape within his reach, which, by the assistance of connivance within, was happily carried into execution. Some repairs required to be made on the stair; and during a quarter of an hour at noon, it was known that one of the sentinels on the stairs withdrew to read the papers, leaving the other alone on the post. It was this auspicious moment which was chosen to carry the escape into effect. The means of it were arranged with Dr. Conneau, the medical attendant, and Charles Thelin, the valet of the Prince. Their period of imprisonment having expired, they were at liberty to go into the town, which they always did after obtaining leave from the governor of the prison. Advantage was taken of this facility to bring in by stealth various articles of dress, which might serve as a disguise in passing the sentries. The Prince then cut off his long mustaches, which made a great change in his appearance, put on a black wig, dyed his face and hands, and having equipped himself entirely in a workman's dress, with a blue smock-frock, he proceeded at noon with a plank on his shoulder to pass the guard. This was effected successfully, the sentinel either mistaking or pretending to mistake him for one of the workmen. In passing him the Prince accidentally let the pipe fall which he was smoking. He calmly stooped and picked it up, and the soldier, after looking at him for a moment, resumed his walk. Meanwhile Thelin very skillfully amused the workmen, from whom, even more than the guards, detection was to be apprehended, as it was one of their own number who was personated. As it was, he was narrowly scrutinized by two workmen, who expressed aloud their surprise at not knowing him, and soon after recognized by a favorite spaniel, which met him as he was going out. All seemed lost, for there was still a line of sentries to pass, when a friendly voice from behind exclaimed, "Ah! it is Berthon!" At the same time the Prince, as if fatigued with his burden, passed the plank from his right to his left shoulder, and got past without farther molestation. The last line of sentries was passed without discovery, and the Prince, having gained the open road, went on with his plank till the joyful sound of wheels was heard, and he leaped on the box of a cabriolet which the faithful Thelin had provided for him in St. Quentin. He soon reached that place, still on the box driving, and got into the train for Valenciennes, which he reached a little after

two in the afternoon, and soon after got to Brussels, from whence he crossed over to London. He was too late to see his father, who was already dead, but not too late to follow out his destiny, which led him from the prison of Ham to the throne of France.¹

The world was far from appreciating at the time the ultimate importance of this escape of Louis Napoleon. It was regarded merely as the fortunate and adventurous escape of a young man from a state of captivity, attended with the interest which always attends such events. "As the escape," said the *National*, "can never come to prejudice any one, we congratulate those upon it whom it immediately concerns. As for ourselves, it is the species of success which we wish for, and which we would willingly procure for every kind of pretender." An important step was taken at the same time by another pretender, with very different titles to the throne. The Duke de Bordeaux married the Archduchess Maria Theresa-Beatrice of Modena, eldest sister of the reigning duke of that principality. He was the only ruling prince in Europe who had refused to recognize Louis Philippe. There has been no issue as yet of the marriage—a circumstance which, by removing the rivalry of the elder and younger branches of the Bourbon family, may possibly come at some future time to have an important influence on the destinies of France. In the mean time, it was a singular proof of the mutations of fortune that the direct descendant of Louis XIV. deemed himself fortunate upon being admitted into the family of a third-rate Italian potentate.²

Though Ministers had obtained a majority on the Polish question, and still kept their ascendant in the Chamber, their position was uneasy, and they felt the necessity of additional strength in the Legislature to enable them to continue the policy of resistance upon which they had now staked the monarchy. They accordingly dissolved the Chamber by royal proclamation immediately after its prorogation; and the elections came on in the August following. The electoral contest is interesting, for it was THE LAST which occurred under the monarchy of Louis Philippe. The Liberal opposition, taught by experience, adopted the well-known English system of sinking all minor differences of opinion in a general coalition to keep out the ministerial candidate. M. Thiers addressed a long and able letter to his constituents, recapitulating all that had been done by the Government and the Opposition during the last ten years, and earnestly recommended to other candidates the same policy.*

* "Notre Gouvernement est non-seulement faible; il est vain. Il a voulu paraître quelque chose. Il a mis une singulière ostentation à renouer l'Alliance Anglaise, et il a signé l'extension du droit de visite. Il a voulu s'occuper de notre grandeur, et tandis qu'il laissait dépérir notre matériel naval, il a pris les Marquises. Les Marquises n'étant qu'une suite de rochers stériles où l'on ne peut vivre. Il a pris Taïti. Mais les Anglais ont désavoué cette occupation, et il a désavoué l'Admiral Dupetit-Thouars qui avait pris Taïti. Un Missionnaire, M. Pritchard, ayant notamment excité les habitants de Taïti à égorger nos soldats, l'un de nos officiers l'avait

A circular was addressed by MM. de Montalembert, Vatiménil, and Reancey, to the Catholic electors over the whole kingdom, enjoining the requisition from every candidate of a written pledge in lieu of all other promises, to insist upon the absolute liberty for which the Catholics contended in the matter of education. The utmost efforts were made by all parties to secure the return of their respective candidates; and although the Government sustained several notable defeats, yet, upon the whole, their position was improved, and the majority supporting M. Guizot was so considerable as to place him in a position of apparent security. On the first

division, which was usually the decisive one, for the presidency of the Chamber, the majority for the ministerial candidate was 120, the numbers being 218 to 98. The Throne of the Barricades seemed to be established beyond all dispute; and unquestionably it was so in the affections of the bourgeois class, which alone was represented in the Legislature. Yet out of this seeming security arose several circumstances, which at this period

combined to endanger its foundations, and at length brought about its fall. The first of these was the

SPANISH MARRIAGES.¹

To understand this important subject it must be premised that by the old law of Spain, as of most other countries in Europe, females as well as males might succeed to the crown of the monarchy, which in fact was first consolidated by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, which united on one head the two rival crowns of Castile and Aragon. The bequest of the Spanish crown, however, to the Duke of Anjou, the grandson of Louis XIV., in 1700, first awakened Europe to a sense of the immense danger which would threaten the independence of Europe if the crowns of France and Spain were to be united in the same sovereign; and the War of the Succession was undertaken and prosecuted for twelve years to prevent it. The victories of Marlborough and Eugène averted the danger at that time, and it was fondly hoped that by

consigné pour un moment à bord de nos vaisseaux; il a fallu, pour ne pas engager la guerre, payer une indemnité à ce Missionnaire. Enfin, engagé dans une suite de mauvaises affaires avec l'Angleterre, dont on prétendait renouer l'alliance, on a voulu faire quelque chose pour améliorer les rapports avec elle, et dans la Question de Texas, où nous n'avons pas un intérêt appréciable, on s'est prononcé pour l'Angleterre contre l'Amérique.

"Passons à l'Intérieur; les soutiens par Excellence de la Paix qui, par leurs ridicules conquêtes de l'océanie, nous ont conduits si près de la guerre, dans l'affaire du recensement nous ont valu le seul trouble sérieux qui ait eu lieu depuis six ans, trouble ensanglanté, sans que la force restât au Gouvernement. Voici qui est encore moins pardonnable, à mon avis, car cela tend à détruire tout Gouvernement; c'est de conférer sans mesure, sans aucune retenue, toutes les fonctions publiques dans un but exclusivement politique, c'est de se prêter ainsi aux vices du régime électif, et de les accroître en les surexcitant. Aujourd'hui que les passions sont éteintes, que les appétits ont remplacé les passions, je demande à tout homme de bonne foi de regarder autour de lui, et de dire ce qu'il lui semble. Pour moi, je suis convaincu que si l'on n'y prend garde, il n'y aura bientôt plus d'administration. Quelques meneurs dans les Collèges Electoraux ou dans les Chambres, feront la loi au Gouvernement." —M. THIERS aux Electeurs de Aix, July 21, 1846; *Revue*, III. 115, 184.

the Treaty of Utrecht it had been permanently guarded against. By that treaty the title of the Duke of Anjou to the Spanish crown was recognized, but on condition only that he renounced for himself and his descendants all claim to the French crown; while, on the other hand, the French monarch was to renounce for himself and his descendants all claim to the Spanish crown, which was to descend to certain specified princes of the *male* line, always excluding him who was possessed of the French throne. The Duke of Saxony and his male heirs were called to the succession, failing Philip V., the existing sovereign, and his *male* heirs. This act of renunciation of the crown of Spain, and its entail on male heirs, was solemnly ratified by the Cortes of Castile and Aragon, and by the Parliament of Paris, and it became part of the public law of Europe by the 6th article of the Treaty of Utrecht.¹

Experience has now abundantly proved both the formidable nature of the danger which was meant to be guarded against by this introduction of the Salic law into the succession of the Spanish crown, and the wisdom of the provision to prevent it that it should be limited to heirs-*male*. It was even

then foreseen, what has often since occurred, that if the maritime forces of France and Spain were united, they would considerably outnumber those of England, and that we might be blockaded in our harbors by the combined fleets of the two powers. This, accordingly, actually happened in 1784, when the French and Spanish fleets, numbering forty-seven sail of the line, blockaded Admiral Danby in Plymouth, who had only twenty-one; and the same disparity existed, and similar results would probably have ensued, in 1805, had not Napoleon's admirably-conceived plan for our subjugation been defeated only by the steady gallantry of Sir R. Calder and the heroic energy of Nelson. In every one of the wars between France and England for the last century, Spain has in the end taken part against this country, and in every one the fleets of England have been outnumbered by her two opponents. Nor was it less obvious that if the Spanish crown were permitted to descend to females, not only would there be a constant jealousy between France and England as to the disposal of the hand of the heiress to so magnificent an inheritance, but there was the greatest possible danger that the French competitor would, from proximity of situation and superior military force in this country, prove successful, and the whole naval and military strength of the two monarchies be ranged, on occasion of the first serious rupture, against the independence of this country.

It is one of the most singular facts recorded in history, that after having secured the separation of France and Spain, so far as succession goes, by the victories of Marlborough, and prevented their reunion by the power of conquest—by those of Wellington—the Government of Great Britain should have made its election voluntarily to forego those advantages, and incur the risk consequent on their loss, and that for no national object or public advantage

¹ Dumont, Corp. Dep. viii. i. 339; Schöcll, Hist. des Traités, II. 92, 105.

^{35.} Danger to England from the French and Spanish alliance.

^{36.}

Repeal of the Salic law, and opening of the Spanish throne to queens.

whatever. So it was, however: the thing was done, and can not now be undone; and it rests with those who brought it about to explain its reasons and make apparent its necessity. The French Revolution had caused a division of political feeling in Spain, as elsewhere in Europe, and the democratic party reduced the Sovereign to such straits that he only recovered his freedom by the armed intervention of France in 1823, as already recorded. Subsequent to this the old King married a second time, and by his new queen, Christina, he had two daughters, but no son. The old monarch, like most other men who, in advanced years, adventure upon the hazardous step of a marriage with a young wife, fell under the government of the Queen, to whom it was a natural object of ambition to see her own family on the throne instead of Don Carlos, the King's younger brother, and the nearest male heir. This could only be done by altering the order of succession established by the treaty of Utrecht, and the consent of the estates of the realm; but the divided state of opinion in the country, in consequence of the revolutionary passions of which it had been the victim, suggested the idea that this might be effected, and by the support of the Liberal party a QUEEN, the King's eldest daughter, put on the throne. This was accordingly done: a deed purporting to be an alteration of the order of succession in 1787, and restoring the old law of descent, which admitted females to the throne, was produced, and Ferdinand VII. left his throne to his eldest daughter, the present reigning Sovereign. A terrible civil war, as might have been expected, ensued between the Conservatives, headed by Don Carlos, and the Revolutionists who espoused the cause of the Queen; but the latter was recognized by both France and England, who formed the famous *Quadruple Alliance*, in 1834, to secure her on the throne. By their countenance and the armed intervention of the two powers, the contest was at length decided in favor of the Queen, who is still in possession of the throne. The narrative of this struggle will form the interesting subject of a future chapter.

The conflict in the Peninsula having come to an end, it remained to be seen what fruit France or England were to derive from it, and what advantage the latter was to obtain from having violated the Treaty of Utrecht, purchased with so much blood and treasure, and substituted a queen for a king on the Spanish throne. That France, which had four young princes of attractive person and agreeable manners to marry, should desire to see a rule of succession established beyond the Pyrenees, which called two young Spanish princesses to the throne, was very conceivable; but what interest England had in throwing Spanish princesses, heiresses to the throne, into the arms of French princes, was not so apparent. The result has completely proved the magnitude of the fault in policy, as great as the breach of national faith, committed by this violation on the part of Great Britain of the Treaty of Utrecht, and departure from the fixed policy of above a hundred years. Spain has been now for nearly a quarter of a century under the government of a revolutionary Queen, directed by a Liberal cabinet; but it would be difficult to

point out one single advantage which has accrued, directly or indirectly, to this country from the change in the succession. On the other hand, the jealousies between France and England, which soon arose in connection with the Spanish princesses, completely destroyed the good understanding between them, which was so essential to the peace of Europe, and, by depriving Louis Philippe of the moral support of Great Britain, powerfully contributed to his fall.

Queen Christina, then Regent of Spain, feeling herself entirely dependent on the Liberal party for the preservation of her daughter's throne, and being well aware that it was in France alone that she could find the prompt military assistance requisite to support her against the Carlists, who formed a great majority of the Spanish population, naturally bethought herself of the favorable opportunity presented by the marriageable condition of the princes of the one country, and the princesses of the other, to cement their union by matrimonial alliances. With this view, although the princesses, her daughters, were as yet too young for marriage, she made formal proposals before 1840 to Louis Philippe for a double marriage, one between the Duke d'Aumale, the King's third son, and Queen Isabella, her eldest daughter, and another between the Duke of Montpensier, his fourth son, and the Infanta Louisa Fernanda, her second daughter.¹

How agreeable soever these proposals were to Louis Philippe, who desired nothing so much as to see his descendants admitted into the family of European Sovereigns, he was too sagacious not to perceive that the hazard with which they were attended more than counterbalanced the advantages. It was evident that such a marriage of the Duke d'Aumale with the Queen of Spain would at once dissolve the *entente cordiale* with Great Britain, on which the stability of his throne so much depended; for however much the Liberal Government of England might desire to see constitutional monarchies established in the Peninsula, it was not to be expected it would like to see the crown of Spain placed on the head of a French prince. It was already surmised, too, that the Cabinet of London had views of its own for the hand of the younger princess. He therefore returned a courteous answer, declining the hand of the Queen for the Duke d'Aumale, but expressing the satisfaction it would afford him to see the Duke of Montpensier united to the Infanta.²

The next occasion on which the subject of the Spanish marriages was brought forward was when Queen Christina took refuge in Paris, during one of the numerous convulsions to which Spain has been subject since the attempt was made to introduce democratic institutions among its inhabitants. Louis Philippe then declared to the exiled Queen-Regent that the most suitable spouse for her daughter the Queen would be found in one of the descendants in the male line of Philip V., king of Spain, the sovereign on the throne when the Treaty of Utrecht was signed. The object of this proposal was indirect-

37.
Effects of
this change
on the in-
terests of
England.

38.
Queen
Christina's
proposal of
a double
marriage to
Louis Phi-
lippe.

¹ Regnault,
iii. 148, 149.

39.
Which are
declined by
Louis Phi-
lippe.

² Regnault,
iii. 148, 149;
D'Hausson-
ville, Poli-
tique Exte-
rieur de la
France, ii.
146, 147.

40.
Further con-
ferences on
this subject
1841.

ly to exclude the pretensions of Prince Coburg, cousin-german of Prince Albert, whom rumor had assigned as one of the suitors for the hand of the young Queen, and at the same time avoid exciting the jealousy of the British Government, by openly courting the alliance for a French prince. The descendants in the male line of Philip V. were, the three sons of Don Carlos, the younger brother of the late king; two sons of Don François de Paule; two princes of Naples, brothers of Queen Christina; and the Prince of Lima. The first three were excluded by the hostility of their father, the conservative pretender to the throne, to the reigning Sovereign, the last by reason of his being already married. Thus the circle of suitors in that line was restricted to the princes of the house of Naples and the two sons of Don François de Paule. A proposal for a marriage of the Queen with one of these princes was transmitted by the Court of France to the Cabinets of London, Vienna, and Berlin; but the ministers of these courts felt too strongly the delicacy and dangers of the question to sanction such an arrangement, and the matter remained undecided, which was of the less moment, that the Queen had not yet arrived at a marriageable age. Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen, on the part of Great Britain, merely insisted that, Spain being an independent power, the choice of a husband for its Queen should be left to its own Government, aided by the advice of the constitutional estates of the realm. They never advanced, as long as they remained in power, directly or indirectly, any proposal in favor of Prince Coburg or any other candidate, but contented themselves with contending for freedom of choice on the part of the Spanish Government and people.*

Matters were in this situation, with the question still open, so far as diplomatic intercourse was concerned, but the views and interests of

* "As to the Spanish marriages," said Sir R. Peel, in January, 1847, "I shall content myself with making one observation, that the last Cabinet, as long as they were in power, never made any attempt to obtain for a prince of the house of Saxe-Coburg the hand of the Queen of Spain."—Sir R. PEEL, Jan. 19, 1847; *Parl. Deb.*, lxxxiv. 159.—Lord John Russell said: "This I fully determined on, that, agreeing to the line laid down by the former Government, the present Government should state that it had no wish to present an English candidate; and with respect to one prince in particular, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the Government of this country never entertained for a moment a wish to put him forward, or support any pretensions he might entertain with respect to the throne of Spain; and I must say, that in any advice which I felt it my duty to offer to the Sovereign upon the subject, I found the greatest readiness and willingness to sanction this view; for her Majesty never wished that Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg should become a candidate for the hand of the Queen of Spain, supported by England. I state this, because I know it has been industriously set about that this is in reality a dispute between the royal families of France and of this country, in consequence of the course taken by the royal family of France with respect to the throne of Madrid, and of a counter attempt of ours to place one of its members on that throne. As far as we have been concerned, and so far as I know with regard to the late Government, there was no foundation whatever for such a statement. I do not know what Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg would have said if a proposition on the subject had been made to him by the Government of Spain, but I have been told he would not have been likely to entertain it. We made up our minds not to propose to Spain a candidate for the Queen's hand, or to make ourselves in any way concerned with the internal government of the country."—*Parl. Deb.*, lxxxix. 146.

the two Cabinets were well understood by the Ministers on both sides, when Queen Victoria, in the autumn of 1842, paid a visit to the French monarch at the Château d'Eu, in Normandy, which was followed next spring by a similar act of courtesy on the part of Louis Philippe to the Queen of England, in the princely halls of Windsor. This visit by Queen Victoria was extremely gratifying to the French monarch, who exhausted all the resources of wealth, luxury, and refinement in the fêtes and amusements intended to testify his satisfaction to the English Sovereign. Amidst these scenes of more than royal magnificence, and when walking under the shade of the lofty elms contemporary with Henry IV. at the Château d'Eu, the graver concerns of state policy were not forgotten. It was evident on both sides that the views and interests of the two courts and nations were so much at variance, that a compromise was the only way of solving the difficulty. To effect this was no easy matter, as the anxiety of the French monarch for the Spanish alliance was known to all, and it was equally certain that the English Cabinet would strenuously oppose any arrangement which promised to bring the resources of Spain practically under the direction of the Sovereign of France. Fortunately the pacific inclinations of the two sovereigns was aided by the wisdom and moderation of the Ministers on both sides; and under the direction of Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot a compromise was agreed on of the most fair and equitable kind. It was stipulated that the King of France should renounce all pretensions on the part of any of his sons to the hand of the Queen of Spain; and on the other hand, that the royal heiress should make her selection among the princes descendants of Philip V., which excluded the dreaded competition of a prince of the house of Coburg. And in regard to the marriage of the Duke de Montpensier with the Infanta Donna Fernanda, Louis Philippe positively engaged that it should not take place till the Queen was married, and had had CHILDREN (*des enfans*). On this condition the Queen of England consented to waive all objections to the marriage when these events had taken place; and it was understood that this consent on both sides was to be dependent on the hand of the Queen being bestowed on a descendant of Philip V., and no other competitor. Lord Aberdeen's words were express on the last point: "As to the pretensions of the Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, you may be at ease on that point; I engage that it shall neither be advanced nor supported by England, and that you shall experience no annoyance from it."*

* The testimony of the statesmen engaged in this affair on both sides is decisive on this point: "La sollicitude du roi Louis Philippe," says M. Guizot, "à cet égard (l'Alliance Anglaise) était encore plus vive que la mienne. Je le répète aujourd'hui sans la moindre hésitation, comme sans le moindre intérêt: jamais la politique d'entente cordiale entre la France et l'Angleterre n'a eu et n'aura, parmi les Souverains Français, un plus convaincu, plus sincère et plus persévérant défenseur. Nous nous entretenons souvent des soins à prendre pour éviter tout ce qui pourrait, sans réelle et nationale nécessité, y porter quelque atteinte. Pour le mariage de la Reine d'Espagne en particulier, le Roi avait fait, dès que la question avait apparu, acte de désintéressement et de

41.
Conferences
at the Châ-
teau d'Eu,
and at Wind-
sor, on the
subject.

Sept. 1842.
April, 1843.

* Regnault,
iii. 151, 152;
Guizot, Vie
de Peel, 309;
M. Guizot à
M. le comte
St. Aulaire,
March 13,
1843—Ibid.,
310, note.

In conformity with these stipulations, Queen Christina set about making her selection among the princes descended from Philip V. for the hand of the Queen her daughter. She soon found, however, difficulties all but insurmountable, in the way of nearly all the candidates; and, worn out with her embarrassments, and pressed by the Cortes and her ministers to secure, by the marriage of her daughter, the protection of England or France, she at length took the desperate resolution of writing to the reigning Duke of Saxe-Coburg, offering the Queen her daughter's hand to his cousin, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg. The French annalists assert that this was done at the instigation and with the concurrence of Sir Henry Bulwer, the British minister at Madrid. Of this no proof has been adduced; and, considering the political declarations on the subject made by Sir R. Peel and Lord Aberdeen, it is to the last degree improbable. Certain it is that, the moment Lord Aberdeen became acquainted with this step on the part of Queen Christina, he communicated it to Louis Philippe, accompanied with the strongest assurances that the proposal had been made without the knowledge or concurrence of the British Government, and that it would receive no countenance from them. At the same time, at the request of M. Guizot, this disavowal was communicated to Sir Henry Bulwer, accompanied with an expression of displeasure at such a thing ever having been mooted with his knowledge.

While this hazardous attempt on Queen Christina's part was going on to secure and render permanent the English alliance by a Coburg connection, another intrigue of a totally different kind was in progress at Madrid, the object of which was to secure the marriage of the Queen to the Duke de Cadiz, and at the same time of the Duke de Montpensier to the Infanta. This project originated with M. Bresson, the French ambassador at Madrid, an able and zealous man, who, seeing the Spanish Government, including the Cortes, the Queen, and the Ministry, alike determined to bring to an immediate conclusion the marriage of the young Queen with a candidate

either of France or England; and being informed of the refusal of the English Government to give any countenance to the Coburg connection, deemed the field open for the immediate and effective advancement of French interests. He proceeded with so much expedition, and his views fell in so much with those of the Queen-Regent's Government, which felt the protection of either France or England indispensable to the support of their revolutionary authority, that he had actually obtained the consent of the Queen and her ministers to the *immediate and simultaneous* marriage of the Queen and the Duke de Cadiz, and the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. It is proved by his own letter, brought to light in the *Revue Rétrospective* after the fall of Louis Philippe, that this proposal originated with M. Bresson, and he communicated the favorable reception it had met with from the Spanish Government with such alacrity to M. Guizot, that it is evident he knew it was in accordance, if not with the official instructions, at least with the secret wishes of that minister.* Not so his royal master. No sooner did he receive the letter of his ambassador at Madrid, communicating the intelligence of the conclusion of this agreement as to the double and simultaneous marriages, directly contrary to the express agreement of the two Sovereigns, than he disavowed it, and expressed his displeasure in repeated letters in the strongest manner to M. Guizot. These letters are of the highest importance in this question, both in proving the good faith and honor of the French sovereign up to this point, and as affording decisive demonstration from the best of all authority, that of Louis Philippe himself, of what had been the real nature of the engagements entered into by him on this subject with Queen Victoria at the Château d'Eu and Windsor Castle †

franchise; il avait déclaré qu'il ne rechercherait ni n'accepterait cette union pour aucun des princes ses fils, et, quant à l'Infanta, qu'il ne la rechercherait pour M. le Duc de Montpensier que lorsque la Reine serait mariée ET AURAIT DES ENFANS; mais une autre déclaration également positive était liée à celle-là; si le mariage, soit de la Reine d'Espagne, soit de l'Infanta sa sœur, avec un Prince étranger aux descendants de Philippe V. devenait probable et imminent, nous étions affranchis de tout engagement et libres d'agir immédiatement pour parer le coup, en demandant la main, soit de la Reine, soit de l'Infanta pour M. le Duc de Montpensier. Toute l'histoire des mariages Espagnols est dans ces deux déclarations, faites hautement l'une et l'autre et bien avant que le moment ne fût venu de les appliquer."—Guizot, *Vie de Peel* p. 209. It will appear immediately from Louis Philippe's confidential letters, that his understanding of the postponing of the Duke de Montpensier's marriage till the condition regarding *des enfans* from the Queen had occurred, was exactly the same. The Author heard the same account of the agreement between the royal personages from the ambassador of one of the great powers, to whom it was communicated the next day, who added, "The words were *des enfans*; voilà deux," holding up his two fingers after the French fashion.

* "J'ai ajouté que le Roi, tenant compte des embarras de la Reine et voulant lui donner un nouveau témoignage de sa sollicitude et de son amitié, était disposé à consentir que, dans cette combinaison Bourbon, M. le Duc de Montpensier prit place à côté du mari de la Reine, c'est à dire que les deux mariages, si l'un devait faciliter l'autre, se célébrassent ou fussent au moins déclarés simultanément. Cette grande, importante et indispensable simultanéité n'est pas aussi formellement exprimée dans votre lettre du 5; mais les commentaires et les développements de Desages et de Glucksberg ne m'ont laissé aucun doute. Grâces vous en soient rendues. Ce qui était obstacle, obstacle insurmontable, s'est transformé en secours puissant. J'en suis certain, en sondant votre cœur, vous y trouverez le contentement d'avoir pris cette résolution. La nouvelle en a été accueillie par la Reine Christine avec une joie dont j'aime à croire la manifestation sincère."—M. BRESSON à M. GUIZOT, Madrid, July 12, 1846; *Revue Rétrospective*, p. 180.

The letters published in this curious collection were found in the Tuilleries, and given to the world by the Provisional Government; they may be relied on, therefore, for they were published by no friendly hand.

† "Mon étonnement est d'autant plus grand que Bresson se soit compromis sur la simultanéité des deux mariages, qu'il les savait diamétralement contraires à ma volonté, et tant à la résolution du Duc de Montpensier et de toute ma famille, qu'il dit lui-même n'y avoir pas été autorisé par vous et qu'il a recours, pour justifier une pareille incartade, à faire des commentaires sur les lettres de Desages et de Glucksberg. Je n'ai point vu M. Desages, mais avec M. Glucksberg j'ai été aussi explicite que faire se pouvait. Je lui ai non seulement fait connaître ma détermination et celle des miens sur ce point, mais je lui ai déduit fort au long les motifs et je lui en ai donné certaines raisons qui rendaient nécessaires des explications catégoriques, avant que le mariage du Duc de Montpensier pût être conclu définitivement. Il résulte

1 D'Haussonville, *Politique Extérieure de la France*, t. 156, 157; M. Bresson à M. Guizot, July 12, and Louis Philippe à M. Guizot, July 20, 1846—Ibid.

Such was the state of matters regarding this subject when the Whig Ministry was displaced by Sir R. Peel's motion of a want of confidence, and Lord Palmerston succeeded Lord Aberdeen at the Foreign Office, and in the direction of diplomatic affairs. This change immediately altered the face of the negotiation. The French Cabinet, and especially M. Guizot, were strongly impressed with the idea that the new Foreign Secretary was adverse to this alliance, and intent only on advancing British interests at their expense; and the manner in which he had defeated their projects in the East by the treaty of 15th July, 1840, and bombardment of Acre, had left a sore feeling in their minds which acted in the most powerful way on the future stages of the negotiation. Unfortunately, too, the first step taken by Lord Palmerston was one which, in appearance at least, gave a color to these suspicions. On the 19th July he addressed a letter of instructions to Sir Henry Bulwer, which commenced with these words: "The candidates for the hand of the Queen of Spain are now reduced to three: *Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg*, and the two sons of the Infant Don François de Paule. The Government of Her Majesty have only to express their sincere desire that the choice may be made of the one who may unite the qualities most likely to secure the happiness of the Queen and the prosperity of the Spanish nation." A copy of this letter was, in pursuance of the *entente cordiale* between the two nations, read by Lord Palmerston to the Comte de Jarnac, the French ambassador at London, who did not conceal his surprise at Prince Coburg being still held forth as one of the suitors of the Queen. The dispatch, however, having been sent off, and a copy only read, Lord Pal-

de tout cela qu'un désaveu formel est indispensable. Comment le faire est la seule question à examiner; mais je n'ai jamais trompé personne et je ne commencerai pas aujourd'hui à laisser tromper qui que ce soit sous mon nom. Je donne promptement et nettement mon opinion sur la simultanéité et sur la conclusion définitive avant la discussion des articles; c'est encore ce qui peut mieux pallier les embarras que cette triste campagne ne peut manquer de faire."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à M. GUIZOT, July 20, 1846; *Revue Rétrospective*, p. 182.

Again, on the same day he writes, "Le Duc de Montpensier me rend vos lettres de Bresson que je vous remets bien à la hâte. Il concourt très vivement à tout ce que je vous ai écrit ce matin. Il faut effacer et annuler formellement tout ce que Bresson a dit en sus de ce que j'avais autorisé. Il faut que les reines sachent qu'il était interdit à Bresson de dire ce qu'il a dit et que la simultanéité est inadmissible. Il nous a fait là une rude campagne: il est nécessaire qu'elle soit défilée et le plus tôt possible—je ne resterai pas sous le coup d'avoir fait contracter, en mon nom, un engagement que je ne peux ni ne veux tenir et que j'avais formellement interdit."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à M. GUIZOT, July 20, 1846; *Revue Rétrospective*, p. 182.

Again, four days after, Louis Philippe wrote to M. Guizot, "Je vois avec plaisir que votre opinion est d'accord avec la mienne sur la campagne que Bresson vient de nous faire sur la simultanéité, et que seulement vous pensez que Bresson ne s'est pas aussi formellement engagé que je le craignais. Moi je pense au contraire que, connaissant bien mon opinion et celle de ma famille sur la simultanéité, il a voulu nous bien lier sur ce point et que, s'il y a une différence entre ce qu'il a dit à la reine et ce qu'il vous a écrit, elle consiste en ce qu'il ne sera plus engagé avec la Reine qu'il ne nous aura dit. Il faut donc qu'il n'y ait pas seulement un désaveu verbal de la part de Bresson, qui serait *verba volantia*, même s'il le faisait complètement, ce qu'il ne fera jamais probablement, mais que ce désaveu soit remis par écrit à la Reine Christine, de manière à ce qu'on ne puisse jamais essayer d'en nier le positif ou d'en contester la notification."—*Revue Rétrospective*, p. 184.

merston contented himself with saying that the British Government had no intention of supporting Prince Coburg, and that these words were put in only *narrative* as a summary of the existing state of affairs. Lord Cowley, the English ambassador at Paris, gave Louis Philippe the strongest assurances of the same tenor, in a long conference they had on the subject, two days after, on the evening of the 25th July; and on the 23d August, Lord Normanby, July 25. Aug. 23. who had succeeded Lord Cowley as ambassador at that Court, intimated officially to M. Guizot that the British Government was taking steps to support *Don Enrique*, one of the descendants of Philip V. This prince was within the agreed-on limits; and M. Guizot replied, that if he was agreeable to the Queen of Spain the Court of France would be perfectly satisfied.*

But when M. Guizot professed himself to be perfectly satisfied with Don Enrique, 45. he in reality knew that the matter had been otherwise arranged; and that, in defiance of the engagements entered into at the Château d'Eu and Windsor, the Queen was to be married to the Duke de Cadiz, and the Infanta at the same time to the Duke de Montpensier. It is now known that both M. Guizot and Louis Philippe, immediately on receipt of the Count de Jarnac's letter communicating the tenor of Lord Palmerston's instructions of the 19th to Sir Henry Bulwer, were seized with the most mortal apprehensions of being overreached in this matter, as they had been six years before in the Eastern question; and this terror led them to forget altogether their previous engagements with the Court of London. Guizot wrote to his Sovereign with the inclosed copy: "My first impression on receiving the inclosed was that we ought to attach ourselves more than ever to our actual idea, 'Cadiz and Montpensier.' Queen Christina and the Moderate party can not fail to see that by it alone can they be rendered the masters by securing the support of the King of France, while any other combination will deliver them infalli-

* "On a dit que le Gouvernement Anglais, en tenant ce langage, n'avait nulle intention de pousser au mariage du Prince Léopold de Saxe-Cobourg avec la Reine Isabelle. Je suis prêt à l'admettre; mais peu important, en politique, les intentions; les effets sont tout."—GUIZOT, *Vie de Peel*, p. 314.

"Lord Cowley est venu hier au soir et j'ai eu avec lui une conversation très longue et bien vive sur les instructions communiquées par Lord Palmerston. Pour être bref, il a généreusement essayé de les défendre en disant que tout cela n'était que pour maintenir ses dires précédents. 'That these instructions could not be acted upon—certainly not,' que Bulwer s'en garderait bien." Je lui ai demandé permission de n'en rien croire et que les conséquences de ceci m'alarmaient au plus haut degré."—LOUIS PHILIPPE à M. GUIZOT, 26 Juillet, 1846; *Revue Rétrospective*, p. 187.

"L'ambassadeur d'Angleterre à Paris, Lord Normanby, fit même connaître officiellement à M. Guizot que son Gouvernement faisait des démarches pour obtenir la main de la Reine en faveur de Don Enrique. Il n'y avait pas d'objection à faire: ce prince était dans les conditions exigées par le Gouvernement Français. Aussi M. Guizot répondit que si la Reine d'Espagne était à faire choix de Don Enrique ce choix satisfierait parfaitement la Cour de France. Mais il savait qu'il n'avait pas à craindre cette alternative. En effet la conférence entre M. Guizot et Lord Normanby avait lieu le 23 Août; et dans la nuit du 26 ou 27 la Reine Isabelle faisait savoir à ses ministres que son choix était fixé sur le Duc de Cadiz, et, immédiatement après, M. Bresson demandait officiellement la main de l'Infante pour le Duc de Montpensier. Elle lui fut accordée."—REGNAULT, iii. 160, 161.

bly into the hands of their enemies, the Radicals." And Louis Philippe, on retrospective, ceiving it next morning, replied: 184.

"The perusal of the documents you have sent me, which I received this morning, July 25. and which I now return, has left me a prey to the most painful impressions.

Not that I expected better from Lord Palmerston, but that I thought he would not so soon have thrown off the mask. My present impression is that we must return blow for blow. Jarnac has acquitted himself wonderfully; but we must prepare an answer to that astounding and detestable dispute, of which I think we shall make Lord Palmerston bitterly repent. Do not, however, in your letters to Bresson, use that expression 'Cadiz and Montpensier.' It savors too much of simultaneity, and is disagreeable to all my family, whom it suits as little as it does me."

Guizot answered the same day: "I am entirely of your Majesty's opinion 185.

that you should not engage at once to have the marriages concluded simultaneously; but I pray you to reflect on the extreme importance and delicacy of the crisis. There is evidently a great effort about to be made for the Coburg. Our fence against this threat is, 'Cadiz and Montpensier.' Let us not weaken that defense at the very moment when we have most need of it. If the policy of London succeeds, and the Coburg arrives, the consequences will be most serious 186.

both here and at Madrid.'

When these had become the views of the King and his Ministers, it is not surprising that an immediate change in the line of conduct ensued, and that their consent was given to the immediate marriage of the Queen with the Duke de Cadiz simultaneously with that of the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. M. Guizot has told us so himself. "Under the influence," says he, "of these united circumstances, it was evident that, whether the English Government desired it or not, the Coburg marriage had become probable and imminent. I thought so, and I remain convinced that I judged correctly. I did not hesitate. I gave the King the advice, and to Count Bresson, his ambassador at Madrid, to press the immediate conclusion of the double marriage of the Queen of Spain with the Infant Don François d'Apaze (Duke of Cadiz) and of the Infanta with the Duke de Montpensier. The French policy, national as well as royal, willed that the throne of Spain should not go out of the house of Bourbon. I had openly laid down that principle, and I caused it to triumph at Viede Peel, the very moment when it was on the point of failing." Two days after this correspondence the Duke de Montpensier set out from Paris, and on the 10th October he was married to the Infanta at Montécar, the same altar, and immediately after the marriage of the Queen to the Duke de Cadiz.⁴

It may readily be conceived that M. Guizot had no small difficulty in announcing this sudden change of resolution on the part of the French Government to the English ambassador, the more especially after the declaration which he himself had made to Lord Normanby, a few

days before, that the French Government would be perfectly satisfied with Don Enrique, whom the Cabinet of London were inclined to support. He first said on 1st September, in a conference on the subject, to Lord Normanby, that the two marriages should not take place at the same time. Afterward, on the 23d September, when the subject was again under discussion between the same parties, and the intention of marrying the two princesses at the same time could no longer be concealed, he denied that he had ever made use of these expressions; and when the actual words used were recalled to his recollection, he had recourse to the strange and discreditable subterfuge, "The two marriages will not take place at the same time, for the Queen will be married first!" The indignation of the British Government exhaled in an angry note addressed by Sir Henry Bulwer at Madrid to M. Isturitz, the Spanish Foreign Minister;* and in a holograph letter from Queen Victoria to Louis Philippe no attempt was made to conceal the impression, though couched in measured terms, that the French Government had broken their pledged faith. But M. Guizot abated nothing of his haughty bearing, and instead of expressing regret at the coldness which it had occasioned between the two Governments, said, "France has not seen such a day since the Revolution of 1830."[†]

Thus was the *entente cordiale* between the Governments of France and England, so essential to the peace and independence of Europe, broken up—and broken up in such a way, and on such a question, that reconciliation between the parties was rendered impossible. Not only were national interests of the most important kind brought into collision, and national rivalries of the keenest sort again awakened, but with these were mingled the indignation at broken faith—the soreness at overreached diplomacy. These

* "En ce moment, je vois la main d'une jeune Princesse de quatorze ans donnée d'une manière opposée aux représentations d'au moins une des grandes Puissances, dont l'amitié pour l'Espagne est bien connue dans l'histoire, et dont l'amitié peut mériter d'être cultivée. Je vois ce mariage préparé secrètement, annoncé à l'improviste, conduit à sa fin avec une rapidité inconcevable: il fait renaître des prétentions qui se combattent, réveille des traités qui dorment, menace l'Espagne du renouvellement de la guerre civile; il agite enfin et bouleverse les heureuses et pacifiques relations actuelles de l'Europe."

M. Isturitz replied: "Le Gouvernement Britannique, qui se montre si jaloux de l'indépendance de l'Espagne, ne trouvera pas mauvais que l'Espagne agisse dans les limites tracées par les lois internationales: c'est-à-dire, sans blesser les intérêts des autres gouvernements, comme c'est le cas dans cette question à propos de laquelle l'Angleterre ne saurait citer aucune violation des traités; le Gouvernement Britannique ne trouvera pas mauvais, je le répète, que l'Espagne repousse énergiquement une protestation qui menace son indépendance, et qu'à son tour elle proteste contre une pareille prétention. Permettez-moi de dire que le dépôt sacré de l'indépendance Espagnole n'est confié à la vigilance d'aucune nation étrangère: ce dépôt est gardé par la loyauté Espagnole, qui s'est montrée inébranlable, même au milieu des plus grandes calamités."—*Regnault*, iii. 363, 364.

† "Gentlemen, this is the first grand thing that we have effected completely single-handed, in Europe, since 1830. Impartial Europe has delivered her judgment to that effect."—M. Guizot's words, January 16, 1847; *Ann. Reg.*, 1847, 396.

46.
The two marriages are contracted on the same day.

47.
Coldness in consequence of the British and French Governments.

48.
Disastrous effects of this coldness.

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Disastrous effects of this coldness.

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Disastrous effects of this coldness.

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Disastrous effects of this coldness.

feelings, as is always the case with the party which has been worsted in the strife, were much more keen in England than France. One chorus of indignation burst from the whole English press at this alleged breach of faith on the part of Louis Philippe, and the violation of the royal word pledged to Queen Victoria amidst the festivities of the Château d'Eu and Windsor Castle. These invectives were eagerly imported into France by the Liberal journals of that country, which, after having exhausted the whole vocabulary of abuse founded on alleged oppression, despotism, and abandonment of principle by the Citizen King, were charmed to find the still more serious charges of personal breach of faith and duplicity brought against him by the power which had hitherto given him its strongest support.

Immense was the effect of this estrangement between France and England upon the internal and external situation of both countries. No event since the fall of Charles X. is to be compared with it in importance. By depriving Louis Philippe of the moral support of England it essentially weakened his throne, both in the estimation of foreign powers and of his own subjects. It lowered his character with many who had hitherto from necessity given him their support, and encouraged his enemies both at home and abroad by diffusing the belief that, in any crisis, either external or internal, he could look for no support from this country. The Spanish Alliance, in the existing state of Europe, gave him nothing in comparison. Weakened by the loss of her colonies, distracted by the passions, and still bleeding at every pore from the wounds of civil war, Spain could render no assistance to France. Guizot's master-stroke was as great a mistake in policy as it was a deviation from faith. Its consequences were even more disastrous in the external relations and influence of the two countries than on their internal stability. By separating the two Western Powers, whose union could alone check the encroachments of Russia in Eastern Europe, it left the field, both in Poland and on the Danube, open to Muscovite ambition. From this disastrous severance is to be dated a series of causes and effects which went on in necessary sequence till Europe was shaken to its centre by the French Revolution, and, necessity having taught wisdom, the alliance of France and England, thus unhappily severed, was cemented anew at Inkermann and Sebastopol.

Seeing the Spanish marriages have been attended with these highly important and calamitous results, it becomes of the greatest importance to determine which party was to blame in the contracting of them, and upon whom does the charge of breach of faith really rest. The charge, and the serious one, of breach of faith, undoubtedly attaches to the French monarch, or rather his minister M. Guizot, the chief man in the whole Spanish intrigue. It is now fully ascertained by the best of all evidence—that of Louis Philippe and M. Guizot themselves—that the agreement between the former and Queen Victoria, contracted amidst the festivities of the Château d'Eu and Windsor, was, that the Queen of Spain was to bestow her hand on a descend-

ant of Philip V., and that the Duke de Montpensier was to marry the Infanta, but not till the Queen had given birth to "children." She did marry a descendant of Philip V., and England never urged any other marriage; on the contrary, she refused her consent to the Coburg alliance when it had been formally demanded by the Queen-Regent of Spain. Then how is the hurrying on of the Montpensier marriage, and its conclusion on the same day, and at the same altar as that of the Queen, to be justified? Confessedly this can be done on no other ground than the letter of Lord Palmerston, of 19th July, to Sir H. Bulwer, communicated to the French ambassador in London, which placed Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg among the suitors of the Queen, and gave him the first place on the list. It is on this ground, accordingly, and this alone, that the breach of engagement is justified by the diplomatists and historians of France. It may be conceded that it was an unfortunate and ill-advised step on the part of Lord Palmerston to name him at all among the royal suitors, the more especially as it was likely to give umbrage to France, and the consent of England to the suit of the German prince had been recently and formally refused.

But that this diplomatic slip afforded no vindication whatever of the breach of engagement is evident from the following considerations: 1. The Prince was mentioned as a suitor by Lord Palmerston, in his letter of the 19th, only *narrativé*, and in summing up at the outset of the letter the existing state of affairs; and this was strictly true, as the hand of the Queen had recently been offered to him by the Queen-Regent of Spain; 2. It was not said that England would support his pretensions; on the contrary, the Government had formally refused their consent to it, and evinced its good faith by intimating the proposal, and their declinature of it, to the Cabinet of the Tuileries; and this was known to Louis Philippe, and duly appreciated by him. 3. The refusal of England to support the Coburg alliance was intimated by Lord Palmerston to the French ambassador when the letter mentioning it was read on 20th July; the same was repeated by Lord Cowley to Louis Philippe in person, on 25th July; it was promised on September 1, by Guizot to Lord Normanby, that the two marriages should not take place at the same time; and on the 23d September it was officially notified to M. Guizot that England supported the suit of *Don Enrique*, not Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, with which the French minister professed himself perfectly satisfied. 4. Nevertheless, in the face of all this, the French Government urged on both marriages, which were celebrated on the same day and at the same altar, three weeks after, at Madrid, on 10th October. In these circumstances, it is evident that Lord Palmerston's slip afforded M. Guizot no real excuse, but was merely laid hold of by him as a pretext to cover an advantage to France which he deemed of importance, but which could not be obtained without a real breach of the royal faith of his master.

It soon appeared how serious were to be the consequences of this disunion of France and England upon the balance of power, and inter-

ests of the lesser states in Europe. When the

52. allied forces occupied Cracow on March 3, 1846, after the Polish insurrection, it was merely stipulated that the militia of the republic should not be reorganized, and that the town should be occupied alternately by the troops of the three powers. This was formally agreed to in a memorandum signed on the 4th April following by the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Considering the use which the inhabitants of Cracow had made of their nationality while they enjoyed it, and the manner in which they had converted their town into an advanced post, from which they might scatter the seeds of disaffection and rebellion through all the provinces of Old Poland, now incorporated with the partitioning powers, no one, on reasonable grounds, could make any objection to this arrangement, which was obviously of a provisional nature only, and left the separate existence of the republic of Cracow untouched. But no sooner did the Northern powers receive intelligence of the alienation of France and England on the Spanish marriage than they altered their views, and resolved to make this temporary outbreak a pretext for the incorporation of Cracow, with its dependent territory, with Austria, upon certain indemnities being provided to Russia and Prussia. By a treaty concluded, accordingly, on 11th November, 1846, Nov. 11, 1846. the city of Cracow, with twenty-three square miles (German) of territory, and a hundred and fifty-six thousand inhabitants, was incorporated with Austria, and united with its province of Galicia. Russia received as an indemnity certain territories in the north of Galicia adjacent to Lithuania, and Prussia the town of Hatzen Plotz, with its adjacent territory. Thus was completed the final partition of Poland, and the partial restoration of its nationality, effected by Lord Castlereagh at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, finally demolished! A strange and unlooked-for result to follow the entire triumph of Liberal principles for fifteen years back, both in Paris and London; but easily accounted for, when the clashing of the ambition which these principles have exerted is

Effects of this disunion of France and England on Poland. March 3. April 4.

1 Treaty, Nov. 11, 1846; Mart. Sup.; Reg-nault, iii. 169, 171; D'Haussonville, ii. 177, 196.

It was not merely by removing all apprehension of an armed intervention of England and France in the affairs of Poland, that the coldness between these two powers tended to set free the Northern potentates, and hasten the extinction of the last remnants of its nationality. The diplomatic position and objects of the two powers, after the marriages of the Queen and the Infanta had been celebrated, led still more directly to the same result. Sensible, when it was too late, of the enormous errors he had committed in altering the order of succession in Spain, and forcing a queen upon an unwilling people, Lord Palmerston made strenuous efforts, when its effects had become apparent by the marriage of the

53. Diplomatic differences of France and England on the Treaty of Utrecht.

Duke de Montpensier to the Infanta, to get the Northern powers, and Russia in particular, to adhere to his interpretation of the Treaty of Utrecht in regard to intermarriages of the royal families of France and Spain. This interpretation did not consist, as the French historians assert, in the plea that all marriages between these royal houses were prohibited by that treaty. Lord Palmerston was too well versed in diplomatic lore and recent history not to know that there was not a word in the treaty prohibitory of such marriages, and that, accordingly, they had repeatedly since taken place between the two royal families without objection from any quarter whatever.* What he maintained was, that the Treaty of Utrecht forbade any prince of the house of Orleans to acquire the Spanish crown by marriage or otherwise.¹ But this was a vain conceit; there was not a word in the Treaty of Utrecht excluding the house of Orleans from the Spanish throne, if they chose to relinquish the French crown, or their right of succession to it. The union of the two crowns on one head was forbidden by the Treaty of Utrecht, but not the acquisition of the two crowns *by brothers of the same family*—the danger which, by the consequences of Lord Palmerston's own act in placing the Queen on the throne, was now impending. Besides, even if the marriage had been contrary to the Treaty of Utrecht, he could not refer to it as founding an objection to its violation; for, having himself set the example of violating the treaty by setting aside the male line, he could not rest upon it as conferring any other right. As little was he entitled to object to the incorporation of Cracow as being contrary to the Treaty of Vienna, for he himself had been the first to break through that treaty by partitioning the kingdom of the Netherlands, which it guaranteed; and the Northern powers might, by a mere variation of names, retort on him his own words: "It will not escape the loyalty of the Court of London, that if the Treaty of Vienna is not good on the Rhine or the Po, neither is it on the Vistula."²†

The full extent of the disastrous effects thus introduced into the diplomacy of Europe by the

* Marriages between French princes and Spanish princesses, accordingly, have been very frequent since the Treaty of Utrecht. One took place on 21st January, 1721; another on 25th of August, 1739; and on 23d January, 1745, the Dauphin of France married the princess who, but for the entail on the male line contained in the Treaty of Utrecht, would have been heiress of the crown of Spain. But on none of these occasions was it ever supposed that any infringement of the Treaty of Utrecht had taken place, or that any danger to the balance of power had been incurred. Nay, Louis XV. was publicly, and with the knowledge of all Europe, affianced, early in life, to the Infanta of Spain. She was brought to Paris, and lived long at Versailles, in order to be initiated into the customs of the French court; and the marriage was at length broken off, not from any objection on the part of the English ambassador, or the diplomatic body in Europe, but because, the princess being only thirteen and the king nineteen, the marriage could not take place so soon as the impatience of his subjects required, and the match was in consequence broken off, and he married Maria Leckzinski, daughter of the King of Poland.—See DE TOCQUEVILLE'S *Histoire de Louis XV.*, i. 172.

† "Il n'échappera pas à la loyauté des Cours du Nord, que si les Traités de Vienne ne sont pas bons sur la Vistule, ils ne sont pas meilleurs sur le Rhin et sur le Po." —D'HAUSSONVILLE, *Politique Extérieure de la France*, ii. 182.

divisions of the Western powers will not be duly appreciated unless the cordial terms on which they were previous to the affair of the Spanish marriages is taken into consideration. It is thus set forth by the chosen historian of the French diplomacy under the reign of Louis Philippe: "Unmistakable symptoms proved to entire Europe the fortunate changes which had taken place in the relations of France and England. Queen Victoria, disembarked at Treport, suddenly appeared at the Château d'Eu. The most cordial intimacy, arising naturally from the circumstances, and favored by the hundred facilities of country life, sprang up between the two chiefs of the great constitutional monarchies. Shortly after, during the visit at Windsor, the King of the French received the most convincing proof of the profound impression which these moments, passed in the bosom of the royal family, had left in the breast of the Queen of England. Not content with surrounding her royal guest with the most delicate attentions, and bestowing on him the proofs of the most affectionate respect, desirous to join to the manifestation of her personal regard a further proof of her royal inclination as sovereign, Queen Victoria invested him with the dignities most coveted by foreign monarchs. In their turn, the English people, desirous to associate themselves with the feelings of their young Queen, bestowed on the representative of the French nation an honor which no crowned head had ever received. Louis Philippe, being unable to accept the magnificent hospitality which the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London proposed to have offered to him at Guildhall, that great corporation, the representative of the rich and intelligent classes of the metropolis, did not hesitate to pass the gates of the City, and to offer him at Windsor an address of respectful felicitation. Such an unusual step was intended to honor France itself, not less than its King. France did not misunderstand it; and these shining marks of regard were the more acceptable, that they could be accepted with pride from a nation whom they were then in the happy course of emulating only in peace, prosperity, and grandeur."¹

The ill effects of the disaccord of France and England were not confined to Poland. They appeared in an equally striking manner in Greece, Italy, and Switzerland. The constitutional system, established in the first of these countries by the Governments of the three countries which had established the infant State, having been found, as might have been expected, entirely at variance with the habits and temper of at least the whole continental portion of Greece, had gradually gone into desuetude; and in 1835, Lord Palmerston, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, had made it a formal ground of complaint against the French Government, that they had endeavored to establish in Greece a system altogether at variance with the habits and wishes of the inhabitants. No overt act, however, followed this expression of opinion, and King Otho practically ruled the country with despotic authority for eight years afterward. This mode of administration, how-

ever, although suitable to the clannish habits and ideas of the mountaineers in continental Greece, was little calculated to meet the wishes of the mercantile islanders and the constitutional party, who had been mainly instrumental in establishing the independence of the country. These discontents at length acquired such strength that they ended in a revolution, which altered the form of the Government. On the 15th September, 1843, a general movement took place, headed by a powerful party styled the "Philorthodox," secretly supported by the Russian ministers and the Court of St. Petersburg. The insurrection was so generally supported that it had the whole features of a national movement. Without any resistance on the part of the Government, which was taken completely by surprise, a constitutional monarchy was proclaimed; a new ministry, with M. Metaxas at its head, established; and a committee appointed to arrange the details of a constitution.¹

The object of Russia in supporting this change was to supplant the influence of the German sovereign in which is at first the government of the country; it supported, and was an anti-Bavarian, not a Liberal movement. It was no part of the policy of the Court of St. Petersburg to establish constitutional monarchies in the East, or to surround itself with a zone of free institutions; it desired to render its own authority paramount, and nothing more. The revolution of 3d September had passed their intentions; it had become constitutional, when they only desired it to be dynastic. They lost no time, therefore, in recalling their minister, M. Katacsy, and in ordering M. Calerji, the brother of the chief leader in the revolution, to quit their service. As a natural consequence, the chief direction of the country, during the formation of its constitution, devolved on France and England, the natural guardians of a State which aspired to be free while maturing its institutions, and the most perfect accordance of views prevailed for long between the ministers of the two nations on the subject. Sir EDMUND LYONS, the English, and M. PISCATORY, the French Minister, went hand in hand in all measures connected with the formation of the constitution, as did Lord Aberdeen and M. Guizot, as long as the former remained at the head of foreign affairs in England.* These cordial dispositions on both sides were in the highest degree agreeable to Louis Philippe and M. Guizot, and they continued for a considerable time to animate the two cabinets in this particular, as well as their respective ministers.²

* "Il n'y a qu'une bonne politique, celle que *sont ensemble la France et l'Angleterre*. C'est vrai partout: c'est vrai surtout en Grèce. Vous et moi, MM. Mavrocordato et Colletti voulant les mêmes choix, tendant au même but, par les mêmes moyens, la partie monarchique et constitutionnelle est gagnée en Grèce."—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, 30th October, 1843.

"Quant à l'entente avec mon collègue d'Angleterre, Sir E. Lyons, elle est *complète*. Le Pape la désire et en prend grande confiance."—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, 30th September, 1843: D'HAUSSONVILLE, *Politique Extérieure de la France*, ii. 87.

"Tous les hommes disent, 'Si M. Colletti et M. Mavro-

¹ D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 79.
² 83; An. Hist. xxvi. 312, 319.

^{56.} Which is at first supported, and then disowned, by Russia.

² Lord Aberdeen to Sir E. Lyons, Sept. 27, 1843; M. Guizot à M. Piscatory, Sept. 27, 1843; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 84, 85.

The first interruption to these feelings took place in 1844, when it became necessary to appoint a new ministry in consequence of M. Metaxas and his colleagues, who first held the helm after the revolution, having resigned. M. Mavrocordato, who had resided long in London, was supported by the English cabinet; M. Colletti, who had done the same at Paris, and had numerous political connections there, by the French. The

April 11, 1844. former was selected by King Otho to form a cabinet, but it was still supported by M. Colletti; and Piscatory, on the part of France, lent it for some time a generous and disinterested aid. By degrees, however, the jealousy which was naturally to be looked for in such circumstances made its appearance, and Mavrocordato's ministry having

Aug. 18, 1844. been displaced by a vote of the Chambers, a new ministry was formed, composed of M. Colletti, M. Metaxas, and their respective friends. This ministerial change was the commencement of the misunderstanding of France and England on the affairs of Greece. The coldness continued through the whole of 1845, during which Colletti really rested on the support of France, and Mavrocordato as plainly on that of England. Appearances, however, were still kept up, and there was no ostensible divergence between the embassies of the rival powers as long as Lord Aberdeen remained at the Foreign Office in London. But when Lord Palmerston succeeded, and the affairs of the Spanish marriages had imbibed the feelings of the two Cabinets, the division became open and serious.* In August, 1847, Lord Palmerston endeavored to displace the Colletti ministry, and insisted peremptorily for the immediate payment of the arrears of interest which had been accumulating for some years on the Greek Loan, advanced by Great Britain to the Hellenic Government on the first establishment of their independence. The Russian and German cabinets, to avoid the consequences of so serious a division, strongly advised the Cabinet of Athens to pay up the arrears, and thus avoid the pretext for an open rupture, expressing, at the same time, their conviction that it was "not the money which Lord Palmerston wished, but the removal of M. Colletti."† So serious did matters become, that a large number of British vessels of war unexpectedly made their appearance in the Greek waters; and M. Colletti, who

was an able and patriotic minister, exhausted by the fatigues of the contest, breathed his last, and "his great soul went," to use the expression of M. Guizot, "to rejoin the battalion of Plutarch."‡

* M. Piscatory à M. Guizot, Sept. 10, 1847; D'Haussonville, ii. 112, 114.

† His last moments were thus described by an eyewitness: "Parlez de moi à mes amis en France. Faites mes adieux à M. Guizot, à M. de Bresson, à M. Eynard.

cordato, le ministre d'Angleterre et le ministre de France, continuent à s'entendre, comme ils font aujourd'hui, la cause est gagnée."—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, 10th November, 1847; Ibid., ii. 88.

* "Si on nous demande un conseil nous donnerons celui de payer, parcequ'il est conforme à mes instructions: mais nous sommes convaincus qu'en payant la somme demandée, on ne gagnera rien. Ce n'est pas évidemment au Trésor Grec qu'en veut Lord Palmerston—c'est à M. Colletti."—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, Août, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. iii.

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The death of Colletti was a great misfortune to Greece, and tended still farther

to increase the division on Hellenic affairs between France and England. The King of Bavaria, anxious to act the part of a mediator between them, proposed a coalition ministry, in which Metaxas and Tricoupi should bear a part; but to this Lord Palmerston refused to accede, alleging that the state of affairs in Greece was essentially vicious, and that he could agree to no cabinet of which Mavrocordato was not the head, and which was not preceded by a dissolution of the Chambers. To these conditions King Otho refused to accede, and the consequence was that a civil war broke out. Patras was several days in the hands of the insurgents; and nearly the whole hill districts of continental Greece, where the chief strength of the adherents of Mavrocordato lay, were won by their arms. At length, by the efforts of the foreign

embassadors, peace was restored, and a ministry was established which carried out the system of Colletti, and was in the interest of France.

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The evil effects of this division appeared in every quarter where the French and English diplomatists were brought into collision. Portugal, ever the chosen and long-established seat of British influence, became the theatre of discord. The Queen Donna Maria having thrown herself into the arms of the Conservative party, naturally inclined to France, the acknowledged head of that party in Europe; and Lord Palmerston as naturally inclined to support the provincial juntas, which contended for the more democratic régime. At length, by the mediation of the other powers, a sort of compromise was established between them; a change of ministry took place; the decrees adverse to the constitutional party were recalled, an amnesty accorded, and a Cortes convoked. This compromise for a time stilled the waves of discord in Portugal, by re-establishing the English influence and the ascendant of the democratic party; but being adverse to the secret wishes of France, it tended only to augment the alienation of the two Cabinets. An incident occurred soon after, which at first had a serious aspect, and threatened to produce a direct collision between the two Governments, in consequence of the raising of the blockade of Montevideo by the British naval forces, which had been commenced by them, conjointly with the French, on occasion of a rupture between the government of that town on the one hand, and Rosas and Oribe, revolutionary chiefs, on the other. This delicate matter, however, was adjusted by Lord John Russell, in the absence of Lord Palmerston, who was out of town, disavowing the act; to which the latter, on his return, acceded, so that the complaints of the

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Jusqu'au dernier moment, tant que j'ai pu, j'ai suivi leurs conseils. Ils doivent être contents de moi. Je laisse mon pays bien malade. Mon œuvre n'est pas achevée. Pourquoi le Roi n'a-t-il pas voulu me connaître il y a deux ans? Aujourd'hui je mourrais tranquille. Je ne puis plus parler, recouchez-moi; je voudrais m'endormir."—M. PISCATORY à M. GUIZOT, September, 1847; Ibid., ii. 113.

French Cabinet, which in reality were well founded, were appeased.

A more serious cause of discord was likely to have arisen at Madrid in consequence of a coldness which had supervened between the King and Queen within less than a year after their ill-assorted union. Like other marriages contracted from considerations of policy or convenience, not inclination, this marriage had proved extremely unfortunate; and the partiality of the Queen for a personal favorite, General Serrano, was scarcely disguised, and excited no little attention and scandal in the court. The British ambassador was no stranger to these intrigues; and such was the condition of the court, and so insecure the foundations of government, that no less than three ministries, all of them in the French or Conservative interest, had been overturned within a year after the Queen's marriage. "Nothing," said the French minister at Madrid, "is so easy as for the English embassy to overturn a Moderate ministry; we have seen three fall, one after another, within a year. Nothing would be easier than for the French legation to overturn a Progresista ministry, if it chose to set about it. But what would all that serve but to advance the cause of our enemies; and what is so likely to render the throne vacant, as to show that all government at Madrid has become impossible?" So serious became the discord between the Queen and her husband, that a divorce was openly talked of, and anxiously discussed at the French and English embassies; and to render the breach more irreparable, and the scandal greater, it was hinted that the principal ground of divorce would be, not any supervening fault on the part of either of the spouses, but an original incapacity on the part of the Duke, which, according to the civil though not the canon law, had rendered the marriage null *ab initio*. This report tended only still farther to widen the breach between the English and French parties; and it was commonly asserted by the former that it was the knowledge of this circumstance which had occasioned the sudden conversion of Louis Philippe to the Montpensier marriage.

Incredible as such a story is, there are passages in the private correspondence of the French ambassador at London with M. Guizot, which give some countenance to part, at least, of such an idea.*

* "Sur la question du divorce j'ai deux choses à vous dire; la première est que toute idée de divorce est un rêve et une folie. Si la Reine d'Espagne veut divorcer, elle n'a qu'un parti à prendre, c'est de faire comme Henri VIII., de se faire Protestante, et de faire son royaume Protestant. Aucun Pape, aucun Prêtre Catholique non excommunié, n'admettra un seul instant l'idée d'un divorce; et pour que le mariage soit déclaré nul *ab initio*, il faudrait qu'il fût contracté en violation des lois de l'Eglise, ce qui n'est pas. . . . Il importe essentiellement que l'Angleterre sa tienne pour satisfaite de l'ordre des choses établies en Espagne: dans le cas contraire, je prévois tout, et ne réponds de rien. Si vous vous apercevez que nous travaillons à détruire cet ordre de choses à notre profit, à hâter, je le répète, d'un seul jour, d'une seule heure, les droits si éloignés de Madame la Duchesse de Montpensier, vous auriez toute raison d'y regarder de très-près; vous auriez tout droit de vous y opposer. Ce que vous feriez en pareil cas, je ne vous le demande pas; peut-être ne le savez vous pas vous-même; mais je reconnais toute l'étendue de vos droits."—L'AMBASSADEUR DE

While the clouds were in this manner lowering on so many sides in the diplomatic horizon, a still more threatening storm was arising in a quarter even nearer to France than the Spanish peninsula. In ITALY the symptoms—the unmistakable symptoms—of a coming convulsion, were beginning to become apparent. The crisis was brought on by the death of Pope Gregory XVI., which took place on 1st June, 1846. His long reign, which began on 3d February, 1831, had been a continual struggle with difficulty and danger. The day after his election the revolution broke out at Modena; in a few days the whole of Romagna had been in insurrection; Bologna, Ancona, Perugia, had opened their gates to the insurgents, and from the heights of Otricoli their victorious columns beheld the dome of St. Peter's, and bade defiance to the Papal Government in the plenitude of its power. The deceased Pope never got over the impression produced by these threatening events in the very outset of his career. His reign was a long and often arduous struggle with the revolutionary Liberals, against whom he was sometimes, at the instigation of the victorious Austrians, obliged to adopt measures of rigor little in unison with the native humanity of his disposition. Fearful of letting in the point of the revolutionary wedge, he saw no safety but in sturdy resistance to all measures of reform, which he regarded as the first letting in of the inundation. The pent-up waters only acquired additional strength by being so long compressed; but as the age of the Pontiff promised a change ere long in the Papal Government, the Liberals remained quiet in the mean time, and placed all their hopes in a change of policy on the part of his successor.

Great in consequence were the anxieties and hopes of the whole Liberal party in Italy when the death of the reigning Pontiff occurred. The cardinals assembled on the 14th June to elect a successor, and such was the anxiety of the crowds which thronged the doors, that it was painted on their very visages, and in the waving to and fro which always takes place when a multitude are strongly agitated. At length, on the morning of the 17th, the doors were thrown open, and from the balconies of the Quirinal the name of Cardinal Mastai was proclaimed as the new Pope, under the title of Pius IX. Joy was painted on every visage; mutual felicitations were universal among the assembled multitude. The character of the new Pontiff, which was known to be deeply tinged with Liberalism, inspired the most ardent hopes among that party, numerous especially in the great towns and among the highly educated classes, who were deeply impressed with the innumerable social evils of their country, and looked forward to a course of liberal measures, conducing to the bewitching dream of Italian unity, as the only possible means of terminating them. The first act of the new Pontiff sufficiently evinced the interest which had put him on the throne. He called the French ambassador, M. Rossi, to his

FRANCE à Londres à M. GUIZOT, 16 September, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, II. 296, 297.

side, and shaking him affectionately by the hand, addressed to him the most cordial words, expressive of his gratitude and confidence. Who could have foreseen that within two years M. Rossi was to fall a bleeding corpse on the steps of the throne which he had now so large a share in establishing?¹

Italy at this period was profoundly moved, not merely by the efforts of the Carbonari and other secret societies which had so long labored in its bosom, but by the general opinion of all the intelligent classes. Like France in 1789, it had arrived at one of those phases in national existence when society, from a combination of causes, is in a manner precipitated into revolution. Like it, too, the direction of public thought by literary men had a large share in producing this effect. The works of the Comte di Balbo, of the Marquis d'Azeglio, and of the Abbé Giusti, which appeared from 1840 to 1846, had a large share in producing this effect. None but those who lived in Italy during those years can conceive how great was the sensation which they produced. The reason was, that they fell upon the public mind with the charm of novelty, combined with a large intermixture of truth. Asserting not less strenuously than the extreme revolutionists the necessity of an entire change in Italy, drawing no veil over its innumerable political and social evils, they inculcated an entirely different course of action to remove them. So far from preaching eternal war against those in authority, and combination to overthrow them by every means in their power, they recommended order, peace, and tranquillity, the reformation of abuses by the gentle methods of peace and persuasion, and a cordial concord between sovereigns and their subjects, to effect these objects, from a sense of the advantages they would confer on both. These doctrines, so easy to inculcate, so hard to practice in a world of selfishness, spread the more readily among the educated and respectable classes, that they divested, in appearance, political change of all its terrors, and made a constant appeal to the generous and benevolent, instead of the angry and selfish passions. The immense influence of these doctrines, as of the similar ones which were so general in the years immediately preceding the French Revolution, must be regarded as one great cause of the general assent which Liberal opinions obtained at this period in all parts of the Italian peninsula.²

The character of the Pontiff who, at this critical juncture, was called to fill the chair of St. Peter, was peculiarly calculated to foster these principles and encourage these hopes. Resembling the unhappy French monarch in many salient points of his character, he was the Louis XVI. of the Italian Revolution. Mild and affectionate in disposition, averse to violence, having a horror of blood, he aspired only to make himself loved, and he thought that all the objects of social reform might be attained by this blessed influence. He saw before him, in bright perspective, a pacific extirpation of abuses, unstained by blood, unmoistened by tears. His information, both in regard to his own and the neighboring coun-

tries, was very considerable; and he was animated with a sincere desire to bring up Italy by pacific means to a level with those countries which had recently so much outstripped it in liberty, literature, and social progress. Unfortunately, like his predecessor in France, he wanted one quality which rendered all the rest of no avail, or rather rendered them the instruments of evil. He was destitute of firmness, and, like most ecclesiastics, had no practical acquaintance with mankind. He thought he would succeed in ruling men, and directing the social movement, which he saw was inevitable, by appealing only to the humane and generous feelings, forgetting that the violent and selfish are incessantly acting, and that unless they are firmly restrained, the movement will soon be perverted to the objects of rapine and spoliation. Experience soon taught him this; and in consequence he was forced into the arms of the other party, became the opponent of progress, and acquired the character of vacillation and inconsistency. Kind and benevolent, but weak and inexperienced, he was the man of all others best fitted to inaugurate, and least to direct or restrain a revolution.

The first important act of the new Pontiff was one eminently popular, and calculated, with reason, to win for him the affectionate suffrages of all classes of his subjects. In common with other Italian states, there were at his accession a great number of persons either convicted of, or charged with, political offenses, who were in confinement or banished from Rome. Their relations and friends were naturally extremely anxious to obtain an amnesty for these unhappy persons, many of whom were highly connected, and the most enlightened and generous persons in the State. It was universally felt, accordingly, that a general amnesty would be the most popular step that could possibly be adopted by the new Pontiff; and at his accession Cardinal Ferretti, one of his most intimate friends, said to the French ambassador, "Be not afraid, M. l'Ambassadeur; we shall soon have the amnesty and railways, and all will go well." Yielding alike to his own inclination and the general wish, Pius IX. proclaimed the amnesty, and the joyous news was, early on the morning of the 16th July, proclaimed all over Rome. No words can paint the transports which ensued. The prison doors were opened; their country was restored to fifteen hundred captives or exiles. From morning to night crowds of all ranks and professions hastened to the Quirinal to express to the holy father the unbounded joy which the act of mercy had diffused. Twice in the space of a few hours the Pope gave his blessing to successive multitudes which filled the place, and on their knees received the sacred benediction; and as a third crowd arrived from the more distant parts of the city, he came out, contrary to etiquette, after nightfall, and by torchlight again bestowed it amidst tears of joy. A spontaneous illumination lighted up the whole city.³

The general hopes which were thus awakened were not damped by the first administrative acts of the new Pontiff. He found it no easy

¹ D'Haussonville, li. 187, 183; Ann. Hist. xxix. 439, 440.

² Delle Speranze d'Italia, c. vi.; Massimo d'Azeglio, c. vii.

³ Character of Pius IX.

¹ M. Rossi à M. Guizot, July 18, 1846; D'Haussonville, li. 201, 202; Regnault, iii. 309; Ann. Hist. xxix. 439, 440.

matter, however, to withstand the innumerable applications for offices, pensions, or succor of some sort, with which he was assailed by the partisans of the new Liberal régime with which he was now identified, or those who represented themselves as having been sufferers under the old. The limited and embarrassed finances of the Holy See afforded but scanty means of satisfying the avidity of the Liberals of all Italy, who at once fell as a burden upon them. Great numbers, accordingly, were disappointed; their murmurs were loud and long; and before many months had elapsed, the popularity of the Pontiff decreased, and when he appeared in public, on the 7th November, in the Church of St.

Nov. 7. Charles Borromeo, he was coldly received by the multitude. Deeply affected with this change from the universal transports of his accession, the Pope hastened to adopt some measures calculated to restore his popularity;

Nov. 8. and on the following day a commission was issued, composed of prelates and laymen, to report on the reform required in the criminal procedure, on the amelioration of the municipal system, and on the repression of vagrant mendicity. This for a time re-

Dec. 2. renewed his popularity, which was still Dec. 11. farther increased by various decrees

¹ D'Haussonville, ii. 205, 207; Regnault, iii. 309; Ann. Hist. xxix. 440, 441. which were shortly after issued for the establishment of primary schools, agricultural institutions, hospitals for the poor, and the reorganization of the army, and of the ancient and famous University of Bologna.¹

So far the progress of the new Pontiff had been all on flowers, but the thorns were not long in showing themselves. He soon learned the fatal truth which experience never fails, sooner or later, to teach all who are concerned in the government of men, that you can not rule them by a mere appeal to the virtuous or generous affections, but that durable authority must be based on the co-operation for their own sakes of the selfish. The holy father speedily found himself beset with a double set of retainers or applicants, the one striving to retain the offices and emoluments which had descended to them as so many appanages from the old aristocratic régime, the other to appropriate them entirely to themselves, as the heirs or expectants of the new Liberal. The persons in possession of power, for the most part, belonged to the former class. The principles which the Government professed, and which were indispensable to preserve for it its new-born popularity, were those of the latter. Hence a constant jarring between the professions of those in authority and their actions—the machine was worked by unwilling agents. The difficulties inseparable, even in the best and firmest hands, from

67. such a transition state, were much enhanced by the personal character of the Pope, who yielded alternately to the solicitations of these opposite parties, and deprived Government of all real consideration by taking from it all character of consistency.²

The dangers of such a state of things were much enhanced in the close of 1846, by the great confluence of refugees, who, taking ad-

vantage of the amnesty, flocked to Rome, and brought with them not only the liberalism of their own country, but the concentrated spirit of revolution from all other states. The Eternal City became the head-quarters of the movement from all parts of Europe. Liberals from France, Spain, Poland, Germany, the Austrian states—all flocked thither, as at once an asylum from the persecution of the Governments which they had offended, and a central point from which they could renew their machinations for ulterior and still more extensive revolutionary aggressions. No practical or useful reforms by the Papal Government could keep pace with the heated imaginations or selfish designs of this band of enthusiasts. They openly aspired, not merely to reform the Holy See, but to subvert the Government in all the adjoining states, and realize the dream of a united Italian Republic, one and indivisible, at the head of which they themselves were to be, and of which their partisans over Europe were to reap the whole advantages and emoluments. The French ambassador, M. Rossi, who well knew how intense was the hatred which this party bore to his royal master, did his utmost to withstand these dangerous tendencies, and limit the reforms to those of a practical and useful kind; but this only augmented the danger, for it at once brought the British diplomatic agents to the other side. Lord Palmerston, whose ruling passion was to augment the diplomatic influence of his country, and whose political position at home led him to deem the advancement of Liberal opinions, and the establishment of Liberal institutions, in all other countries, the most effectual means to attain that object, was naturally led to

68. espouse the opposite set of principles; and hence an immediate divergence between the Ministers of the two states, attended with the utmost danger to the peace and ultimate interests of Europe.¹

Allured, however, by the brilliant results which, in the first instance, had attended the adoption of a Liberal policy in the Ecclesiastical States, several of the temporal princes of Italy embarked with sincere good-will in the same cause. Leopold, Grand Duke of Tus-

69. cany, was the first to adventure on the inviting but perilous path. That beautiful duchy had long been more lightly and equably governed than any of the other Italian states, and it embraced a greater number of highly educated and enlightened persons. To them a certain intervention in the affairs of Government had long been the subject of desire, and the moderation of their temperament, and extent of their information, pointed them out as peculiarly fitted for this enjoyment. Their aspirations were now in a great measure realized. Leopold, of his own free-will, in a great degree emancipated the press from its shackles, and adopted other reforms which were still more acceptable to his subjects. Two decrees were issued on the 8d De-

Dec. 2. cember, the first of which appointed a commission to inquire into the best modes of extending the primary education of all classes of the people; while the second established Normal schools for the instruction of teachers in connec-

Which are increased by the general concourse of Liberals to Rome.

¹ Regnault, iii. 310, 311; D'Haussonville, ii. 207, 208; M. Rossi à M. Guizot, Dec. 18, 1846—Ibid.

Adoption of the same policy in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

tion with the University of Pisa, which had been reorganized two years before on the most liberal footing by an ordinance of the Government. A decree of 18th November augmented by Nov. 13. 83 per cent. the duties on vessels entering the Tuscan harbors, subject to a proportional reduction on vessels belonging to the countries with which Tuscany had concluded reciprocity treaties. This evident approach to the principles

D'Haussonville, ii. 223; Regnault, iii. 310, 311; Ann. Hist. xix. 445, 446.

of free trade, which at the same period were embraced in England, refused universal satisfaction, and encouraged the hope that the Government would be practically as well as theoretically established on the most Liberal principles.¹

Sardinia also shared in the same movement.

70. Movements in Sardinia and Piedmont.

Charles Albert, who in early youth had fought by their side in 1823, was too clear-sighted not to perceive that it was in that party alone that he could find the support requisite to realize his favorite project of turning the Austrians out of Italy. To conciliate them, accordingly, during the general ferment of men's minds in Italy consequent on the amnesty and reform of Pius IX., he commenced some changes, and promised more. A project for the general organization of schools of law was prepared by the learned labor of the Marquis Alfieri, Count Selopis, and the Abbé Peyron, and a warm war of tariffs on wines and other articles imported from the Milanese into Piedmont, or *vice versa*, betrayed the secret animosity of the cabinets of Vienna and Turin. Regarding the kingdom of Sardinia as the power which could alone in the peninsula face the Austrian bayonets, and which must necessarily take the lead in any efforts to assert the independence of Italy, these angry symptoms excited the utmost interest in the inhabitants of the whole peninsula, and the hopes that had been excited by the general enthusiasm, and the direction it

Dec. 9.

D'Haussonville, ii. 226, 228; Regnault, iii. 311, 312; Ann. Hist. xix. 442, 443.

was taking, were clearly evinced by what occurred in the beginning of winter. On a given night in December, bale-fires were simultaneously lighted on the principal heights of the Apennines, which reflected the ruddy glow from the mountains of Bologna to the extreme point of the Calabrian peninsula.²

Two important State papers were soon after issued by the Court of Rome, and a revolutionary movement took place in that city, which too clearly prognosticated the commotions which were approaching. On the 12th June a "*Motu*

June 12. June 23.

Proprio" appeared, which was soon after followed by a more detailed exposition of the views of the Papal Government.

In these State papers, his Holiness, while professing in the strongest terms his determination to proceed in the path of moderate practical reform on which he had entered, declared his intention to preserve unchanged the system of government and the institutions which were essential to its maintenance. "The holy father," said he, "has in consequence not beheld without grief the doctrines and the attempts of some excited persons, who aim at introducing into the measures of government maxims subversive of the elevated and pacific character of the Vicar of Jesus Christ,

and to awaken in the people ideas and hopes inconsistent with the pontifical government." These decided words were a mortal stroke to the exalted Liberals; they immediately lost all confidence in the Pope, who, they declared, had fallen entirely under the Austrian influence; and to the enthusiastic transports which had signalized his accession a year before succeeded a cold indifference.¹

Matters were in this agitated state, and the minds of men inflamed by hope or fear, according to the party to which they belonged, when the 16th July, the anniversary of the publication of the amnesty in the preceding year, came round. This day, fraught with such hopes and recollections, was looked forward to with as much dread by the quiet citizens as it was with hope by the turbulent and ambitious. On the evening before, when preparations were making for the approaching solemnity, an agitation was observed among the crowd, the usual and well-known precursor of civil commotions; and written placards, posted on the walls, announced that the retrograde faction was about to take advantage of the approaching fête to provoke a bloody strife between the people and the pontifical troops. They even went so far as to denounce Cardinal Lambuschini and the governor of the city as at the head of the bloody conspiracy. The agitation was soon excessive in Rome. Boldly interposing between what they deemed the two contending factions, the chief nobles of Rome, the heads of the houses of Rospigliosi, Rignano, Borghese, Aldobrandini, Piombini, opened the vast courts of their palaces to their retainers, and suddenly, without any authority from Government, organized a sort of civic guard, adequate to the preservation of the public peace, and the calming the apprehensions of the people. A petition, signed by several thousands of the most respectable inhabitants, was hastily got up, praying the Pope to postpone the fête, which was accordingly done. The persons designed for public vengeance, as the chiefs of the counter-revolution, sought refuge under the protection of the Civic Guard, by which alone their lives were saved. The police and military were entirely superseded; all power was vested in the leaders of the civic guard; and for the next ten days Rome was, literally speaking, without a government.

Attentive observers of what was passing in Italy, the French and Austrian governments respectively endeavored to turn the effervescence to the best account for the interests of their different empires. Their objects, however, were different. The principal aim of M. Guizot and his representative at the Court of Rome, M. Rossi, was to keep the Pope firm, but temperate, in the course which he had adopted, to prevent him either from relapsing to dogged resistance to reform, or precipitating a disastrous revolution. Metternich and the Cabinet of Vienna gave themselves very little trouble about the regulation of a movement which they were determined entirely to resist, but applied themselves sedulously to watch any proceedings in the adjoining states of the peninsula which threatened their own influence or possessions. In par-

D'Haussonville, ii. 213, 215; Motu Prop. June 12; Decree, June 22, 1847.

72. Revolution-ary movement in Rome. July 16.

73. Measures of the Austrian and French cabinets.

suance of this policy, they no sooner perceived, from the tenor of their advices from Rome, that the exalted Liberals there were organizing a general movement of all the states in the peninsula, having for its object to extinguish the tramontane influence, than they made a movement professedly to support the government of the Pope, really to terminate the ascendancy of the Liberals in his councils, which threatened to prove so dangerous to the peace of Italy. By the 68d article of the Treaty of Vienna, the Aus-

Aug. 10. trians were authorized to keep a garrison in the citadel of Ferrara; but the custody of the gates of the town was still intrusted to the pontifical troops. Now, however, a more decided demonstration was deemed necessary. On the 10th August, a division of Austrian troops crossed the Po, and took entire possession of the fortress, threatening to put to the sword whoever offered any resistance.¹

M. Rossi, who was in Rome when this extraordinary movement took place, was extremely alarmed by it; the more so that he at once foresaw that it both endangered the stability of government in the Pontifical States, and furnished a plausible pretext to the Austrians to invade and occupy the country, as one threatened with revolutionary convulsions. Without any delay he promised to the Pope the arms which were requested for the Civic Guard; and the Papal Government, assured of this support, lost no time in protesting, in the most energetic terms, against the occupation of the fortress of Ferrara by the Austrian troops. This step, and the nomination of Cardinal Ferretti, a moderate Liberal, contributed powerfully to calm the public mind; and the general feeling underwent a change attended with important effects. The holy father was no longer regarded as the head of the revolutionary, but of the national party; and to the cry of "Long live Reform!" succeeded the still more thrilling one of "Italian Independence!" The latter soon spread beyond the Roman States; it came to animate all the states of the peninsula; and embraced numbers of the higher and educated classes, who, albeit not less opposed than M. Guizot to organic changes in the form of government, were yet passionately desirous of emancipating the country from the degrading state of tutelage in which it had so long been kept to the Northern Powers.²

This change in the temper of the public mind in the Italian peninsula was attended with important effects in Piedmont. The inhabitants of Turin were comparatively indifferent to the general movement, as long as it related to internal reforms; for the passion of the nation was essentially military and warlike, not domestic or republican. But no sooner did the "Independence of Italy" become the cry, than a general enthusiasm seized all classes, and not more the humbler than the noble and educated. This anxiety of the public mind soon became almost unbearable; the people could hardly be hindered from taking up arms and enrolling themselves in battalions of volunteers; and it was repeated with enthusiasm

that Charles Albert had expressed himself warmly on the subject of the Austrian occupation of Ferrara, and let drop hints that the time was not far distant when he would draw his sword for the "Sacred cause of Italian Independence."³

At this critical juncture Prince Metternich addressed a letter in the following terms to M. Appony, his minister at Paris, which was officially communicated to the French Government: "I have no doubt of the good intentions of the holy father; but has he the means of carrying them into effect? The revolutionists, the evil designing, are at his side to take advantage of the reforms he has introduced, which are good in themselves, and of which Austria has shown her approval by having recommended them herself in 1831. Is it not evident that they intend to lead him farther than he intends; and has he the means of preventing himself from being dragged along? Does his position, as head of the Christian Church, leave him at liberty to adopt the means which any temporal prince would at once have recourse to, in order to maintain his power of self-direction? It is next to certain that it does not. Let him not surrender himself to the guidance of the Giobertis and the Laménais, who tender to him the support of the 'Catholic Democracy.' There never was such a fatal mistake. Strength derived from such a quarter is nothing but weakness. Should the Pope throw himself into the arms of that party, he will expose Europe to the most serious dangers."⁴

M. Guizot's policy at this period was directed to the double object of preventing an explosion of revolutionary violence in Italy and of taking away all pretext for Austrian interference. Above all things he was anxious to check the growth of the passion for unity and independence in the peninsula, which he was well aware, however seductive in appearance, would inevitably light up the flames of a European war, fatal in the end to all the dreams of Italian patriotism.* He saw that it was not possible to keep the people long in a state of effervescence without inducing the most serious disorders; his system was to "press the Pope and to restrain the enthusiasts." His ideas were well portrayed in a private letter to M. Rossi on 27th September: "Our policy in regard to Rome and Italy,

* "Ou l'Autriche veut intervenir en Italie, et alors il ne faut pas lui en fournir le prétexte, ou elle ne le veut pas, et alors il faut laisser le Pape arranger ces affaires à l'aimable. Le Pape est maître d'arranger cette affaire purement avec l'Autriche, ou de demander la médiation d'une puissance, la France, ou de deux puissances, la France et l'Angleterre, ou des puissances signataires des Traités de Vienne. Tous ces moyens nous conviennent. Il faut se garder en Italie de fonder des espérances sur une conflagration Européenne. Cette illusion a déjà perdu, et peut perdre, la cause Italienne. Que chacun fasse ses affaires à part; les Romains à Rome, les Toscans en Toscane, les Napolitains à Naples, et le succès est alors possible. En dehors du respect des traités existants, il n'y a pas de succès possible. Le triomphe des réformes partielles dans chaque état amène plus tard le triomphe de la cause nationale—y viser aujourd'hui c'est viser à une Révolution en Italie, et risquer une conflagration générale."—M. GUIZOT à M. ROSSI, 17th September, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 282, 283.

¹ D'Haussonville, ii. 229, 231; Regnault, iii. 312, 313.

² 76. Prince Metternich's views at this crisis.

³ M. Metternich à M. Appony, Aug. 28, 1847; D'Haussonville, ii. 231.

⁴ 77. M. Guizot's policy as to Italy at this period.

whatever our enemies may say, is so clear and simple, that it is impossible it can be long misunderstood. What does the Pope desire? It is to be on good terms with his subjects; to stop, by legitimate satisfactions, the fermentation which is consuming them, and to regain for the Church and religion, in modern society, the place which belongs to them. We entirely approve of these designs. We believe them to be advantageous alike for Italy and France, for the King at Paris as the Pope at Rome. We are desirous to second the Pope in his designs. What are the dangers which threaten him? The stationary danger and the revolutionary danger. There are some around him, as elsewhere in Europe, who would do nothing but leave matters exactly as they are. There are others around him, as elsewhere in Europe, who would overturn every thing, who desire that he should alter every thing at the risk of being overthrown himself, as those who urge him to adopt this course in secret desire. We wish to assist the Pope in defending himself from this double danger, and if necessary to aid him in his defense. We are neither entirely stationary nor entirely revolutionists, neither at Rome nor in France. We know by our own experience that there are social wants which must be satisfied, progress which must be admitted, and that the greatest interest of a government is to be on good terms with its people and the times. We know by our own experience that the revolutionary spirit is the enemy of all governments, the moderate as well as the absolute, of those who admit some progress as of those who resist all, and that the first duty of a sane government, which would exist, is to resist the revolutionary spirit. This is the policy of the *juste milieu*, as it is of good sense and experience, which we practice ourselves and counsel to the Pope, and who has much need of it, as we have. We are at peace and on good terms with Austria, and we wish to continue on

¹ M. Guizot
& M. Rossi,
Sept. 27,
1847; Moni-
teur, J. n.
13, 1848.

such; for a war with Austria is a general war and universal revolution. We know that the Austrian Government is one of good sense, capable of conducting itself with moderation, and of yielding to obvious necessity."

This able letter, produced before the Chamber of Peers on occasion of the debate on the Address on 13th January, 1848, could hardly be gainsayed by either party at Paris, and accordingly it cut short all discussion in that quarter. Unfortunately at this period the English Government, though professing the same principles, was not equally cautious in its measures, and the pernicious effects of the division on the Spanish marriages became now painfully conspicuous. Equally impressed as M. Guizot with the gravity and importance of the crisis in Italy, the British Cabinet resolved to send out a confidential diplomatic agent to examine the state of the peninsula, and give such counsel to its various governments as might best tend to bring them in safety through the dangers by which they were surrounded.* Lord

Minto was selected for that purpose, and no man could, from his character and qualifications, have been better qualified for the duties of his mission. Nevertheless the mission itself proved in its results most calamitous, and it is to be regarded as one of the main causes of the revolution which so soon after broke out in the Italian peninsula. He himself was generally discreet and measured in his language; but his

tory would be entered by Austrian troops if the King of Sardinia should, in the exercise of his undoubted rights of sovereignty, make certain organic arrangements within his own dominions which would be displeasing to the Government of Austria. Her Majesty's Government can not believe that the Government of Austria can seriously contemplate a proceeding which would be so flagrant a violation of international law, and for which no excuse of any kind can be alleged. The King of Sardinia will doubtless pursue, in regard to these affairs, that course which is befitting his dignity and rights; and while on the one hand he will not be deterred by such menaces from adopting any measures within his own dominions which he may think useful and right, he will on the other hand not suffer any feelings of natural irritation which such communications may have produced, to impel him into any steps which might wear the appearance of unnecessary military defiance.

"You will be at Rome, not as a minister accredited to the Pope, which the present law of England does not permit, but as an authentic organ of the British Government, enabled to explain its views and declare its sentiments upon events which are now passing in Italy, and which, both from their local importance and their bearing on the general interests of Europe, her Majesty's Government are watching with great interest and anxiety. Her Majesty's Government are deeply impressed with the conviction that it is wise for sovereigns and their governments to pursue, in the administration of their affairs, a system of progressive improvement; to apply remedies to such evils as, upon examination, they may find to exist; and to remodel, from time to time, the ancient institutions of their country, so as to render them suitable to the gradual growth of intelligence, and to the increasing diffusion of political knowledge. And her Majesty's Government consider it to be an undeniable truth, that if an independent sovereign, in the exercise of his deliberate judgment, shall think fit to make, within his dominions, such improvements in the laws and institutions of his country as he may think conducive to the welfare of his people, no other government can have any right to attempt to restrain or to interfere with such an employment of one of the inherent rights of independent sovereignty.

"The present Pope has begun to enter upon a system of administrative improvement in his dominions; and it appears to her Majesty's Government, that his proceedings in these matters are, upon general principles, highly praiseworthy, and worthy of encouragement from all who take an interest in the welfare of the people of Italy. But in 1831 and 1832, a particular combination of circumstances induced the governments of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia, to advise the then reigning Pope to make great changes and improvements, both administrative and organic, in his dominions; and this was strongly pressed upon the Roman Government by Count Lutzuw, the Austrian minister, in name of the five Powers. These representations, however, produced no effect, and were put by, unattended to by the Government of the late Pope. Her Majesty's Government have not learned that as yet the reforms and improvements effected by the present Pope have reached the full extent of what was recommended in the Memorandum of 1832; and her Majesty's Government conceive that all the Powers who were parties to the framing of that Memorandum are bound to encourage and assist the Pope in carrying out to their full extent these recommendations. Such a course the British Government, at all events, is prepared to pursue."—VISCOUNT PALMERSTON to EARL OF MINTO, Sept. 18, 1847, No. 123; *Blue-Book regarding Italy*, July, 1849.

"When I had finished reading to M. Guizot the first dispatch on the affairs of the Italian peninsula, his Excellency at once stated that upon the two points there treated—each state independent in its established limits, and the perfect liberty of each sovereign to undertake any reform he pleased—he was perfectly agreed with your lordship, and had already written a dispatch in an analogous sense."—LORD NORMANBY to LORD PALMERSTON, Sept. 17, 1847, No. 124; *Ibid*.

* "You will say that her Majesty's Government have learned with no less surprise than regret the official communication which has lately been made by the Austrian minister at Turin to the Sardinian Government, and which seems to imply a threat that the Sardinian terri-

followers were not equally cautious; and as it was well known that the French Government, under the direction of M. Guizot, was strongly inclined to the conservative or resistance policy, the Liberal party were every where careful to represent England as at the head of the movement, and Lord Minto as the *avant-courier* who was sent by the English Cabinet to prepare the Italian states for the completion of their settled designs for the independence of Italy. The express words of the British legate did not countenance this belief; but the fact of a member of the Cabinet having been sent at such a crisis, on such a mission, gave it universal currency. Lord Minto was universally regarded as the champion of Italian independence; tumults and turbulent manifestations of popular feeling preceded or followed him wherever he went; Turin, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Naples, Sicily, had no sooner hailed his arrival than they became violently agitated; and at Milan, where the popular passions, still more vehement, were restrained by Austrian bayonets, the people broke out into open riot amidst cries of "Down with the Austrians!" which were only repressed after collision and bloodshed.¹

¹ D'Haussonville, ii. 249; Ann. Reg. 1847, 394; Regnault, iii. 347, 348.

Such was the agitation which prevailed upon the first arrival of the English envoy at Turin, that the Government had no alternative but to yield to it. On the 30th October a programme appeared in the official Gazette of Turin, which announced the changes which the Government were about to introduce into the internal administration of the kingdom. These were, the publicity of criminal trials, and the publication of the debates; the establishment of an entirely new system of municipal administration, with mayors and magistrates elected by the people; the convocation, at least once a year, of extraordinary counselors; the creation of civil registers in parishes by persons chosen by the people, in addition to those heretofore exclusively kept by the clergy; and a material relaxation of the rigor of the censorship of the press. These concessions, which were precisely those which the Liberal party had long demanded, were not only important in themselves, but still more so by the hopes of further concessions which they awakened. They produced, accordingly, universal transports; the popularity of Charles Albert equaled that which Pius IX. had enjoyed a year before; the whole capital was spontaneously illuminated for several nights; he could not leave his palace without being surrounded by an enthusiastic crowd; and when later in the autumn he set out for Genoa, the greater part of the inhabitants of both cities attended him with joyous acclamations, both on his departure and return. Nor did the acts of Charles Albert belie these flattering appearances; for he communicated at this time to the French Government his resolution, in the event of the Pope requiring his assistance against the Austrians, not to refuse his armed support.²

More vehement still was the demonstration in favor of Liberal opinions and Italian independence in Lucca. The Duke of that beautiful little duchy had caused several persons to be pro-

secuted for political offenses in the course of August; and on the 31st August a tumult arose in the town in consequence of a demand made by a determined band of young men for the liberation of the prisoners. The duke was at the time absent at San Martino, in Vig-nola; and the Government, having no force at their disposal to quell the tumult, sent a deputation to him to request instructions how to act. Terrified at what had occurred, the duke next day sent them back with a proclamation, in which he promised them a national guard, and the establishment of all the reforms which had given so much satisfaction in Tuscany. Repenting, however, almost immediately after he had taken it, of this step, the duke fled to Massa, in the Modena territory. The announcement of this step excited the utmost disquietude in Lucca, where crowds immediately assembled, and paraded the streets in a menacing manner, demanding a constitution, and the return of their sovereign, when, in the midst of the tumult, the duke reappeared, accompanied by the hereditary prince, and was received with acclamation. Distrusting, however, his ability to govern a people in such a state of excitement, the duke soon after entered into an arrangement with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, by which, in consideration of an annuity of £48,000 a year, he agreed to cede to him the entire duchy, to be paid until the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, settled upon the former by the treaties of Vienna, descended to him on the demise of their present ruler, the Archduchess Maria-Louisa. This arrangement was immediately carried into effect, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants of both the duchies, now happily united.³

^{80.} Revolution at Lucca, and its annexation to Tuscany. Aug. 31, 1847.

^{Sept. 1.}

¹ Ann. Hist. xlix. 314, 318; Ann. Reg. 1847, 308, 309.

It was in the midst of the effervescence caused by these events that Lord Minto arrived at Rome. Unbounded was the enthusiasm which his arrival excited. It was to his influence, and that of the Cabinet which he represented, that the auspicious change which had recently taken place in the external and internal policy of the Sardinian Government was to be ascribed. Not a doubt was entertained that he came as the accredited organ of the British Government to promote the establishment of social reforms and foreign independence. Every one congratulated himself that Italy had at last found a protector capable of making its rights respected, and that the support which was wanting in Paris would now be found in London. France was by common consent passed by, as having cast in its lot with the oppressor. Under the impulse of these ideas it was resolved to celebrate the arrival of Lord Minto by one of those magnificent *demonstrazione en piazza* which the Italians know so well how to conduct in their beautiful evenings. In effect, a few days after his arrival a vast crowd, which assembled in the Corso, suddenly entered the *Piazza de Spagna*, and soon filled the inner court of the Hotel Melza, where Lord Minto resided. Cries of "Long live Lord Minto!" "Long live Italian independence!" were heard on all sides. White handkerchiefs were seen to wave in reply from the windows of the hotel.

^{81.} Enthusiasm excited at Rome by Lord Minto's arrival.

² D'Haussonville, ii. 251, 252; Ann. Reg. 1847, 395; Regnault, iii. 317.

The agitated crowds would not pause to inquire whether it was the British envoy or some of his suite who waved the handkerchiefs. The thing was done, and done at the Hotel of Great Britain, no matter by whom. It augmented immensely the general enthusiasm; the Radical journals in France immediately published an inflated account of the event, accompanied by a statement that England had openly put itself at the head of the league for promoting Italian independence; and the appearance of some leading Liberals in Lord Minto's box at the opera a few nights after, when they were received with thunders of applause, dispelled all doubt in the minds of the Liberals of the truth of the report.¹

Seriously alarmed at the turn which affairs were taking, which threatened not only a revolutionary convulsion in Italy, but the lighting up of a general conflagration in Europe, M. Rossi, in several conferences with the Pope, endeavored to convince his Holiness of the necessity of admitting some laymen into his Cabinet, as the ecclesiastics, of whom it was as yet exclusively composed, were quite inadequate to guide the vessel of the State through the stormy scenes which were approaching. So obvious was the necessity, that the Austrians themselves, in 1831, had given the same counsel.* After considerable difficulty, M. Rossi succeeded in extorting this concession from the monopolizing ecclesiastics, and several lay counselors were admitted into the Cabinet. At the same time he used his utmost endeavors to point out to the extreme Liberals the danger which they were incurring, not only for their country, but for Europe, by rushing headlong into a war with Austria, with the feeble warlike elements which were alone at their disposal. "What do you propose to yourselves," said he, "by your incessant provocations against Austria? It is not threatening you; it confines itself to the limits which the treaties have assigned. It is a war of independence which you would invoke. Be it so; let us calculate your forces. You have 60,000 regular troops in Piedmont, and not a man more. You speak of the enthusiasm of the Italian populations; I know them. Traverse them from end to end; see if a heart beats, if a man moves, if an arm is ready to commence the fight. The Piedmontese once beaten, the Austrians may go from Reggio to Calabria without meeting a single Italian. I understand you; you will apply to France. A fine result, truly, of the war of independence, to bring the foreign armies again upon your soil! The Austrians and the French fighting on the Italian soil! Is not that your eternal, your lamentable history? You would be independent; we are so already. France is not a corporal in the service of Italy."² She makes war when

and for whom she pleases. She neither puts her standards nor her battalions at the disposal of any one else."

The times were past, however, when these emphatic warnings, which the event ^{83.} proved to be entirely well-founded, could produce any effect. The train had been laid, the torch applied, and the explosion was inevitable. Power had changed hands at Rome. It had slipped from the feeble grasp of the Pope and the Cardinals, and been seized by the hands of violent men, destitute alike of information or prudence. Hardly a day passed without something occurring which demonstrated the deplorable prostration of Government, and the entire contempt into which the Pope, recently so popular, had fallen. A fête had been proposed for the first day of the new year: the Pope forbade it; a clamor was immediately raised, and he revoked his order and consented to it, and even agreed to show himself to the people. He did so, and immediately a violent crowd, uttering loud cries, surrounded the carriage; blackguard youths mounted on the steps, and one, more audacious than the rest, seated himself on the box behind, and waved an enormous tricolor flag over the carriage in which the Pontiff was seated! This occurred on the very square of the Quirinal, where, eighteen months before, he had been almost adored by the grateful multitude on their knees! "As yet," said M. Rossi, in recounting the scene to M. Guizot, ^{1 M. Rossi à M. Guizot, Jan. 5, 1848; D'Haussonville, II. 261, 262.} "it is only a storm in a tea-cup; Turin and Naples are its sides; but if those sides should break, we may tremble for the whole world."¹

Strange to say, it was from the Government of Naples, which passed for the ^{84.} most despotic country in Europe, that the impulse was first given which blew into a flame the smoldering elements of Italian conflagration. Hitherto the King of the Two Sicilies had kept aloof from the course of innovation upon which Pius IX. had entered, and viewed with undisguised alarm the changes which had been commenced in the northern states of the peninsula. Nothing whatever had been done to reform the social abuses which, in Sicily especially, were more rife than in any other country in Europe. They were there felt the more keenly that the people had been accustomed, during the long military occupation of the country by the English, in the Revolutionary war, to the mildness and privileges of a constitutional government. The intelligence of the reforms of Pius IX. had in consequence excited an extraordinary enthusiasm in that isle, though few ventured to hope that any attempt to follow the example would be made. But the event outstripped the most sanguine anticipations of the reformers. The mission of Lord Minto to the Court of Naples, whither he proceeded from Rome, did not remain long without effect. Early in December the Duke di Serra-Capriola, ambassador of the Court of Naples at Paris, was recalled by an order from his sovereign, in order to his being sent to Sicily as lieutenant-general, with full powers to inquire into all abuses and concede all proper reforms. The character of the Duke, mild and liberal, rendered the appointment very agreeable to the

* "J'ai insisté vivement pour que dans le prochain *Mots Proprio* qui doit étendre et perfectionner les conseils des Ministres, on fasse une part aux laïques. C'est à mes yeux le nœud de la question. En raillant ainsi les Modérés autour du Gouvernement, on gagnerait la garde civique; on aurait un moyen d'action agréable et accepté sur la réforme, et l'on isolerait les Radicaux."—M. Rossi à M. Guizot, 18th December, 1847; D'Haussonville, II. 258.

Sicilians; but circumstances having retarded his arrival beyond the time which was expected, disturbances broke out at Palermo on 12th Jan. 12, 1848. January, and an expedition sent from Naples to put it down, being feebly conducted, was repulsed with loss. Upon this the

Liberals in the island no longer kept up the semblance even of loyalty, but openly revolted against the Government, and the insurrection ere long spread over the whole island.¹

This formidable event, and the counsels of Lord Minto, who was aware how feeble were the means of repression at the disposal of the Government of Naples, and who saw no escape from the danger which threatened them in their continental dominions but in immediate concession, terminated the indecision of the King of Naples. He resolved to outstrip all the concessions of the other Italian sovereigns, and appease the general effervescence by the publication of a constitution. He was fearful, not without reason, of a repetition of the Revolution of 1821. The ministers known to be hostile to reform were removed from the Cabinet, and on

18th January a decree appeared, which gave large additional powers to the deliberative assemblies of Naples and Sicily. The Comte d'Aquila, the King's brother, was appointed Lieutenant-general in Sicily, with a special cabinet to assist him in his deliberations. On the day following, a decree removed nearly all the restrictions on the liberty of the press, and declared a large amnesty for political offenders. On the 23d the King announced to his astonished subjects the elements of a constitution; on the 27th a new Cabinet was formed, with the Duke di

Serra-Capriola at its head, and the Prince di Cassaro and Prince Torricella, all known to hold Liberal opinions, forming part of it; and on the 29th, the long-wished-for constitution was officially published.²

It is difficult for a stranger, especially in a free country to the north of the Alps, to form a conception of the sensation which these decrees, following each other in rapid succession, and all breathing so liberal a spirit, produced in Italy. It was the greater from these concessions to the popular cause coming from the Sovereign and the Court known to be most conservative in their policy, and most adverse to political change of any kind. The Liberals were every where in transports. It seemed impossible that the antiquated fabric of superstition and despotism could any longer be maintained in the peninsula, when the most absolute monarch within its bounds was the first to put forth his hand to put it down. The Cabinets in the centre and northern parts of the peninsula were thunder-struck at the intelligence; but ere long the enthusiasm became so general, the torrent so powerful, that they saw no chance of escape but in yielding to it. Constitutions on the model of that of Naples were speedily published at Turin and Florence. In Rome, even, the extreme difficulty of reconciling the forms and popular powers of a constitutional monarchy

with an absolute government based upon an exclusive theocracy, yielded to the same necessity; the Pope made some concessions to the demands of Liberalism, and promised more. In a word, Italy, save when kept down by Austrian bayonets, from the base of the Alps to the point of Calabria, was nearly as completely revolutionized, though happily as yet without the shedding of blood, as France had been by the innovations of the Constituent Assembly.¹

It was more difficult to arrange matters in a pacific way in Sicily, not only because the inhabitants of that beautiful island were smarting under the consequences of a long period of misgovernment and oppression, but because the long delay which had taken place in the Duke di Serra-Capriola's taking the command of it had engendered a general suspicion of insincerity on the part of the Government, which had driven the people into open revolt. When he did go to the seat of his government, that nobleman found affairs so threatening, and parties in such a state of mutual exasperation, that he implored the good offices of the French and English ambassadors at the Court of Naples to mediate between them. M. Montessuy, the French *Chargé d'Affaires*, who had succeeded M. Bresson, recently dead, at once accepted the office of mediator; but Lord Napier, the British representative, refused it, unless the democratic constitution of 1812 was restored, with such changes as the Estates of Sicily elected under it might demand. The King evinced great repugnance at such unlimited concessions; but Lord Napier adhered resolutely to his demand; and as M. de Montessuy spoke, if he still held out for it, of going alone, he said to him, "Set out, if you please, alone, only I give you fair warning that the same vessel which conveys you to Sicily shall carry also letters to our agents and the influential men in the country, in which I will explain why I could not accompany you. I regret being unable to join you on such a mission, but it is impossible. Every where else, on all the points of the globe, in China even, I could do what you ask; but in Sicily, France and England have different interests." In consequence of this declinature, Lord Napier, some days after, on the invitation of the Neapolitan Government, who saw no other mode of adjusting matters with their subjects beyond the Straits, set out alone, and M. de Bressière, the new French ambassador, judged it prudent to make arrangements to follow him, in order to prevent British influence from being altogether paramount in so large a portion of the Neapolitan dominions. He was preparing to set out, accordingly, when the Revolution at Paris intervened, and in consequence Lord Napier went alone. What followed his arrival in Sicily will form an important and melancholy subject of narrative in a future volume.²

During the whole course of these important events, Lord Palmerston took his information from his agents in Italy, who were entirely in the Liberal interest; and desirous above all things to drive the passion for reform into one for independence, and to involve

Jan. 28, 1848.

Ann. Hist. xxx. 281, 284; M. Rossi à M. Guizot, Jan. 18, 1848; D'Haussonville, ii. 269, 270.

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Convulsions in Sicily.

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United Italy in a contest with despotic Austria, he went so far as to charge Austria with having been privy to a reactionary conspiracy on the 16th July—a charge which the Imperial Cabinet indignantly denied, and of which no evidence was ever adduced. The British minister, however, insisted on the charge, even after he had been

informed by the British minister at Florence, Sir George Hamilton, that the alleged conspiracy was an entire fable.* In a word, he was entirely the dupe in those matters of the Italian Revolutionists, whose great object was to run the movement in Italy into a war of independence with Austria; and for this purpose, in the words of their leader, Mazzini, "*to do every thing in their power to increase the hatred against the Austrians, and to irritate the Austrians by all possible means.*" This policy was pursued by Lord Palmerston, even after Prince Metternich had sent him a letter of Mazzini's, in which the intention of "Young Italy" to involve the peninsula in a war with Austria by any means was avowed as plainly as words could do.† Nothing was ever more disastrous than this policy to Italy and the world, or more true than the words of Count Montalembert, uttered in the French Chamber on 16th January, 1848: "If ever liberty perishes in Italy—if ever Austria regains the ascendant in Italy, which she now seems destined to lose, it will be from the efforts of

the Italian Revolutionists, and from them alone. They are the real accomplices, the only and dangerous accomplices, of the Austrian power and preponderance in Italy."

* "Milord, en réponse à la dépêche de votre Excellence du courant, qui renferme une copie de la note adressée par M. le Prince de Metternich à l'ambassadeur d'Autriche à Rome, au sujet de la conspiration récemment découverte dans cette capitale, et attribuée par le Gouvernement Pontifical aux agents de l'Autriche, j'ai à faire savoir à votre Excellence que j'apprends de sources certaines que l'opinion est générale à Rome, que les agents Autrichiens ont trempé dans le complot, et que le complot était combiné avec les mouvements militaires de la garnison de Ferrara; et telle est, je crois, l'opinion des personnes qui occupent à Rome les plus hautes positions." —LORD PALMERSTON à LORD PONSONBY, son Ambassadeur à Vienne, 27th September, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 426.

† "Les affaires des Etats Pontificaux vont mal, comme vous le savez; mais la marche hésitante de celui qui gouverne ne changera pas la loi qui règle les événements. L'impulsion est donnée, et bien ou mal, il faut avancer. Les Italiens sont de vrais enfants avec de bons instincts; ils n'ont pas une ombre d'intelligence ou d'expérience politique. Je parle de la multitude, et non du petit nombre de meneurs, dont le défaut est le manque de résolution. Si cependant ce petit nombre veut agir avec prudence et sans précipitation, l'illusion passera. Pie IX. est, ce qu'il m'a paru d'abord, un homme à bonnes intentions, qui voudrait que ses sujets fussent un peu mieux qu'ils n'étaient avant lui. Voilà tout. Tout le reste n'est qu'un échafaudage que les soi-disant modérés ont bâti autour de lui, comme ils en ont construit un autre autour de Charles Albert. L'illusion s'en ira peu-à-peu; mais sûrement le moment arrivera où les masses découvriront que si elles veulent devenir une nation, il faut qu'elles y travaillent elles-mêmes, et s'engagent dans des mesures qui peuvent obliger les Autrichiens à les attaquer avec ou sans l'assentiment des princes. Alors la collision commencera, si les Italiens ont une étincelle d'honneur et de courage. Les bons doivent se préparer pour ce moment, réunir leurs moyens d'action, acquérir de l'influence sur le peuple, laisser passer les illusions sans les contredire directement, se borner à instruire le peuple, particulièrement les paysans, à instruire les citoyens dans les armes, à accroître de plus en plus la haine pour les Autrichiens, et à irriter l'Autriche par tous les moyens possibles."—M. MAZZINI à —, 4th October, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 427, 428.

SWITZERLAND, ever since its organization into twenty-two cantons in 1815, had remained in a state of external peace, so far as the national forces were concerned; but it was by no means equally tranquil, so far as its interior was concerned. On the contrary, no part of Europe had, during the intervening period, been more violently agitated by the revolutionary passions, nor was there any one in which greater and more persevering efforts had been made by the Radical faction to gain the entire and exclusive direction of affairs. The reason of this was partly the different constitutions of the different cantons, some of which, as Berne, were essentially aristocratic, while others, as Schwytz and Unterwalden, were pure democracies; and partly the divisions of the country into twenty-two cantons, so differently situated, and so detached from each other, that the central government, as in the United States of America, possessed no real power. This state of things was a continual eyesore to the extreme Liberal party, who were strong in the manufacturing towns of the Confederacy, and who conceived, not without reason, that if a more powerful central government were established, it would speedily fall into their hands, as the rulers of the seats of wealth and industry, and the distant mountain cantons be subjected to the rule of an energetic urban democracy. For this reason, the centralization of government was the constant object of their efforts and their ambition, as the concentration of all the powers of the State in the metropolis had been of the Jacobins of Paris. But for that very reason it was the object of jealousy and apprehension to the adjoining military monarchies. Switzerland had received from the Allies the precious gift of neutrality, on condition of its remaining divided into twenty-two cantons, because while so it could be formidable to none of them. But the case would be entirely different if it became one united and centralized power, for then its mountains might become a salient redoubt of the last importance to the power which had obtained the command of its ruling influences, and equally threatening to its dispossessed rival.*

In common with all the states of Europe, Switzerland, "that rock," in Guizot's words, "of ice and brave men," had felt the rebound of the French Revolution of 1830; and appearances were at one time so threatening after that event, that civil war was on the point of breaking out in the Confederacy. But the old influences were still strong enough to prevent that last and worst effect of popular madness; and the domestic institutions of several of the cantons were changed, and some alterations made on the conditions of the Federal Union, in 1831 and 1832, without any open convulsion. Switzerland, however, though it escaped at the time that pressing danger, received into its bosom, in consequence of that convulsion, the seeds of

* "La constitution de la Suisse," dit M. Guizot, "a été reconnue, sanctionnée et garantie par les Gouvernements étrangers à certaines conditions. Les Puissances ont conféré à la Suisse le privilège de la neutralité, et cette précieuse garantie lui a été accordée telle qu'elle est, composée de vingt-deux Etats agissant avec une égale souveraineté."—*Annuaire Historique*, xxx. 450.

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Affairs of
Switzerland,
and progress
of democracy
in it.

D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 801, 802; Ann. Hist. xxx. 449, 450.

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Progress of
democratic influences in it.

trouble in future times. The Revolutionists, at first triumphant, were ere long crushed at Paris by the Government of their own creation; and the refugees from France, Italy, and Germany sought refuge, as their last asylum in continental Europe, in its republican cantons. The Swiss rulers, justly jealous of their independence, though frequently urged by the Governments which were threatened by the machinations of these desperadoes to remove them, contrived to elude the demands; and France and Austria, mutually fearful of throwing so important a Confederacy into the arms of its rival, forbore to insist on the demand, or push matters to extremities. The consequence was, that Switzerland remained the secure position—from which they threatened all the adjoining States—of the Revolutionists in the very centre of Europe. All the conspiracies for the next ten years which had for their object to overturn the existing government in the adjoining states were organized in Switzerland, and carried on under the very eyes of its Government. The expedition of Romorino in 1834, destined to overthrow the Sardinian Government; that of Conseil in 1836, intended to revolutionize Austria; that of Louis Napoleon in 1838, designed to replace the imperial dynasty on the French throne, were all set on foot among the ardent democrats of the Helvetian cities.¹

¹ D'Haussonville, ii. 302, 305; Ann. Hist. xxx. 449, 450.

These foreign conspiracies proved abortive; but the continual residence of the foreign Radicals in the Swiss cities ere long produced the effect which might have been anticipated upon their ambitious inhabitants. Clubs began to be formed, composed of the most ardent of the Swiss Liberals, in Zürich, Berne, Bâle, and the other principal cities of the Confederacy, in which the French, Italian, and German refugees were always the chief declaimers; and Radical newspapers were established, which conveyed their lucubrations over the whole community. The Conservatives, meanwhile, resting on hereditary influences and old traditions, and living apart from each other in the recesses of the mountains or the solitudes of the plains, were ignorant of the danger which threatened them, and took no steps whatever to avert it. The policy of the Revolutionists was well considered, and such as, in other countries besides Switzerland, has often proved successful in overthrowing the longest-established hereditary influences. It consisted in concentrating, at successive elections, their whole efforts on particular cantons or cities where the struggle for the moment was to be made, to the neglect of all others, and bringing every engine within the disputed district, which could possibly be thought of, to bear on the electors. When an election was anticipated, clubs were immediately formed, secret societies established, Radical newspapers set up, meetings held, speeches made, and published with the loudest encomiums by the Liberal press over the whole country. The refugees were every where foremost in this conflict; and it was surprising how soon they acquired the command of the principal cities in the Confederacy. Switzerland, so far as the great towns were concerned, seemed no longer itself, but rather a huge Babel, in which the exiles from all lands met to exercise, in various tongues, their talents in exciting or

misleading the people. City after city, canton after canton, in the plains, successively fell into their hands; and in the year 1845 a disputed election in the canton of Zürich, which the Radicals carried, gave them a majority in the general Diet of the Confederacy.¹

No sooner did they gain this advantage than the Revolutionists proceeded to use their power in the most illegal and despotic way. By a fundamental article of their constitution it was provided that convents and chapters should be maintained, and their property secured, being subject to taxation like other lay possessions.* The public tranquillity, in a country where many of the cantons were nearly equally divided between Catholics and Protestants, rendered indispensable the faithful observance of this fundamental article of the constitution. No sooner, however, did the Radicals get the majority in the local Legislature of the canton of Argovia, than they passed a decree suppressing the whole convents in it, and confiscating their property to the purposes of the canton, on the ground of their having fomented the public disturbances, and being incompatible with the peace of the country. On being appealed to, the general Diet, by a slender majority, refused to interfere with the decision of the canton of Argovia. This led to an energetic protest on the part of the seven cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, and the Valais, which still adhered to the Catholic faith, and among whose simple and sequestered mountaineers the new opinions had made no progress. Regarding the suppression of the convents in Argovia as in reality a stroke leveled at the Catholic religion itself, the provincial Diet of Lucerne invited Jesuits from all quarters to repair to their city, as the militia of the Church, sworn to defend it in moments of peril.²

This invitation to the Jesuits, and the decree which invested them with the entire direction of the public education in the canton, was an unfortunate and injudicious step on the part of the Lucerne Catholics, not only on account of the known aspiring and aggressive character of that body of priests, but because Lucerne being at that period the place of meeting of the general Diet, it was the more incumbent on its local Legislature not to adopt any measures which might awaken the jealousy of the Protestant cantons, which composed the great majority of the Confederacy.† If, however, this was a perilous, it may be an illegal, step on the part of the Lucerne Catholics, it was ere long forgotten in the still more violent and unjustifiable proceedings of their opponents. In the beginning of December a piratical band of "Free Companions,"

* "L'existence des chapitres et couvens, la conservation de leurs propriétés, en tant que cela dépend du Gouvernement du canton, sont garanties. Ces biens sont sujets aux impôts et aux contributions."—Art. 12 du Pacte Fédéral.

† Switzerland at this period contained 2,400,000 inhabitants, of whom 1,500,000 were Protestants, and 900,000 Catholics.—Ann. Reg., 1847, p. 852.

¹ D'Haussonville, ii. 304, 311; Ann. Hist. xxx. 450, 451. Ann. Reg. 1847, 363.

² Origin of the religious disputes. July, 1841.

July 17, 1841.

² Ann. Hist. xxx. 451; D'Haussonville, ii. 309, 312; Ann. Reg. 1847, 350.

³ Invasion of the Free Bands under Ochsenbain. Dec. 1844.

Dec. 4, 1844.

as they were called, assembled and took up arms without any authority from their respective governments, and invaded the territory of Lucerne, expecting to be joined by the malcontents in that city, who were very numerous, especially among the lower orders. The magistrates, however, had received intelligence of the intended attack; the gates and walls were well guarded, and the invaders, who were a mere tumultuous mob, were repulsed without difficulty, and with scarcely any bloodshed. This led to strict measures against their own malcontents on the part of the magistrates of Lucerne, which, however, were for the most part restricted to banishment from the city and territory of Lucerne. Eleven hundred of these exiles, during the winter of 1844-'45, were spread through the adjoining cantons, and by their complaints excited still further the general feeling against the Jesuits, and the canton of Lucerne, which abetted them in their dangerous designs. Encouraged by this state of things, the "Free Companions" resolved on a second effort against Lucerne, and this time it was attempted with much larger forces and a more complete organization. The Lucerne exiles, strengthened by volunteers from the neighboring cantons of Berne, Soleure, Bâle, and Argovia, formed a body of eight hundred men, armed with twelve pieces of cannon, under Colonel Ochsenbein. The attack on Lucerne with these formidable

forces was made on the 30th March, 1845. But the Government of that

canton called the landsturm of Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden to their support: the brave mountaineers hastened from 1847, 860, 861; their valleys at the call of religion and duty, and the unruly invaders were repulsed with severe loss in killed and wounded, and several hundred prisoners.¹

This violent and piratical incursion, done without any State authority by an armed mob, proved that the Governments of the Radical cantons were either unable or unwilling to preserve the public peace, or protect the weaker part of the community from the aggressions of the stronger. As such, it dissolved society into its pristine elements, and both rendered necessary and justified a league of the weaker against the stronger. Thence the origin of the SUNDERBUND—a defensive league of the seven Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Fribourg, Zug, and the Valais. The object of this league, which was concluded immediately after the last attack of the "Free Bands" on Lucerne, was to protect themselves from aggressions similar to those under which they had recently suffered, and to arm and organize their forces for this purpose, which was immediately done. As the supreme Government had virtually abdicated its functions, or taken part with the oppressors in the recent incursions of the Free Bands into Lucerne, there can be no doubt that this league had become necessary, and was justified by the right of self-preservation, the first law of nature.²

But not less than the suppression of the convents in Argovia, which began the troubles, it was a violation of the written constitution, the 6th article

of which declared, "No alliances shall be formed by the cantons among each other prejudicial either to the general Confederacy or to the rights of other cantons."

The elections of 1845 at Zürich having given the Radicals a majority, though as yet only a small one, in the general Diet, a proposal was brought forward immediately after for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Switzerland; and the division upon this question showed the state of parties, and how nearly balanced they were. The votes in the Diet were taken by cantons: ten cantons and two half-cantons voted for it; nine cantons, including Geneva, against it. St. Gall did not vote at all, its great council being equally divided on the question. The legality of the Sunderbund was afterward brought before the Diet on 4th September, 1846, and then the majority was more decided. Ten cantons and two half-cantons voted it illegal; the seven cantons of the Sunderbund, with Appenzell, maintained its legality; Neuchâtel, St. Gall, Geneva, and Bâle Ville did not vote at all, but referred to farther instructions from their constituents. But in the course of 1846, and the first half of 1847, Radical revolutions took place both in Berne and Geneva; and in the former of these cities, which had become of great weight, as it had become by rotation the "vorort," or

seat of government, Colonel Ochsenbein, the leader of the Free Bands, was elevated to the presidency. These changes, which were effected by the mere force of popular clamor and intimidation, excited by the clubs and secret societies, without bloodshed, with the vote of St. Gall, which was won by a narrow majority to the revolutionary party, gave them a decided majority in the general great Council of the Confederacy.

On the 20th July, 1847, the Diet, by a majority of twelve cantons and two half-cantons to seven cantons, voted the alliance of the seven Catholic cantons illegal, and reserved to itself the right, if necessary, to adopt ulterior measures to enforce obedience to its decree. This was followed up, on 3d September, by a resolution, that the introduction of Jesuits into any of the states of the Confederacy was illegal, and interdicting their entrance in future, and inviting the cantons of Lucerne, Schwytz, Fribourg, and the Valais, where they were already established, to expel them from their territories.¹

Civil war was now inevitable, and both sides made active preparations for it.

The Diet, anxious to enforce its authority without an actual appeal to arms, published a proclamation, in which they disclaimed all intention of invading the constitutional rights of the seven cantons, and conjuring them to come to an accommodation; but in vain. The proclamation was interdicted in the seven cantons. As a last resource, they appointed commissioners to confer with those of the cantons on the terms of a compromise, and it was very near being effected; but the conference was broken off in consequence of the declinature of the Diet to give a pledge for the observance of the cantonal independence, in the

95.
Proceedings
of the great
Council
against the
Sunderbund.
Sept. 4, 1846.

July, 1846.

Oct. 7,
1846.

July 7,
1847.

Sept. 3.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1847, 867,
868; Ann.
Hist. xxx.
451, 452.

96.

Preparations
for civil war.
Oct. 20.

event of the Jesuits being recalled by order of the Pope. The propositions of the seven cantons were finally rejected on 29th Oct. 89. ber, by a majority of twelve to seven cantons, and on the 4th November the same majority resolved that the decree of 20th July Nov. 4 should be carried into execution by force of arms. At the same time General Dufour was appointed commander-in-chief, and orders were given to concentrate the troops and march upon Fribourg and Lucerne. The general-in-chief, before commencing operations, issued a humane proclamation to his soldiers, enjoining strict discipline, and protection to the old men, women, and children, as well as the prisoners, "with many of whom you have often found yourselves in the same field."¹

Attentive observers of what was passing in the Helvetic mountains, the Cabinets of London, Paris, and Vienna were early estranged upon the Swiss question. Steady in his conservative policy, and apprehensive of the influence of a revolutionary government in Switzerland on the internal tranquillity of France, M. Guizot openly adhered to the Austrian view of the question, which was, that the independence of the seven cantons should be respected, and the formation of a democratic central despotism prevented. The committee which, at the Congress of Vienna, had reported on the affairs of Switzerland, had expressly made the independence of the cantons a condition of the neutrality of the Confederacy; and both Metternich and Guizot, mutually afraid of each other, and jealous of Switzerland becoming a united and therefore powerful military State, were strongly disposed to concur in the same views. The whole influence of both powers, which had thus come to act in concert, was accordingly thrown in to support the seven cantons; and when matters became threatening, and it was evident war could not be avoided, a large convoy of arms and ammunition, purchased in France with the privity of Government, set out from Besançon, for the use of the small cantons. The Swiss Government, however, having been apprised of what was going forward, sent orders to the canton of Neuchâtel, through which it required to pass, to stop the convoy; and before the orders could arrive it had already been seized, and sent back to Yverdon by a large body of citizens, who took upon themselves to act in the name of the Government.

At the same time the Government of the canton of Vaud seized a steam-vessel on the Lake of Neuchâtel, on which they placed a gun and a body of carabineers, to prevent the introduction of provisions and military munitions into the recusant cantons by water.²

Had Great Britain been united with France and Austria on this question, the revolutionary party in Switzerland would in all probability have been restrained, and the open oppression of the smaller cantons by the urban majorities in the larger prevented. It might have been expected that this would be the case, both because England had been a party to all the arrangements by which the cantonal inde-

pendence of the states of the Confederacy had been secured, and because Lord Palmerston had expressed himself in the strongest terms as to the necessity of upholding it when the country was convulsed in 1832 from the effects of the Revolution of the Barricades.* No occasion had ever occurred in which it was of more importance to carry into effect the views which he then so well expressed regarding the necessity of upholding the independence of the smaller cantons against the oppression of the greater, than this, when the larger cantons, after having connived at a practical invasion of the lesser by an unauthorized armed force, had now put the leader of that force at the head of the central government, and were preparing, by means of a Radical majority in the Diet, to compel the lesser cantons, by their violence, to abrogate their separate independence, and adopt measures regarding their dearest internal interests, directly at variance with the wishes of their whole inhabitants. But now the results of the fatal division on the Spanish marriages, and the false position in which Great Britain had become placed, from having allied itself every where with the democratic party, at once appeared. So far from uniting with France and Austria in their efforts to shield the lesser cantons of Switzerland from the oppression of the greater, Lord Palmerston did just the reverse, and it was mainly owing to his policy that the act consummating this oppression was carried into effect.¹

In conformity with the instructions of M. Guizot, the French ambassador at Berne had explained distinctly to M. Ochsenbein the interpretation which, in common with Austria, the Cabinet of Paris put on the clauses in the treaties of Vienna regarding the rights of the lesser cantons, and the impossibility of their allowing the Confederacy to become a united military power.† Lord Palmerston, in the first instance, declared himself entirely satis-

¹ D'Haussonville, ii. 339, 346; Ann. Hist. xxx. 452, 454.

^{99.} Divergence of Lord Palmerston's policy on the question.

* "Vous direz que si les changements, que l'on a l'intention de proposer dans le pacte fédéral, portent seulement sur des dispositions réglementaires, il pourrait être plus prudent de les remettre à une époque future, lorsque l'esprit public sera devenu moins agité qu'il n'est maintenant, de peur qu'en soulevant ces questions cela ne mène à d'autres discussions plus embarrassantes. Mais si l'on a la pensée de faire des changements, tels qu'ils porteraient sur la souveraineté indépendante et l'existence politique et séparée des cantons vous représenterez fortement toutes les difficultés et les dangers que l'exécution d'un pareil projet peut produire et combien il paraît incompatible. Vous ferez observer qu'il est tout à fait improbable que tous les cantons s'accordent sur un plan, qui ferait un tort manifeste à beaucoup d'entre eux, et que par conséquent toute tentative de mettre en action une telle réforme amènerait une guerre civile."—LORD PALMERSTON & M. PERCY, June 9, 1832; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 319, 320.

† "L'acte de Vienne reconnaît non pas une Suisse unitaire mais une Suisse fédérative composée de vingt-deux cantons—si un ou plusieurs de ces cantons viennent donc un jour nous dire qu'on menace leur existence indépendante, qu'on veut la contraindre ou la détruire, qu'on marche à substituer une Suisse unitaire à la Suisse cantonnale qui reconnaît ces traités, que nos traités sont atteints; nous examinerons si en effet nos traités sont atteints. Je suis complètement en mesure d'ajouter que nous le ferons dans un parfait accord d'esprit et d'intentions avec les puissances signataires du même traité et particulièrement avec l'Autriche placée envers la Suisse dans une position analogue à la nôtre par la contiguïté de ses frontières."—M. BOIS LE COMTE & M. OCHSENBEIN, Jan. 4, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, ii. 341, 342.

fied with the policy of the French Government; and M. Morier, the British envoy in Switzerland, had expressed himself to M. Bois le Comte to the same effect. But when it came to the point of evincing that unity of feeling in overt acts, the British Foreign Minister drew back, and, without openly expressing an opposite opinion, he declined to commit the British Government to any decided expression of it to the Swiss Diet.* In acting in this manner he appears to have been following the opinion of a majority of the Cabinet, rather than his own. It soon appeared, however, that this majority was inclined to impel him into acts indicating clearly an intention to support the Radical Government of Switzerland in their measures of aggression on the lesser cantons. In conformity with his instructions, Mr. Peel, the new British minister at Berne, presented to the Free-Band chief, M. Ochsenbein, the favorable opinion they entertained of him, "by reason of his high position, his *known character*, and his determination, already manifested, to preserve the internal peace of Switzerland." In expressing their wish for the internal peace of Switzerland the British Cabinet were doubtless sincere; but it soon appeared that the mode in which they proposed to realize this wish was by permitting the greater cantons to oppress the lesser
 1 D'Haussonville, II. 352, the former to respect the rights of 354.
 the latter."[†]

The effect of this movement of the English Cabinet was in the highest degree
 100. pernicious. Instantly the news, with various additions, spread through the clubs: it was affirmed that England had now declared in favor of the Radical party, that she would not permit any intervention of France in the affairs of the Confederacy, and that there was nothing any longer to fear. Immense was the sensation produced by these reports, which were too much in harmony with the wishes of the Radical majority not to be universally believed by them. It was under the influence of this excitement that the resolution of the Diet of 3d September, to expel the Jesuits from Switz-

* "See memorandum on the affairs of Switzerland transmitted by M. Morier to Lord Palmerston, July, 1847. — *Parliamentary Papers on Switzerland*, 1847-'48, p. 138. "Lord Palmerston m'a écouté attentivement et a exprimé son approbation de la politique du gouvernement du Roi. J'ai trouvé moins d'empressement chez lui, quand je lui ai demandé, conformément aux instructions de votre excellence, s'il était disposé à s'associer au langage que nous voulons tenir à la Diète Helvétique." — M. l'Ambassadeur à Londres à M. Guizot, July 5, 1847; D'HAUS-SONVILLE, II. 347, 349. "J'ai d'abord donné à Lord Palmerston des instructions adressées par votre excellence à M. Bois le Comte. Lord Palmerston a paru m'écouter avec un vif intérêt, me priant à plusieurs reprises de relire les passages les plus importants, et il m'a témoigné ensuite de lui-même son entière approbation de vous et des sentiments exprimés par le gouvernement du Roi, je lui ai demandé des-lors s'il consentirait à s'associer à notre langage. Lord Palmerston m'a répondu qu'il avait déjà entretenu de cette affaire deux ses collègues, dont l'opinion s'accordait avec la sienne, mais qu'il ne pouvait me répondre définitivement avant d'avoir consulté le reste du conseil." — M. DE BROGLIE à M. Guizot, July 9, 1847; D'HAUSSONVILLE, II. 350, 352.

† "Conformément aux instructions de votre seigneurie, j'ai saisi l'occasion d'exprimer à M. Ochsenbein l'opinion favorable que le gouvernement de sa Majesté a conçue de sa personne, en raison de sa haute position, de son caractère bien connu et de sa détermination de faire tout ce qui sera en son pouvoir pour maintenir la tranquillité intérieure de la Suisse." — M. PEEL à LORD PALMERSTON, 14 Août, 1847; *Parl. Papers relative to Switzerland*, August, 1847, p. 164.

erland, was adopted. But for this declaration of the British Government in favor of the Swiss Radicals, M. Ochsenbein and the revolutionary party would never have ventured, in the face of France and Austria, on the extreme measure of hoisting the signal of civil war in the Confederacy. The Revolutionists in France, who were commencing that agitation which so soon after overturned the throne, now openly coalesced with their brethren in the Swiss Diet; and it is not a little remarkable that the first use of the expression "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," was made by a Swiss deputy excusing himself from attending the banquet at Chalons. "You have caught the idea," said M. Druey, the deputy of the canton of Vaud in the Diet, "that your cause and ours are the same. We sympathize with you, and you sympathize with us. The time has now arrived when it is necessary, on both sides of the Jura, to transfer from the region of ideas to that of action the great principles of LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY, which constitute the happiness of men as well as the glory of societies."¹

Lord Palmerston, however, was not an unconcerned spectator of the approaching
 101. conflict in Switzerland. He had been warned, two months before, that it was more than doubtful whether M. Ochsenbein, impelled as he was by the clubs, would be able to preserve peace. In consequence he had made repeated efforts, first through the medium of France and Austria, and more recently by Lord Minto, who took Berne in his way to Italy, to mediate between the contending parties; but the attempt proved abortive. The reason was, that the terms he proposed were, that "the *Sunderbund* should lay down their arms without a compromise for the present, or any security for the future"—terms which were equivalent to a surrender at discretion, and which the Helvetic chiefs, who knew the character of their opponents, justly deemed inadmissible. As matters grew more urgent, and hostilities were on the point of commencing, M. Guizot, as a last resource, transmitted on 4th November a note, in which he urged in the strongest terms the Cabinets of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to interpose their good offices to prevent the effusion of blood in Switzerland; and on the 6th this note was presented by M. de Broglie to Lord Palmerston in London. An immediate answer was of the last importance, and might even at the eleventh hour have prevented hostilities, for the order to the army of the Diet to march against Fribourg and Lucerne had already been given. Instead, however, of giving an instant answer, which in the circumstances was so loudly called for, Lord Palmerston kept the French note from the 6th to the 16th without an answer, and at the expiration of that time returned not an adhesion, but a proposal for an agreement, in the first instance, between the mediating powers as to the terms on which the mediation was to be founded. This was directly espousing the cause of the Swiss Radicals, for it gained for them all that they wanted, which was delay. Without adopting, in the absence of proof, the assertion of M. Guizot's annalist, that Lord Palmerston, while gaining for the Swiss Radicals these diplomatic delays,

was underhand pressing the march of the forces of the Confederacy against Lucerne,* it is sufficient to refer to public acts to show that his delay effectually aided the dominant party in Helvetia, and crushed its gallant mountaineers. It was not till the 26th November that Lord Palmerston

gave the adhesion of Great Britain to the collective note of the Continental powers, and two days before—viz., on the 24th—Lucerne had been taken by the troops of the Confederacy, and the contest was at an end.¹

In truth, the forces of the Confederacy, as compared with those of the Sunderbund, were so immense that the contest was evidently hopeless on the part of the latter, and nothing was wanting but time to secure victory to the former. The population of the twelve cantons hostile to the Sunderbund was 1,867,000 souls; that of the seven cantons which composed that league was only 394,629 souls. Bâle, Neuchâtel, and Appenzell, which remained neuter, had 105,000 souls. The contingent of the first was 50,104, and their landwehr 46,829—in all, 96,993 men, with 278 pieces of artillery; that of the Sunderbund was only 11,387 men, and their landwehr 20,436—in all, 31,823, with 87 guns. Twenty guns additional had been bought by the Sunderbund abroad, and some slender supplies of arms and ammunition had reached them from France and Austria. Thus the Radical forces were three times those of the Conservative; and though the latter were known to enjoy the good wishes of the great military monarchies of France and Austria, yet not a man was moved forward to their defense. The weight of England, and the dread of a general war thrown in on the other side, paralyzed all their measures, and left the Swiss mountaineers to contend alone with the overwhelming superiority of their antagonists. Yet they disdained submission, and advanced to the conflict with the same undaunted spirit that their ancestors did to the fields of Naefels and Morgarten.²

But the times were changed, and heroic valor was no longer capable of withstanding a great superiority of military force. The construction of roads through their territory had deprived the Swiss of their natural means of defense; the introduction of artillery had leveled the superiority of their moral resolution. The first efforts of the Radical army were directed against Fribourg.

On the 13th of November, General Dufour had concentrated twenty-five thousand men, with seventy guns, in front of that town. The magistrates, in no condition to re-

* "Comme si ce n'était pas assez de tous ces délais, pour laisser aux forces considérables des Radicaux le temps d'écraser la faible résistance des cantons du Sunderbund, le secrétaire d'état de sa Majesté Britannique faisait hâter sous main la marche des troupes expédiées de Berne contre les malheureux défenseurs de Fribourg et de Lucerne."—D'HAUSSONVILLE, II. 365. "Avouez au moins dis-je à M. Peel que Lord Palmerston a fait une belle fin, et que vous nous avez joué un tour en pressant les événements. Il se tut. J'ajoutai: pourquoi faire le mystérieux? Après une partie, on peut bien dire je sais qu'on m'a joué. Et bien, dit-il alors: 'J'ai fait dire au Général Dufour d'en finir vite.' Je regardai M. De Zayas pour constater ces paroles. Son regard me cherchait aussi."—M. BOIS LE COMTE à M. GUIZOT, 31st December, 1847; No. 249 des Dépêches.

sist forces so considerable, were under the necessity of capitulating, which they did on the guarantee that life and property should be respected. This was at once agreed to; but no sooner were the troops of the Diet in possession of the town than they abandoned themselves to every species of military excess, generally undergone only by a town which has been carried by assault. This shameful breach of the capitulation occurred under the very eyes of General Dufour, who, however indignant, was unable to prevent it, and furnished a theme for fresh and eloquent declamation, on the part of Count Montalembert, in the Chamber of Deputies in Paris. The next operation of the federal army, though more seriously resisted, was not less successful. On the 22d November, General Dufour's army crossed the frontier of Lucerne in three Nov. 22. massy columns, and advanced against the city, which was the capital of the Sunderbund. His forces consisted of sixty thousand men, and they had no less than two hundred pieces of cannon. The troops of the Sunderbund did not exceed eighteen thousand men, with forty guns. Notwithstanding this great disproportion of force, which rendered success hopeless, the mountaineers made a gallant defense, and it was after a serious and bloody encounter that they were overpowered, and driven back to the gates of Lucerne. Then, as the contest was evidently at an end, the army of the Sunderbund Nov. 24. dispersed, and the city of Lucerne, now left without defense, surrendered at discretion. The direction of the affairs of the can- Nov. 27. ton was, three days after, put into the hands of the Radical leaders, and the remaining cantons of the Sunderbund sent in their submission, which ¹ D'HAUSSONVILLE, II. 372, 374; An. Hist. xxx. 460, 461, 462; An. Reg. 1847, 371. was only accepted on condition that the refractory cantons should defray the whole expenses of the war.¹

Meanwhile, Lord Palmerston was considering the terms on which the mediation of the five great powers should be offered; and on the 26th, two days after Lucerne had surrendered, he at length agreed to the conditions proposed by them, which were, that the Catholic cantons should be allowed to refer the religious part of the dispute to the Pope; that the Diet should undertake to defend the sovereignty of such of the lesser states as might be threatened; that the Sunderbund should be dissolved, and a mutual disarmament take place. Nothing could be more equitable than these conditions; and, had they been agreed to by England on the 6th November, they would have prevented the conflict. Delayed till the 26th, when Lucerne was taken and the Sunderbund dissolved, it was too late; the victorious Radicals declared, with justice, that there were no longer two parties to interpose between, and refused the proffered mediation.²

These decisive steps on the part of the Government of Great Britain in favor of the revolutionary party in so many states of Western Europe, had come now to awaken the serious apprehensions of all the great Continental powers. Since the changes in the

^{104.} The tardy mediation of the five powers is declined.

² Ann. Reg. 1847, 372, 373; Ann. Hist. xxx. 462, 463; D'HAUSSONVILLE, II. 373, 374.

^{105.} Alarm which these measures of England awakened on the Continent.

ruling party in England, effected by the Reform Bill, its rulers had, in conjunction with France, effected the partition of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, and forcibly prevented the victorious arms of their sovereign from regaining his lost inheritance. In conjunction with the same power, they had changed the order of succession in Spain, placed a queen, supported by the Movement party, on the throne, both of Spain and Portugal, and beat down, after a heroic struggle, the efforts of the Basque mountaineers to maintain their constitutional rights. In opposition to France, they had more recently encouraged the demands for organic reform in the Italian states; changes so great as to amount to revolution had followed in the footsteps of their legate; and Sicily had at length been landed in open revolt, in consequence of the hopes of succor which they permitted to be formed. By a policy more guarded, but not less effectual, they had accomplished the overthrow of the Conservative party in Switzerland, and placed the revolutionary leader of the Free Bands and his associates at the head of the whole forces of the Helvetic Confederacy.

So alarming had this policy become that the Cabinets of the Continent deemed it indispensable to unite in joint measures for their common defense, and the task was committed to General Radowitz on the part of Prussia and Russia, and Count Colloredo on that of Austria. These two eminent diplomatists, after having met and concerted measures in Germany, repaired to Paris, where they entered into communication with M. Guizot, by whom they were cordially received. The English agents at Vienna, Berlin, and Berne warned the British Government repeatedly, in the course of the winter of 1847-'48, that something underhand was in agitation;* but they were far from being aware of the extent and imminence of the danger which threatened. It is now known, from the revelations of the Ministers of Louis Philippe, that the overtures of the Northern Powers had been accepted by the French Government, and the 15th March fixed for the conclusion of definitive arrangements against Great Britain! The Revolution of 1848, by setting the Continental powers against each other, probably saved Great Britain from a contest, single-handed, with a confederacy as powerful as that which overthrew France on the field of Leipsic.†

* See, in particular, the last pages of the papers communicated to Parliament in 1848-'49, on the affairs of Italy and Switzerland.

† "Désespérant de pouvoir jamais s'entendre avec un gouvernement qui s'était fait à Madrid le patron des cabales Espagnoles, qui à Rome, à Naples et en Sicile favorisait la destruction des institutions, et la levée des bouilliers en Grèce, qui était devenu un agent incessant de trouble et de désordre, qui avait livré les conservateurs de Fribourg et de Lucerne à la colère des Radicaux Suisses, les grandes puissances de l'Europe venaient témoigner à la France le désir de se concerter avec elle, à l'exclusion de l'Angleterre. Notre Cabinet avait accepté leurs ouvertures; un jour était pris (le 15 Mars) pour donner aux arrangements déjà débattus une forme arrêtée et précise. Ainsi était franchi un pas immense. Ces mêmes puissances du nord si hostiles en 1830, qui avaient eu si grande hâte de prendre parti contre nous, et pour l'Angleterre en 1840 au sujet des affaires du Levant, qui étaient restées passives et neutres en 1846 après les mariages Espagnoles, en 1848 après les affaires de la Suisse, se mettaient avec nous contre l'Angleterre. Nous n'av-

When dangers so formidable and so imminent threatened England in consequence of the policy which her rulers had adopted, it is worth while, as a matter of historical curiosity, to examine what preparations the Government of Great Britain had made to meet the crisis. This matter is now finally set at rest by official authority. It appears from a return presented to Parliament on 1st June, 1857, that the total military forces in the pay of Great Britain in 1847-'48 were 138,769 men, of whom 30,497 were in India, and 41,893 stationed in the other colonies, leaving 67,005 for service in Great Britain and Ireland; of whom certainly not more than 30,000 could be reckoned on as capable of combating in the former island. As at least half of this force would be required to garrison the maritime fortresses, upon the preservation of which the very existence of the empire depended, not more than 15,000 men could have been collected to keep the field against a coalition, which would with ease have invaded the country with 150,000 men! Nor were the naval forces more considerable; for it appears from the same return, that in the year 1847-'48 the number of sailors and boys voted was only 29,500, and marines 11,000—in all, 40,500; a force little more than a fifth of what the nation, with not half the resources, had on foot during the war, and which could not by possibility have produced ten sail of the line in the Channel to meet a sudden emergency, or protect the shores of the empire from invasion from Powers who had forty sail in the Baltic and Channel ready for sea.

This extraordinary disproportion between the magnitude of the danger evoked, and the diminutive amount of the forces provided to meet it, is one of the most curious and instructive circumstances which the annals of that memorable period present. That the vast majority of mankind of every rank and amount of instruction are incapable of foresight, and willing to incur the risk of any danger in future, however great, rather than incur the burden of any preparation at present, however small, is unhappily too well known, both in private life and the affairs of nations. But the extraordinary and apparently inexplicable thing is, that this absence of foresight in previous preparation should be accompanied by so ambitious and aggressive a policy in every quarter, and that the strides made, calculated to excite the most formidable foreign hostility, should be in the inverse ratio of any preparations to meet its dangers. The only explanation which can be given of it is, that the great majority of men are at once ambitious and unforeseeing; willing to support any aggressive policy which promises success, provided only no demand is made on their purses to defray its expenses, and that a Government returned by a mere numerical majority necessarily partakes of the same character. This observation applies only to the preparation for future and contingent danger. When peril is present and ap-

Reflections on the extraordinary disproportion of the danger and means of resistance.

ons pas passé de leur côté, elles avaient passé du nôtre. C'était le tour de l'Angleterre d'être mise dans l'isolement."—D'HAUSSONVILLE, vol. ii. p. 381, 382 (the publisher of Guizot's papers with his authority).

parent, not merely to the prophetic eye of wisdom, but to the present gaze of the multitude, no society ever makes such great and magnanimous efforts to avert it as that which is of a democratic character.

It appears at first sight a not less singular and inexplicable circumstance, that the foreign policy of France and England should at this period have been directly the reverse of what, *a priori*, might have been expected from either. The Citizen King, elected during a revolutionary convulsion, had become essentially conservative, and his Ministers had adopted the policy of the despotic Continental Powers, and entered into the closest relations with them, while monarchical England had espoused the cause of Liberalism, and its Government was every where looked up to as the avowed head of the Movement party in Europe. But a very little consideration must be sufficient to show how this had come to pass, and what it was which had now arrayed Great Britain on the side of revolution. It was the domestic position of the two Cabinets which had occasioned the anomaly, and brought their foreign policy into direct contradiction with their previous settled maxims. Continually assailed by an anarchical faction, which was exasperated by being deprived of the fruits of revolution, Louis Philippe and Guizot were driven to take refuge with the Conservatives, as their only

security for existence. Watched by a powerful conservative Opposition, against which they with difficulty maintained their ground in either House of Parliament, the Liberal Cabinet of England sought for support in the establishment of constitutional governments in all the adjoining states of Europe.

It was the completeness of the revolution in France which rendered Guizot conservative; it was the incompleteness of the revolution in Great Britain which rendered Lord Palmerston, in foreign affairs at least, revolutionary. Guizot was nowise afraid of being supplanted by M. Berryer or Count Montalembert, but very much so of being overthrown by M. Thiers and Odillon Barrot. Lord Palmerston was not haunted by the dread of a cabinet headed by Cobden and Bright, but very much so of one led by Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. There never were Ministers in either State who had the advancement and glory of their respective countries more sincerely at heart than Guizot and Lord Palmerston; but both were, probably unconsciously to themselves, mainly guided in their foreign policy by their domestic position; and both brought the countries they respectively directed into the most serious ultimate dangers, from a desire to strengthen their present position in reference to the party from whom at home they apprehended a removal from power.

109. Cause of the opposite foreign policy of France and England at this period.

110. The completeness of revolution in one country, and its incompleteness in the other, occasioned the difference.

CHAPTER XLVII.

FRANCE FROM THE MIDDLE OF 1847 TO THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN FEBRUARY, 1848.

1. **Alarming internal state of France in the end of 1847.** THREATENING as the aspect of external affairs was in Europe in the last months of 1847, the appearance of domestic concerns was still more alarming. On all sides were to be seen the symptoms of corruption in society, discontent in opinion, and imbecility in government, the usual and well-known precursors of public calamities or social convulsion. The Revolution of 1830 had disappointed the expectations and damped the hopes of all parties concerned in it. The ardent democrats who originated the change had seen with unutterable vexation its fruits slip from their grasp, and a government established, in consequence of this insurrection, differing from that which had preceded it only in being more expensive, more despotic, and more hostile to the realization of their dreams. The army, whose defection had determined the contest, had since proved itself on every occasion faithful to its duty, but it was far from being satisfied with the results of the change; and by no means regarded the sterile laurels won in the fields of Algeria as a compensation for the want of the conquests of the Empire, which it had fondly hoped to see renewed under the restored tricolor flag. The bourgeois class was generally prosperous, in consequence of the long peace which the King had so firmly maintained; but it was seriously shaken in opinion by the long and acrimonious hostility which the daily press had maintained against the Government in consequence of the disappointment which its leaders felt in not having become the rulers of the State. The clergy, alienated beyond redemption by the events of 1830, were not openly arrayed against the Government, but stood aloof in sullen neutrality, and withheld from it all that support which was so material, especially in securing the allegiance of the vast rural population of France. The Chamber of Deputies, the representative, under the existing electoral system, of only one interest in society—that of the middle class—had lost entirely the confidence of the nation, from its prolonged resistance to the wishes of the majority, and its inflexible adherence to its own material interests, as distinct from the general welfare of the community. The King, old and infirm, had preserved of his former well-marked character only its obstinacy, and, long accustomed to govern by his own will, was blind to the signs of the times, which filled every one else with apprehension. Finally, the working classes, especially in the great towns, were laboring under extreme distress, the result partly of the long-continued fall of prices, which originated in the inadequacy of the currency of the world to meet its rapidly-increasing transactions, partly of the extraordinary monetary crisis which had befallen Great Britain.

A very competent observer, and no prejudiced

opponent of the dynasty on the throne, has left the following graphic account of the internal condition of France at this period. On November 7, 1847, the Prince de Joinville wrote as follows to the Duke de Nemours: "I write one word to you, for I am disquieted at the events which I see on all sides thickening around us. Indeed, I begin to be seriously alarmed. The death of Bresson* has filled me with apprehension. He was not insane; he executed his design with deliberation and coolness. My letters from Naples leave no room for doubt as to what was the real cause of that catastrophe; his feelings were lacerated toward our father. The King is inflexible; he will listen to no advice; his own will must prevail over every thing. It seems to me impossible that in the Chamber of Deputies, in the next session, the anomalous state of the Government should not attract attention, which has effaced all traces of constitutional government, and has put forward the King as the primary, and indeed sole mover on all questions. There are no longer any Ministers; their responsibility is null; every thing rests with the King. He has arrived at an age when observations are no longer listened to; he is accustomed to govern, and he loves to show that he does so. His immense experience, his courage, and great qualities, lead him to face danger, but it is not on that account the less real or imminent.

"Our situation is far from encouraging. In the interior, the state of our finances, after seventeen years of peace, is far from good. Abroad, where we might have sought some compensation and gratification to our national vanity, we have not acquired distinction. The return of Palmerston to power, by awakening the distrust and jealousy of the King, has caused us to engage in the affair of the Spanish marriages, and attached to us the deplorable reproach of breach of faith. Separated by this cause from England, at the very time when the affairs of Italy became complicated, we have been debarred from taking an active part in them, or adopting the side which was in unison with our principles. We did not venture to throw down the gauntlet to Austria, for fear of seeing England reorganize against us the Holy Alliance. We are coming before the Chamber with a deplorable interior, an exterior not much better: all the consequences of the King's government; of the old age of a king who insists on governing, but who lacks the strength to adopt a manly resolution. The worst is, that I see no remedy to this state of things. I once hoped that Italy might have furnished the means of extricating ourselves from it; but the best thing we

* The ambassador at Naples, who had committed suicide.

can now do is, to set sail and leave it, because if we remained we should be obliged to make common cause with the retrograde party, which would be attended in France with disastrous consequences. Those unhappy Spanish marriages!

¹ Regnault, iii. 321, 323. We have not yet drained the cup of bitterness which they have compelled us to drink."¹

⁴ The dangers here ably summed up were so evident that every one who had the least of a reflecting mind saw them distinctly, and the King was not insensible to their existence; but he did not see how they were to be avoided. Concession to the republican party, and a general change in external policy, so earnestly pressed upon him by the Liberals, would lead at once to a general war, which was not to be thought of now that Great Britain was alienated by the Spanish marriages; and it would at once provoke resistance from the majority in the Chambers elected by the middle class, which was the only real support of his throne. Influenced by this consideration, he saw no alternative but to persist in the system of resistance, and for that purpose to secure the support of the army by indulgences, and of the Chamber by corruption. To effect these objects his whole efforts, during the last months of his reign, were unceasingly directed. Of course the very success with which they were for the time attended only widened the breach between the Government and the people, and increased the general discontent. The King, though he persisted in his policy as a matter of necessity, was far from being insensible to the dangers with which it was attend-

² Cassagnac, Histoire de la Châte de Louis Philippe, i. 25; Regnault, iii. 323, 324. ed, and often said to his Ministers, with a mournful voice, "I see no supporters of order forming behind you; you are the last of the Romans."²

⁵ Accustomed to see public feeling influenced chiefly by impulses derived from foreign affairs, and any thing which touched the national honor, the French Government at this period

was by no means sufficiently alive to the consequences of the monetary crisis arising from the like deficiency of the crops, especially that of potatoes, which at the same period was attended with such disastrous effects in Great Britain and Ireland. The consequence was, a very considerable rise of prices of all sorts of subsistence, which at length, though after a long delay, forced the Government, in the close of that year, to take off all duties on the importation of grain. This measure, however, could

Nov. 17, 1845, only relieve the scarcity after time had elapsed for cargoes to arrive from the corn-growing countries; and this was much extended by the effects of a severe frost in the Euxine and Sea of Azof, which stopped the navigation of those waters by the accumulation of floating ice with which they were charged. The consequence was, that it was not till February, 1846,

¹ The author gives this letter as he finds it quoted in the French historians, without guaranteeing its authenticity, which, judging from internal evidence, he is inclined to doubt, for it looks very like an *ex post facto* composition. Whether it is so or not, it is at least an able résumé of the views of the Liberal party at this period, and the principal grounds of their complaints against the Government of the King.

that the long-wished-for cargoes began to arrive, and meanwhile the people were reduced to very great straits by the high price of provisions. To diminish the pressure, Government issued orders transferring the purchase of wheat for the army, which amounted annually to 500,000 quintals, and for the navy, which exceeded 100,000, from the interior to foreign ports, for the whole of 1846 and 1847. But this, though in the circumstances a wise, was only a prospective measure; and meanwhile prices rose so seriously that the municipality of Paris, to preserve the public tranquillity, were reduced to the desperate expedient, often adopted by them, of forcibly reducing the price of grain, and paying the difference between the selling and the real price out of the corporation funds. Bread of the best quality was by this means maintained at 80 centimes, or 16 sous the two kilograms; but to effect this the city had to borrow the enormous sum of 25,000,000 francs, or £1,000,000 sterling.¹

These evils were sufficiently serious themselves; but they became much more pressing,

and led to other still more serious consequences in the following year. The potato crop in France, as in Ireland, failed much more extensively in 1846 than it had done in 1845; and the

consequences, as in Great Britain, were much aggravated by the railway mania, which at the same period, as on this side of the Channel, had seized upon the country. The importation of grain went on largely during the whole of that year, to supply the deficiency of domestic produce; and the consequence was a drain upon the metallic treasures of the Bank to pay for the importation of food. To such a length did this go, that, from the official statement published in the *Moniteur*, it appeared that the specie in the Bank amounted, on 26th December, only to 71,000,000 francs, while its liabilities for notes and deposits were 368,000,000 francs.* The danger was immediate and imminent; and in order to guard against it, the Bank in the first week of 1847 raised their discounts from 4 to 5 per cent. This sudden advance, which

was not expected, excited great alarm in Paris, which was not allayed till the Emperor of Russia, in March, made an offer to purchase 50,000,000 francs worth of French Government stock, with gold stored up in St. Petersburg, the produce of the Oural Mountains. This offer was accepted, and the stock was bought at the rate of 115 francs 75 centimes per cent. This ample supply of gold from the Russian treasures compensated the drain arising from the importation of food, and went far to suspend the crisis, while the Government also derived benefit from it by the confidence which it evinced in the stability and resources of France.²

The relief afforded by this seasonable supply of gold from Russia, however, could, in the nature of things, only be temporary: as long as the causes which occasioned a great drain of specie continued to operate, a continuance of the dan-

* On the 26th December, 1845, the specie in the Bank had been 187,000,000 francs, or £7,420,000. The diminution in the year 1846, therefore, had been 116,000,000 francs, or £4,640,000.—*Ann. Hist.*, xxx. 222.

¹ *Moniteur*, Nov. 18, and Dec. 27, 1845; Regnault, iii. 139, 143.

² Failure of the potato crop in 1846, and monetary crisis.

Jan. 2, 1847.

March 17.

² *Moniteur*, Dec. 31, 1846, and Jan. 2, and March 25, 1847; Regnault, iii. 144, 146; *Ann. Hist.*, xxx. 221, 223.

ger was to be apprehended. This, accordingly, was what occurred. The financial state of the country in 1847 was any thing but reassuring, and clearly evinced how severely the crisis which had been passed had affected the springs of public prosperity. The expenses of the year reached the enormous amount of 1,405,336,062 francs, and the estimate for 1848 was 1,446,210,170.¹ The deplorable system, which had been so long pursued, of borrowing to the extent of four or five millions sterling every year, and augmenting the floating debt by that amount, without any prospect of paying it off, now fell with accumulated force upon the Government; and the weight was felt the more sensibly that the high prices of provisions, which were double their usual level, lessened the resources of the people, and the vast importation of grain and export of gold curtailed credit in every department. The statement of the Finance Minister in January, 1847, admitted a floating uncovered debt of 500,000,000 francs, and he estimated the deficit of 1847 at 117,000,000 francs. In this embarrassed state of the public treasury it was impossible to continue the allocation of 246,000,000 francs, which, under the law of 1842, should this year have been devoted to railways and other public works, and the sum devoted to that department was diminished by 100,000,000 francs. Yet, even at this reduced rate, the floating debt in the course of the year 1847 mounted up to 700,000,000 francs, while the great diminution in the sum allotted to public works proved a serious aggravation of the sufferings of the laboring classes of the people. No resource remained but a great loan; and by a law passed on 8th August in this year, no less than 850,000,000 francs were authorized to be borrowed. The great reduction, however, in the expenditure on public works enabled the Government to restrict the loan to 250,000,000 francs, which was contracted for on the 8th November, by the house of Rothschild, at the rate of 75 francs 25 centimes for each £100 of 3 per cent. stock.²

These great loans relieved the difficulties of the treasury, but they by no means lessened the severity of the monetary crisis upon the country. On the contrary, by draining away so large a part of the capital of the country to public purposes, they diminished in a proportional degree that portion of it which could be devoted to the alleviation of private embarrassments. The contraction of credit, and consequent diminution of the currency, was felt as a sore and constantly-increasing evil during the last half of the year. It is now evident to what this calamitous state of things was owing. It arose from the vast increase in the importation of grain, in consequence chiefly of the failure of the potato crop, which was *triple* what it had been in the preceding year,* and which, by occasioning a constant drain upon the specie of the

Bank for its payment, of necessity occasioned a corresponding diminution in the circulation. The effects were soon felt in every branch of industry. Already one half of the railways in progress were stopped, or going on with only half their number of laborers. So stringent did the crisis become, that it would to all appearance have led, as it had done in Great Britain, to an entire suspension of credit and destruction of industry, when it was arrested by a measure, as bold as it was judicious, which at once applied the appropriate remedy to the evil. Toward the close of the year, the Chamber was prevailed on to sanction the issue of notes for 200 francs (£8), in addition to those for 500 francs (£20), which had hitherto formed the paper circulation, and the Bank, though at first with fear and trembling, ventured to issue the notes. The effect was as instantaneous as the suspension of the Bank Charter Act in England, in this very year, in arresting the panic. But the consequences of the monetary crisis, which had been so appalling, were equally disastrous on both sides of the Channel. The remedy came too late to arrest the evils which had been induced; and the general distress, especially among the working classes in Paris and other great towns, continued unabated during the whole winter which ensued, and must be regarded as one of the principal causes of the revolution which ensued in the following February.^{1*}

* The particulars of the financial and monetary crisis in France in 1847 are extremely valuable and instructive, from the light they throw on the subject; and they have by no means received the attention on either side of the Channel which they deserve. In the fifth volume of Mr. Tooke's *History of Prices* continued by Mr. Newmarsh, the subject is for the first time treated with the latter gentleman's wonted accuracy and distinctness. It appears that between January, 1846, and December, 1847, the specie, discounts, circulation, and deposits of the Bank of France stood as follows, in English money, at 25 francs to the £1:

Months.	Specie.	Circulation. Notes.	Discounts.	Deposits.
1846.	£	£	£	£
Jan.—April...	7,560,000	10,850,000	7,230,000	7,840,000
May—July...	7,910,000	10,400,000	5,450,000	6,960,000
Aug.—Oct. ...	7,590,000	10,840,000	5,420,000	7,010,000
Nov.—Dec. ...	4,400,000	10,400,000	6,180,000	4,450,000
1847.				
Jan.—April...	2,660,000	10,220,000	7,720,000	3,930,000
May—July...	3,100,000	9,630,000	4,700,000	3,990,000
Aug.—Oct. ...	3,560,000	9,190,000	6,960,000	4,220,000
Nov.—Dec. ...	3,380,000	9,380,000	6,900,000	3,150,000

It is very remarkable, from this table, how steady the circulation was kept in France during the whole crisis, even at its very worst. Although the specie in the Bank had decreased to less than a half, and the deposits in a still greater proportion—which sufficiently proved the severity of the strain—the circulation and discounts were only reduced, the former by a tenth, the latter by a ninth. This bold and withal judicious conduct must have gone far to mitigate the severity of the pressure, by making use of paper in its true capacity, as a substitute for gold when the precious metals are withdrawn, instead of a representative of them, and, of course, drawn in with their diminution. At the same time, in all comparisons of the monetary system of France with that of this country, the extremely small, and even *retail* character of the commercial transactions of the former country compared with our own, is to be taken into view. From a careful examination of the elaborate table, published by the Bank of France in regard to its transactions, Mr. Newmarsh has arrived at the following extremely curious conclusions as to the comparative bill-transactions of the two countries:

	France.	England.
Bills under discount.....	£18,000,000	£180,000,000
Bill circulation at one time..	28,000,000	180,000,000

—NEWMARSH, vi. p. 49, 54.

* GRAIN IMPORTED INTO FRANCE IN 1846 AND 1847.

	Quintals.
1846	2,332,000
1847	6,920,000

—Ann. Hist., xxx. 226.

In this disastrous state of the material comforts and resources of the people, it was no difficult matter to render them discontented; and the Liberal press, seeing their advantage, exerted themselves to the utmost to make the most of it, and turn the ill-humor arising from the distress which prevailed into a torrent of indignation against the Ministers. In truth, the Government had nothing to do with it further than by having given in so long to the prevailing illusion of the day, which was, that the paper currency must be kept entirely dependent on the retention of gold; and by sanctioning the emission of notes for 200 francs, they had made an important step in the right direction, and sensibly, though only at the eleventh hour, contributed to arrest the causes of the public suffering. But this subject was even less understood at this period in France by the great body of the people than it was in England; and every thing, rightly or wrongly, was ascribed by the Liberal press to the faults of Government. Unfortunately too, at this period, many circumstances occurred which not merely furnished them with a fair ground for declamation, but with legitimate causes of complaint. The corruption among the public functionaries at this period had become such that it could scarcely be credited, if not attested by the incontrovertible evidence of judicial proceedings and judgments. Every day revealed fresh instances of it, either in the public functionaries or in some persons connected with them; and the abuses had become so common that they reached not only the inferior persons, but some of the highest in office and rank, and even some of the Cabinet Ministers were not altogether free from suspicion.¹

For a considerable time the public press had denounced alleged corruptions in various departments of the public service, particularly in the naval arsenals, and even designated the individuals against whom the delinquencies were charged; but the people were so accustomed to accusations of that description, that for long they excited very little attention. At length, however, events occurred which proved, even to the most incredulous, that they had too much foundation. On the 1st August, 1845, a great fire broke out in the Arsenal Mourillon, one of the greatest in Toulon, which in a few hours consumed stores to the amount of 3,000,000 francs (£120,000). It was suspected at the time that this conflagration was the work of incendiaries, and intended to conceal the dilapidation which had been going on in the public stores. Nothing transpired, however, which justified the suspicions, but it led to inquiries into other departments of the public service, and more abuses were speedily brought to light, which startled the public by their frequency and long impunity. An inquiry which was instituted at Rochefort proved that 38 per cent. of the grain and other provisions served out to the seamen in the royal navy was composed of adulterations, consisting of innutritious substances. No less than six-and-thirty persons were convicted, after a long trial, of this offense, and sentenced to various degrees of imprisonment, at the Assizes held at Vienne, on the 18th January, 1847.

In the course of the inquiries which these discoveries led to, it was ascertained that so frequent had this species of fraud become, and so shamefully was it connived at by the public officers, whose duty it was to detect and check such malversations, that several *employés*, whose salary was from 2000 to 3000 francs a year (£80 to £120), had in twenty years amassed fortunes of 200,000 to 300,000 francs (£8000 to £12,000). M. Janson, the Controller of Marine, declared in his deposition that all the representations which he had addressed to the Minister of the Marine and the prefect at Rochefort on the subject had remained without effect. The Controller of Subsistences then committed suicide, to withdraw himself from these inquiries. A similar fraud was discovered in the office of the Controller of the supply of grain for the use of the army at Paris, which amounted to 14,000 quintals of wheat, worth 400,000 francs. This case was the more injurious to the Government that it appeared that the official persons had exerted themselves to stifle inquiry; and the truth was only brought to light by the case of Regnault, having been brought before the Chamber of Deputies, and being by their intervention sent to the Assizes.¹

The detection of these frauds was soon followed by other revelations which still more nearly affected the character and weight of the Legislature and the Government. On 17th February, 1847, M. Drouillard was found guilty of having obtained his election for Quimperlé by bribery, and sentenced to pay a fine of 7400 francs, and to be incapable of holding any civil office during ten years. At this trial it was proved that 145,000 francs had been expended on this election; a sum considerable, indeed, compared to what has long been known in England, but which seemed immense in a country so recently initiated into the mysteries of constitutional government as France. This was immediately followed by more formidable charges. M. Emile de Girardin accused the Ministry, in the *Presse* of 12th May, of having sold promises of seats in the Peers for 80,000 francs; and granted a license for a third Lycée Théâtre, in consideration of a bribe of 100,000 francs; and for a sum of 1,200,000 francs engaged to bring forward a law favorable to the interests of some postmasters. For this he was cited before the Chamber of Peers, on the accusation of the Chamber of Deputies; and although that judicature passed to the order of the day on the charge, and the Deputies did the same by a majority of 225 to 102, yet the public were by no means satisfied that the charges were not well founded. Hardly was the din excited by these proceedings hushed when a still more formidable charge, implicating the Government directly, arose on a litigation between M. Parmentier and General Cubières, formerly holding office under M. Guizot's administration. It appeared from some of the General's letters relating to a company for working certain salt-mines, that he had expressed himself in terms implying, beyond all dispute, that he considered the Cabinet Ministers themselves as not beyond the reach of corrupt considerations.* In consequence of this, a royal

* "January 14, 1842.—Notre affaire dépendra donc des

ordonnance was issued, which directed the accusation, before the Chamber of Peers, of General Cubières; M. Teste, formerly Minister of Public Works; MM. Parmentier and Pellapra. They were brought to trial on 8th July. On the

evening before, M. Teste resigned his situation as Peer of France and President of the Court of Cassation, "in order," as he himself expressed it, "that he might be defended only by his innocence."¹

The trial came on on the 8th July, and, as might have been expected, where persons of such station and rank were implicated as accused parties, created an immense sensation; and the result outstripped even the most sanguine hopes of the opponents of the Government. After a long trial, it came out that the sum of 100,000 francs (£4000) had been given by M. Pellapra to M. Teste to procure his accession to the measures desired by the company in the concession of a mine. It was sworn to by the notary of M. Pellapra that this had been confessed to him in confidence by his client, and this was admitted as evidence against M. Teste, contrary to what would have been decided in Great Britain. This statement of the notary, however, was confirmed by two written documents which proved the payment of the money. Upon this

M. Teste withdrew his defense, by a letter to the President of the Court of Peers; and the evidence being considered satisfactory against the others, they were all found guilty—General Cubières, M. Teste, and M. Parmentier on the evidence, and M. Pellapra, in absence, or *par contumace*. General Cubières and M. Parmentier were found guilty of having bribed a Minister to obtain the concession of a mine from the Government to a company in which they were interested, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000 francs (£400) each, as was M. Pellapra, who surrendered a few days after. M. Teste was found guilty of having,

when a minister, in 1842 and 1843, accepted bribes for acts to be done by him in his official capacity, and sentenced to a fine of 94,000 francs (£3760), being the bribe received, and to three years' imprisonment, with civil degradation.²

These scandalous revelations seemed almost to justify the words of M. de Lamartine: "Yes, a revolution is approaching, and it is the revolution of contempt." But the public attention was soon arrested by a still more terrible event, which in-

personnes qui se trouvent maintenant au pouvoir. Il n'y a pas un moment à perdre; il n'y a pas à hésiter sur les moyens de nous créer un appui intéressé au sein même du conseil. J'ai les moyens d'arriver presque à cet appui; c'est à vous d'aviser aux moyens de l'intéresser. N'oubliez pas que le Gouvernement est dans des malins aides et corrompus, que la liberté de la presse court risque d'être étranglée sans bruit un de ces jours, et que jamais le bon droit n'eut plus besoin de protection." January 26, 1842.—"Je passe ma vie au milieu des disputes. Je vais chez la plupart des Ministres, dont je crois utile au succès de notre affaire de cultiver l'amitié." February 8, 1842.—"La société doit avoir aussi pour objet de fixer le nombre d'actions qui devra être mis à notre disposition pour intéresser sans mise de fonds, les appuis qui seraient indispensables au succès de cette affaire."—*Procès Parmentier*, 72, 76, and REGNAULT, iii. 242, 244; *Presses*, May 2, 1847.

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volved the Peerage in the opprobrium of a detestable crime. On the morning of the 18th August, Madame the Duchesse de Praslin was found murdered in her bedroom in her own hotel in Paris. Suspicion from the very first lighted on the duke her husband, the representative of the ancient and noble house of Choiseul-Praslin, one of the most illustrious in France. The duke was in his forty-second year, and had been made a peer of France in the creation on 6th April, 1845. The duchess, three years younger, was the only daughter of Marshal Sébastiani. So suspicious were the circumstances, that, although his privilege as a peer protected M. de Praslin at first from arrest, he was put under the *surveillance* of an officer of police, and detained in his own hotel.¹ At four in the morning of the 18th, the violent ringing of bells had been heard in the apartment of the duchess; the servants, in consternation, hastened to the doors, which they found all locked inside, but they heard the

noise of a violent struggle, accompanied by shrieks and calls of assistance from the duchess within. Unable to force the door, they, in an agony of terror, went round by the duke's room, and, to their astonishment, found the door leading from it to the duchess's apartment open. On entering, they found the unhappy victim bathed in blood. Soon after, the duke entered, coming from his own room, and asked what was the cause of the tumult? Upon being shown the body of the duchess, he said only, "Poor woman! who is the monster who has assassinated her?"²

The sequel of the tragedy was not less terrible. It appeared that a young lady named De Luzy, who had been a governess in England, in a family of rank, had entered the duke's family in 1841, to superintend the education of his daughters. She was recommended by Madame de Flahault. Mademoiselle de Luzy, who possessed considerable talents, great address, and no small turn for management and intrigue, ere long acquired the complete command of the duke, while at the same time, by the most respectful demeanor, and the strict observance of all the rules of decorum, she long soothed the feelings and suppressed the jealousy of the duchess. Over the children her influence soon became unbounded; they looked upon her as more than mother. This anomalous state of things continued for several years, chiefly in consequence of the singular prudence and address of Mademoiselle de Luzy; but at length the duchess, seeing herself estranged both from the duke and her children, and reduced to a cipher in her own house, became melancholy and low-spirited, and several violent scenes took place between her and her husband. Her secret griefs exhaled in correspondence with her confidential friends, but external appearances were kept up, and they continued to live together. The duchess, after she had seriously taken the alarm, at first sought distraction in the pleasures of society, but she speedily found that they afforded no consolation to a wounded spirit, and she had recourse to books of religion. At length, on the recommendation of Marshal Sébastiani, Mademoiselle de Luzy, to prevent a separation, left

Ut supra.

14 Details of the catastrophe, and its termination.

the house, and a sort of forced reconciliation took place between the duke and duchess; but the foreign influence still continued. Mademoiselle de Luzy and he corresponded clandestinely, and a project of marriage, if the duchess was only out of the way, was entertained between them. Hitherto their friendship, how tender soever, had been entirely Platonic. On the 17th August the duke and duchess returned together with the children from Praslin to Paris, and separated at the barrier—the duke, with his three daughters, going to visit Mademoiselle de Luzy, from whence they returned in the evening to his hotel. At four in the following morning the catastrophe took place. Presumptive evidence being so decidedly against the duke, an ordinance directing his arrest was signed on the Aug. 21st, at the Château d'Eu, and on the same day he was brought before the Chancellor of the Peers, in the Palace of the Luxembourg. "You know," said the Chancellor, "the frightful crime with which you are charged, and the circumstances which appear so strong against you. You need not enter into details: it is enough to say yes or no." He replied: "Great strength is required to say either yes or no. I do not possess enough." He was observed to turn pale, and soon after he was taken violently ill, and breathed his

¹ *Moniteur*, Aug. 25, 1847; *Regnault*, iii. 270, 272; *Ann. Hist.* xxx. 245, 247.

last on the morning of the 24th. He had taken poison immediately after being first arrested, and thus by his death supplied the last link in the evidence of his guilt.¹

It is observed by the able annalist whose narrative has thrown so much light on the last years of the reign of Louis Philippe, that the great difficulty which has been experienced in establishing the parliamentary régime in France arises from each party directing its efforts to the supplanting a rival from power, without the slightest regard to the public good, or the changes which were likely to advance it. Never had this evil, inherent in all constitutional monarchies in a certain degree, but pre-eminently conspicuous in France, from the absence of any check from a paramount feeling of patriotism, been so wide-spread and pernicious as it was at this moment. A universal feeling of uneasiness, disquietude, and dissatisfaction prevailed, and each party in the State strove to augment the discontent thence arising, in hopes to profit by it. The severe scarcity which had prevailed for nearly two years had caused the working-classes to feel almost the evils of famine; the monetary crisis, which had followed in its train, had caused the distress to spread to the middle class, for long so prosperous, and with justice esteemed the firmest support of the throne. The foreign policy of M. Guizot had incurred the displeasure of the Liberals, who desired that France should place itself at the head of every revolutionary movement in Europe: the English alliance was a continual subject of complaint to the Imperialists, who had never forgiven Waterloo and the fall of the Empire. The chiefs of all the parties, seeing the minds of men thus disposed, entered into a virtual coalition to push the Government to extremities, by taking advantage of the ill-humors which were afloat; and the common cause on which they were to unite their

forces was PARLIAMENTARY REFORM. This topic was chosen for the war-cry, because it was likely, if successful, to lead to a change in the ruling power in the Chamber of Deputies, from which all the three parties, the Re-¹ *Cassagnac*, publicans, the Royalists, and the Im- *Dernières* perialists, hoped, strange to say, to *Années de* profit. Whether it did so or not, it *Louis Phi-* would at least overturn the common *lippe*, i. 24, enemy of all, the Citizen King and *26; Reg-* the bourgeois-elected Legislature.¹ *nault*, iii. 276, 278.

To a people thus agitated, and chiefs thus determined, it may easily be figured ^{16.} what a fortunate circumstance the *Cry for Par-* scandals which had come to light re- *liamentary* garding the corruption of the electors, *Reform.* and the prostitution of power itself and official persons to venal influences, would immediately prove. Advantage, accordingly, was immediately taken of the unhappy occurrences which have been mentioned, to inflame the general discontent into a violent passion. Would you see, said they, what were the influences which operated with even the highest functionaries of Government?—look at the revelations regarding cabinet ministers in the "*Procès Cubières, Teste.*" Would you know what sort of functionaries they put in situations of trust and emolument, and by what means they had so long secured the support of a corrupt and venal Legislature?—read the evidence in the "*Procès Rochefort*," and the unprosecuted charges in the *Presse* regarding the public sale of honors. The Praslin murder and suicide have sufficiently demonstrated what are the morals even of the highest classes of the aristocracy, and how vain it is to hope for any regeneration of society from its ascendancy. And to what purpose does the King wield the powers of the crown, the forces of the army, the influence of government?—to maintain a system of resistance which is insupportable in an age of advancing intelligence, and uphold a Ministry which, justly obnoxious to the vast majority of the nation, is obstinately set upon holding the reins of power, in order to perpetuate the reign of venality and corruption by which it has so long profited. Strong in the support of the King, the peers, the army, and a decided majority of the deputies, it has hitherto successfully resisted every effort for its overthrow; and it is now sufficiently evident that it can never be removed, or France ² *Cassagnac*, i. 100, 103; *Reg-* enjoy the blessings which the Rev- *nault*, iii. 276, olution should have brought in its *277; Circu-* train, till, by a change in the com- *laire du Co-* position of the Chamber of Depu- *mité de la* ties, a different influence is made *Gauche*, to govern the State.² *June 30, 1846.*

What gave the Liberal chiefs the most sanguine hopes of success in their cru- ^{17.} sade against the Government was *Discontent of* the notorious and wide-spread dis- *the National* content of the National Guard, es- *Guard.* pecially of Paris. The important share which that numerous and influential body, which numbered fifty thousand armed men in its legions in the metropolis alone, had had in bringing about the Revolution of 1830, and subsequently maintaining the Citizen King on the throne, was fresh in every recollection, and it was equally well known to every historical student that, in every important crisis since 1789, it had failed at

the decisive moment, and either by its irresolution ruined the Government, or by its treason overturned it. Great reliance was placed by the Liberal leaders on the now undisguised discontent of the Parisian National Guard, and it was confidently hoped that, if matters came to extremities, it would either refuse to act against the people, or openly join their ranks. In truth, this important body, which had made the Revolution of 1830, was discontented, as all forgers of revolutions are, when it found that the command of the Government had slipped out of its hands, and got into those of a majority of the Chamber, elected by the proprietors of all France. During the last years of the reign of Louis Philippe, the discontent of these armed Pretorians had become such, in consequence of the incessant action upon them of the revolutionary press, that they considered themselves superior both to the Sovereign, and the Legislature. The King did not venture to review them, from apprehension of a public manifestation of those sentiments; and to the former pressure, arising from the dread of tumults in the capital, had succeeded the influence, far more dangerous, of an armed force in its bosom, which pretended to substitute its caprices and passions for the deliberate expression of the national will by the Chamber. The electoral returns for Paris, for many years past, proved that the temper of the great majority of the citizens was decidedly Liberal, and that hostility to the Government was very widespread among them. Upon the co-operation of the National Guard in Paris more reliance was placed by the Liberal chiefs than on any other

circumstance; and the result proved that their expectations were not overcharged.¹

A ruling and directing power, already organized, existed in Paris for the regulation of the projected movement against the Government. This consisted in a central committee, established in 1845, to direct the elections in the metropolis, which excited great interest at that time, and had never yet been dissolved. M. Odillon Barrot, who was at the head of the movement, solicited their co-operation and support, which was immediately and willingly promised. A general meeting of all the Liberal chiefs took place, at which there were present M. Thiers, Duvergier de Hauranne, Garnier Pagès, Carnot, Gustave de Beaumont, Pagnerre, Barrot, Recourt, and Labédoyère. The Republicans made no attempt then to conceal their ulterior objects after displacing the ministry; but such was the anxiety of the constitutional opposition, headed by M. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, to get possession of the government, that they did not hesitate to join with them, on the perfect understanding that they were to adopt legal measures alone, as long as the ministry remained in power, but that as soon as this ceased the alliance was to be understood as closed, and each might pursue its own course, though in direct opposition to the other. This is proved by the testimony of the secretary to the Banquet Committee.* It was agreed that

the war-cry against the Government was to be the demand for parliamentary reform, as the most likely one to unite all parties, seeing the ministerial majority in the elective Chamber was the chief impediment to the gratification of the ambitious designs of the leaders of them all. To further this object, a very able petition to the Chamber of Deputies was drawn up by M. Pagnerre, craving a reform in the electoral law, which is very valuable, as containing an exposition of the grounds on which this important demand was supported by the ablest of the Liberal party in France.^{1*} And it was determined to proceed by speeches at public banquets convened in all parts of France, because, as that species of agitation had not been foreseen, from not

Elle Regnault, Histoire du Gouv. Provisoire, 21, 22; Cassagnac, l. 152, 153; Regnault, III. 277.

endrons dans le cercle légal; mais, après avoir une fois obtenu les réformes qui s'accordent avec notre triomphe, nous nous réservons de demander au delà. Nous ne transigeons avec aucun de nos principes; nous faisons seulement trêve à quelques exigences qui seraient aujourd'hui inopportunes, mais que nous nous promettons de faire valoir plus tard: Notre alliance doit cesser avec notre victoire, alors vous nous retrouverez en face de vous.' Le pacte fut conclu en ces termes et accepté sans restriction." —ELIE REGNAULT, Histoire du Gouvernement Provisoire, p. 21. (Secrétaire du Comité du Banquet.)

* "Nous demandons la Réforme de la loi du 19 Avril, 1831, dans ses dispositions électorales et parlementaires:

"1. Parcequ'elle, après une expérience de seize années, l'épreuve de six élections générales en ont surabondamment démontré les vices et l'impuissance.

"2. Parcequ'elle ne s'appuie sur aucun principe: qu'elle les viole tous.

"3. Parcequ'elle n'a de base suffisamment rationnelle ni sur la population, ni sur les contributions, ni sur l'aptitude politique, ni sur la capacité intellectuelle.

"4. Parcequ'elle est contraire au principe même du Gouvernement représentatif, qui veut que la majorité des députés soit le produit de la majorité des électeurs, soit l'expression de la majorité des citoyens.

"5. Parcequ'elle a créé une autorité spéciale qui fractionne à l'infini les collèges électoraux, qui constitue entre le plus grand nombre une inégalité choquante, qui donne aux intérêts locaux une prédominance exclusive sur les intérêts généraux et qui enlève à l'élu le caractère de député du pays du département ou même de l'arrondissement, pour en faire le représentant subalterne de quelques groupes d'électeurs.

"6. Parcequ'elle fait des petits collèges autant de bourgs pourris toujours à la disposition d'un fonctionnaire en crédit, d'une famille bien placée ou d'un gros capitaliste; là, l'électorat n'est plus un mandat politique le premier de tous, que l'électeur, au jour donné, accomplit selon ses convictions, mais un titre permanent, une fonction privilégiée, dont il croit pouvoir sans déshonneur tirer un profit personnel.

"7. Parcequ'elle tend à reconstituer, ainsi que l'a dit un ministre de la Révolution, une aristocratie intrigante et besogneuse.

"8. Parcequ'elle méconnaît le principe de l'égalité des droits entre les citoyens; qu'elle viole le principe de l'égalité des droits même entre les électeurs.

"9. Parcequ'elle ne protège pas suffisamment la grandeur et la liberté des élections, qui presque partout présentent le spectacle scandaleux de misérables intrigues, de petites passions, de luttes personnelles dont l'intérêt national est seul exclu.

"10. Parcequ'elle a éteint le mouvement politique qui est la vie même des gouvernements constitutionnels.

"11. Parcequ'en renfermant dans d'étroites limites la liberté du choix des électeurs par le cours d'éligibilité et la gratuité du Mandat, elle favorise l'envahissement de la Chambre par les fonctionnaires publics salariés, frappant ainsi du même coup la hiérarchie administrative et l'indépendance de la représentation, et substituant à l'action constitutionnelle du gouvernement parlementaire l'influence du gouvernement personnel.

"12. Parcequ'elle restreint le nombre des députés et celui des électeurs à un chiffre qui n'est pas en rapport avec la population; ouvre une large porte à la corruption, et parceque la nation ne saurait trouver dans le corps électoral tel qu'il est aujourd'hui constitué la représentation sincère de ses opinions, de ses intérêts et de ses droits."

* "Il n'y eut de part et d'autre division aucune. Les Radicaux disaient à MM. Odillon Barrot et Duvergier de Hauranne: 'Aujourd'hui notre but unique est de vous faire arriver au pouvoir, et pour cela nous nous mainti-

having been previously adopted, there were fewer legal restrictions on it than attempts to excite the people in any other way.

Having determined on the banquet agitation, the Liberal chiefs lost no time in putting their designs in execution. The first banquet was held on July 10, in a large room usually devoted to dancing-parties at the Château Rouge, near Clignancourt, in the neighborhood of Paris, where about a thousand persons assembled, the majority being electors, with a considerable number of deputies. M. Ledru-Rollin refused to attend, lest he should be compromised by some act savoring too much of loyalty to the throne. The speeches delivered were abundantly violent, though not nearly so much so as they afterward became, when the public passions were more strongly excited, and impunity had increased the hardihood of the speakers. M. Odillon Barrot said: "Let us not charge against our glorious Revolution the miseries of our actual political situation. They have arrived at the shameful spectacle, which we all feel so afflicting, not by governing according to the principles of our Revolution, but in opposition to them; by falsifying all its principles, and departing from all the conditions which it imposed. Is there any one who now doubts this? Is there any one of any party who has not long since opened his eyes to the consequences of that system which we have never ceased to combat during seventeen years? Are the scandals we have witnessed not great enough? Let us, however, not be unjust. The Government alone is not to blame. Let us examine our own conduct. Let us not ascribe every thing to others, to causes which are not the only, or even the real ones. The root of the evil is to be found in the code of public morals, in the estrangement which we all have instinctively, and from the old habits of the monarchy, from what is required to satisfy the true conditions of liberty. France is still mistress of her destiny; and every desponding feeling, as every senseless resentment, is a direct injury to her. Permit me, then, while invoking the memories of our Revolution of 1830, of that new, and I trust final, consecration of the national sovereignty, and reviving the sentiments which then animated

¹ Regnault, *iii.* 233, 284; *Id.*, *Hist. du Gouv. Prov.*, 22; *Cassagnac*, *i.* 153.

us all, to propose, 'To the Revolution of July.' " The toast was drank with enthusiasm, the company all standing, and accompanying in chorus the strains of the Marseillaise, performed by a splendid orchestra.¹

M. Duvergier de Hauranne, on the same occasion, said: "Have we any need to prove that, after the lapse of twenty years, the same situation reproduces itself with the same duties and the same dangers? Assuredly, between the Government of the last years of the Restoration and the existing Government there are profound differences, but striking resemblances, which must strike the least clear-sighted. The lesson of 1830 has been of some advantage, and men do not twice in twenty years commit the same follies. The Restoration, to arrive at its end, took the high-road, and advanced in a very ostentatious manner. The existing Government, more modest, seeks to reach the same point by by-paths and advancing on tiptoe. In other

words, what the Restoration proposed to effect by force and menaces the existing power endeavors to effect by cunning and corruption. Our institutions are no longer openly broken; they are undermined. Consciences are no longer violated, they are bought. Do you think that is an exchange for the better? I think it is decidedly for the worse. For liberty the danger is equally great, if not greater; and by the new system, morality is buried in the same grave as freedom. Can you, then, regard as mere accidents all those disorders, all those scandals, which have carried shame and confusion into the breasts of all honorable men? No, gentlemen! These disorders and scandals are not accidents; they are the necessary and inevitable consequence of the perverse policy which governs us—of that policy which, feeling itself too weak to enslave France, is striving to corrupt it. As long as that system endures, the scandal will continue and increase. If that is not clear, nothing in this world is so."¹

At Maçon a large crowd assembled to listen to the eloquent words of M. de Lamartine, who attended a banquet in that city, for which he was deputy. He openly announced the approaching downfall of the Government. "If," said he, "the Government deceives the hopes which the country has placed, in 1830, less in its nature than in its name—if, in the pride of its constitutional elevation, it seeks to isolate itself—if it fails to incorporate itself entirely with the spirit and legitimate interests of the masses—if it surrounds itself by an electoral aristocracy instead of the entire people—if it distrusts the people organized in the civic militia, and disarms them by degrees as a conquered enemy—if it caresses the military spirit, at once so necessary and so dangerous to civil freedom—if, without attempting openly to violate the rights of the nation, it seeks to corrupt it, and to acquire, under the name of liberty, a despotism so much the more dangerous that it has been purchased under the cloak of freedom—if it has succeeded in making of a nation of citizens a vile band of beggars, who have only inherited liberties purchased by the blood of their fathers to put them up to auction to the highest bidder—if it has caused France to blush for its public functionaries, and has allowed her to descend, as we have seen in a recent trial, in the scale of corruption till it has arrived at its tragedies—if it has permitted the nation to be afflicted, humiliated, by the improbity of those in authority—if it has done these things, that royalty will fall, rest assured of that! It will not slip in the blood it has shed, as that of 1789 did, but it will fall into the snare which itself had dug! And after having had the revolution of blood, and the counter-revolution of glory, you will have the revolution of public conscience, and that springing from contempt."²

The violence of some of these speeches, which were re-echoed from all the chief manufacturing towns, and some of the rural districts of France, excited no small terror in the holders of property, who were more aware than the Government of the point to which

^{21.} M. de Lamartine's speech at Maçon. Sept. 20, 1847.

¹ Regnault, *iii.* 201, 202.

^{22.} Efforts of the Liberals to keep back the Socialists.

things were tending, and of the intimate connection between the overthrow of the present Government and the triumph of Socialist and Communist principles. Aware of the danger of such an idea being generally entertained, and of the damp which it would throw over their efforts in favor of reform and ministerial change merely, M. Thiers and the constitutional opposition labored assiduously to convince the public that this danger was entirely chimerical, and that the Communists were nothing but a trifling unimportant minority, from whom no risk whatever was to be apprehended. Even M. Marrast, destined ere long to be one of the most dangerous leaders of this heated band of enthusiasts, published, on 20th September, the strongest statement as to the Socialists being "an imperceptible band of extravagants, who were content to have, instead of children, numbered manikins." In truth, however, the danger was far from imaginary; for, though the numbers of the extreme Radicals were very small, and the persons who attended the banquets put together were only 17,000 in all France, yet they comprehended the most active and dangerous portion of the community, and the one which exercised the most wide-spread influence over general opinion. The effects of their declamations appeared before the end of autumn, in the increased audacity and undisguised revolutionary character of the language used at the banquets. At Orleans, M. Marié openly spoke of a Republic; at Limoges, they preached Communism; at Dijon, the red flag was hoisted; at Lille, M. Ledru-Rollin prophetically announced the overflowing of the Nile, "which, in its impetuous course, would sweep away all impurities, and leave in its course the seeds of fertility and new life." Thus, though the number of those banded together for extreme measures was small, they professed doctrines of all others

¹ Cassagnac, l. 155, 157; Regnault, iii. 201, 204; Regnault, Hist. du Gouv. Prov., 24, 25. the most seductive to the working-classes; and the whole question was reduced to this, whether on a crisis they would enroll themselves under the banners of chiefs professing these principles.¹

Already it was evident that a serious division had arisen among the Reformers, and that in their united ranks were to be found many who were inclined not to stop short with a change of ministry, or even dynasty, but aimed at an entire subversion and remodeling of society. M. de Lamartine, in particular, who, gifted with splendid genius, and moved by a feeling heart, was utterly ignorant of mankind, and saw every thing through the Claude Lorraine atmosphere of his own enthusiastic fancy, cautiously kept aloof from the other reform banquets, and reserved himself for his own at Maçon, when he brought forward for the first time the Socialist principles which ere long shook France to its centre when proclaimed from the seat of Government. "What," said he, "do we ask of the Government of July as the condition of rendering it a sincere assistance? The dynasty with no other privilege than the throne; the King's inviolability; *social fraternity in principles and institutions*; a budget commensurate to the liberality which the State should dispense; a minister of public beneficence; a ministry of the

people's life-blood. Let the Government enter into these views, and we will support it, whether it is headed by one wearing a crown, a tiara, or a hat." At this time, this celebrated author published what has been justly called his "*Romance of the History of the Girondists*"—a work which contains more truths than is generally supposed, but so enveloped in the colors of imagination that it has already come to pass for fiction. At the time, however, it produced an immense impression, and powerfully contributed to the crisis which was approaching, by representing Revolutionists in the most interesting colors, and making heroes of those whose main object was to overturn the throne. At the same time, in the journal published at Maçon, he openly announced his principles in these words: "Are you factious?—go and conspire in darkness. Are you Communists?—come and applaud at the banquet at Maçon."¹

Notwithstanding this powerful assistance, the agitation produced by the banquets seriously declined before the end of the year 1847. The movement spread, indeed, into the provinces, and every considerable town in France had its meeting; but there was, with the exception of the capital, and one or two great commercial towns, none of the general enthusiasm which bespeaks a great national movement. Curiosity to hear M. Odillon Barrot, M. de Lamartine, or any other celebrated orator who had long been before the public, was the principal inducement which brought the inhabitants of the rural districts to the banquets. "No one can believe," says Regnault, their secretary, "to what an extent the banquet agitation was fictitious and superficial. To appreciate it, one would require to examine the correspondence of the central committee. There would be seen what difficulties the organization of the provincial banquets presented. The chief magnet which attracted the provincial electors was curiosity to see a distinguished deputy. As M. Odillon Barrot was then filling the journals with his speeches, every provincial town insisted on having him in their turn. But he could not be every where at once, and therefore the central committee offered other names of more or less attraction, and measured them out according to the weight and quality of the applicants."²

The Chamber met on the 28th December, and from the importance of the questions, both foreign and domestic, which were agitating the public mind, the Royal Speech was looked forward to with great anxiety by all parties. It contained, however, even less than is usually to be met with in such state papers, and touched lightly on the matters likely to excite a discussion in the Chambers. With a faltering voice the King said in the last speech he ever addressed to the Chamber: "My relations with all foreign powers inspire the hope that the peace of the world is secured. I hope that the progress of general civilization may be accomplished every where by the consent of the Governments among each other, without altering

¹ Cassagnac, l. 153, 161; Journal Le Bien Public, Maçon, Nov. 4, 1847; Lamartine, Hist. de la Révolution, 1848, l. 80.

²⁴ Decline of the banquet agitation in the end of the year.

² Regnault, Hist. du Gouv. Prov., 24; Cassagnac, l. 154, 155.

²⁵ Meeting of the Chambers, and King's Speech. Dec. 28.

the pacific relations or internal situation of the people. Civil war has disturbed Switzerland. My Government has come to an understanding with those of England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to offer to that friendly and neighboring people a benevolent mediation. Switzerland, I trust, will feel convinced that a respect for the rights of all, and the maintenance of the basis of the Helvetic Confederacy, can alone secure the duration of that happiness and safety which Europe was desirous of securing to her by the existing treaties. In the midst of the agitation which *hostile and blind passions* have fostered, one conviction has animated and supported me; it is, that we possess in the constitutional monarchy, in the union of the three powers of the State, the most effectual means of surmounting all our difficulties, and of providing for all the moral and material interests of our dear country. Let us firmly maintain, in the spirit of the Charter, the social order, and all its conditions. Let us faithfully guarantee, according to the Charter, the public liberties and their developments. Then shall we transmit uninjured to generations yet to come the sacred deposit which has been intrusted to us, and they will bless us for having founded and defended the edifice under the shelter of which they will live prosperous and happy."

¹ Moniteur.
Dec. 29, 1847;
Ann. Hist.
xxxi. 2, 3.

So strongly were the Liberal chiefs bent on making domestic reform the *cheval de bataille* for the session, that, notwithstanding the well-known bent of the nation to objects of foreign interest, and the existing topics which the agitated state of Italy and Switzerland presented, it was determined to have the whole discussion on the part of the speech which referred to domestic affairs. As usual on such occasions in France, the debate turned on the retention or rejection of certain words in the Address which was to be an answer to the Speech. The amendment, proposed by M. Desmousseaux de Gevré, an old conservative, retained nearly the whole Address, with the words "hostile and blind" applied to the passions of the agitators. The retention or rejection of these words was not in itself very material, but it was selected as the point for the trial of strength against the Government, and the whole force of the Liberals of all shades was put forth in the course of the debate. Each distinguished leader was assigned, like generals in the field, his own part, and the onset of the whole was not a little formidable."

² Ann. Hist.
xxxi. 5, 9.

The discussion began on the 17th January in the Chamber of Deputies. Another scandal had recently come to light in the appointment of a M. Petit to a Government appointment at Corbeil, in consideration of a retired allowance of 6000 francs (£240) a year to the wife of the functionary who withdrew to make way for the appointment. The thing was nowise blamable in itself, and is often done by the most upright persons in Great Britain, as the only means of getting quit of an incapable functionary. It was made, however, in the excited feelings of the French at that period, the subject of vehement invective against the Government. "Do you," said M. Odillon Barrot, "call that a trifling affair when you,

the chief of the Cabinet, who represent a great and noble country, said to a man, 'We have need of a resignation,' and then conferring a place or a title in exchange for the money promised or deposited? Do you style base negotiations, disgraceful undertakings, intrigues which will not bear the light going on at your very door, in your Cabinet, under your eyes, mere trifles? Well may it be said, we have no longer any clear understanding on subjects of public morality."

M. Thiers opened the attack on the financial state of the country. "Every year," said he, "we are told, and with speech of truth, that the public receipts are increasing; but of what avail is that, when the national expenditure is swelling in a still greater proportion? This is continually going on; never does a budget come out showing an equilibrium between them. The current expenses now are never under 1,600,000,000 francs, and as the receipts are never so considerable, it becomes every year indispensable to cover the deficit by loans in one form or another, or encroachments on the sinking fund. It is only by the most flagrant irregularities that you can conceal a financial embarrassment which is every day becoming more serious. This is not all. To the ordinary and extraordinary budget, which invariably succeeds it, you must add the floating debt, which now has swelled to the enormous amount of 720,000,000 francs. What a situation for a country to be in! To pay off during peace, in order to be able to borrow when the necessities of war recur, has been the inviolable policy of the wisest statesmen in all ages and countries. Instead of that, what are we doing? Not only do we pay off nothing, contribute nothing to the sinking fund during a long peace, but every year we add largely to the floating debt; and already it is proposed to have regular loans, if not every year, at least at very short intervals, in order to provide, at fixed dates, for the liquidation of the new debt contracted every year. Such conduct is nothing less than running directly counter to every principle: and it is no temporary expedient; it has gone on so long, and led to such results, that it has evidently become a fixed part of the policy of Government. To what must finances administered in such a manner lead? To a frightful catastrophe. The rumor of a war, the menace of a revolution, a fresh dearth of subsistence, even lesser misfortunes, may bring all the State creditors upon it at once, and the State would be unable to satisfy their just demands. Matters are even worse than is here presented. The State has borrowed 200,000,000 francs from the savings banks, which, on a crisis, would instantly be demanded. Then the public debt, instantly exigible, is no less than 950,000,000 francs. National bankruptcy is inevitable, if any considerable part of these creditors should present their obligations for payment."

"The public morals," said M. de Tocqueville, "are degraded, and the private morals have come too closely to resemble the public. The governing class has set the most deplorable example. It possesses the most precious of gifts, that of choosing freely the representatives of the country; and when it is called upon to exercise this

right, it degrades it, degrades itself, by prostituting a noble privilege to the most contemptible interests. The feelings of morality have vanished; electors and elected, functionaries high and low, have no other object but the augmentation of their private fortunes. It is a humiliating spectacle! France had exhibited to the world, in the midst of the first Revolution, the principles which she maintained were to regenerate the world; and now Europe, attentive to all the movements of the French mind, asks if these principles were not a dangerous seed; if the fruit they have produced is not the ruin of morals; and if a traditional servitude is not a better state for the conscience than the liberty for which so many sacrifices have been made.

30. Continued. "If the spectacle we are exhibiting is calculated to produce such an effect upon Europe when seen from afar, what effect do you suppose it must produce in France itself upon the classes which are not represented? We are told there is no danger, because there is no insurrection; that, as there is no disorder on the material surface of society, the revolutions are still distant. Doubtless disorder is not as yet in fact, but it is deeply so in thought. Look at those working classes, who, I admit, are tranquil. It is true, they are not tormented by political passions to the extent that they once were; but do you not see that their passions, their political views, have become Social? Do you not see that the opinion is by degrees spreading and taking root among them, that it is necessary to overturn, not this or that law, this or that ministry, this or that government, but to change society itself, and uproot the foundations on which it now rests? And do you not believe that, when such opinions come to be generally diffused among them, and they have descended far into the masses, they will induce, sooner or later, I know not where, I know not how, the most fearful revolutions? Such, gentlemen, is my profound conviction; I believe that we are sleeping even now on the surface of a volcano. Such is my unalterable conviction."

31. "So notorious," said M. Billault, "are these facts, that no one ventures to deny them, or dispute the daily and rapid degeneracy of public morals. All that the ministerial supporters can say is, that it is not their doing, and that they are charged with a responsibility arising from the acts of others. But if it is so, were they not the first to set the example? Have we not seen Cabinet Ministers prosecuted and condemned by the Court of Peers; high functionaries, friends of the Ministers, protected by them or their subordinates, when surprised in disgraceful acts at Paris, Clermont, Rochefort, Gros-Cailion? Have we not heard the editor of a public journal declare that he received five thousand francs a month to celebrate, in eloquent prose, the merits of the Ministry, and declaim against their adversaries? Have we not seen the privileges of theatres given away for money; public offices made the subject of traffic; Ministers offering other places in lieu of conditional dismissals; deputies deprived of their situations on account of conscientious votes; others promised high office for complaisant votes; besides innumerable other acts of the same kind, which are only mentioned in whis-

pers because no one ventures to bring them forward publicly? No one is ignorant that the Minister is the author of all these corruptions; they have been so often proved, that no one thinks of any longer contesting it."

"Turn," said M. de Lamartine, "to foreign affairs, and see whether the Government has more conformed to the national will in them than in domestic government. Has M. Guizot not heard the maledictions, loud and long, of so many noble and generous men now abandoned to the mercy of a ferocious enemy? He has heard them; but what has he done to save them from destruction? Was he ignorant of the ardent sympathies of the French people for the sacred cause of Italian independence? M. Guizot can not have abandoned his own principles; he can not in secret approve his own actions. But he is bound, hand and foot, at the feet of Austria; he groans under the servitude which he has voluntarily incurred, but he can not shake it off. To bring about what he deemed an advantageous marriage for one of his sons, Louis Philippe broke the alliance which he had contracted, the day following the Revolution of 1830, between France and England, the two great constitutional states; he then, for the sake of other alliances, permitted Austria to confiscate the town and territory of Cracow, the last corner in which a great and noble people have found refuge; he even permitted the same power to push forward into the centre of Italy, and occupy the roads leading to Rome, Florence, and Turin. All this proves that the Government of the King has abandoned the secular interests of France, its permanent advantage, even its honor, to the most miserable family advantage—to a dowry, a connection, a miserable consideration. From the day when you entered into the Spanish alliance, all your foreign acts have been contrary to your real interests. From that day every thing has been adverse to nature. You have been obliged to say that the Sunderbund was national in Switzerland, that the Diet was a faction. From that day it was necessary that France, inverting the order of nature, inverting the maxims and traditions of ages, should become Ghibelline at Rome, priest-ridden at Berne, Austrian in Piedmont, Russian at Cracow, nowhere French, every where counter-revolutionary."

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 18-25, and Feb. 6, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* xxxi. 14, 21.

It was no easy matter for any man, be his abilities what they might, to make head against a phalanx of such talent, now all directed against one single head. Guizot's courage and talents, however, were equal to the trial, and he was ably supported by M. Duchâtel, the Minister of the Interior. "We are told," said the latter, "incessantly of the deficit and the amount of the floating debt. It is no doubt true that the budgets from 1840 to 1843 were made up in part of loans and anticipations—that was the sad bequest of the Ministry of 1846 (M. Thiers's), for whose prodigality we are not responsible. The budgets of 1844 and 1845 added nothing to the public debt in any shape. The same can not be said of those of 1846 and 1847, but that was because those years were marked by scourges of nature which do not occur twice in any genera-

33. M. Duchâtel's answer.

tion. After all, how were these deficits filled up in those disastrous years? With the reserves of the sinking fund, and they will discharge them all by the year 1849. To apply the sinking fund in part, in this way, is not to burden posterity, for the entire sum so applied is drawn from present resources. It is true, it prevents the paying off of debt, but it does nothing to augment it. In a word, in the year 1849 all the charges will be met by ordinary resources and the aid derived from the sinking fund—a state of things almost identical with what it was in 1839. And with this budget we have increased the effective ranks of the army, enlarged the arsenals, repaired the fortifications of strong places, multiplied ten-fold the furnishings for the army and navy, conquered a continent, and established a durable colonial possession.

“This is what we have done with the ordinary budget. There remains, it is true, the extraordinary budget; but in regard to that, is it not just that posterity should bear the principal part of those burdens which are to benefit it more than the present generation? It is on that principle that the extraordinary budget is founded, which constitutes the chief part of the floating debt which is now represented as so alarming, and which has arisen principally from the great expenditure on the public works which have been set on foot. How were those extraordinary undertakings to be met? Could any objection have been made to such undertakings, the burden of which is instant, while their benefit is future, being executed by means of loans? And is it more open to exception because, instead of doing so, it was determined to meet it by the reserves of the sinking fund not required for the ordinary budget, and in the mean time to provide for it by means of exchequer bills? The apprehensions so strongly felt on this subject are greatly exaggerated, if not entirely imaginary. The floating debt has by no means attained the gigantic proportions which are assigned to it. In order to magnify its amount, as in the end of 1848, M. Thiers has added to it the whole additional credits opened down to that period, and put to the charge of the extraordinary budget. But the credits thus successively opened to meet these extraordinary budgets have not been entirely exhausted at the end of the year for which they were destined; they even run into the next year, and thus figure, in part at least, twice in M. Thiers's estimate. In addition to this, these credits were, for the most part, opened to carry on public works, many of which have become productive, and no account is taken of the amount of these reimbursements. If these deductions are made, it will be found that the amount of the floating debt in the end of 1847 will be 620,000,000 francs. It is true this will receive an addition of 150,000,000 during the course of 1848, but it will be entirely indemnified for this increase by the loan and various reimbursements, which will leave the floating debt at the end of 1848 not greater than it was at the close of the preceding year; and there is every prospect of its amount being still further diminished in succeeding years, from the reserve of the sinking fund being applied to its liquidation, instead of the public works now in course of construction.

“We are constantly told of the corrupting influence of power, but every one must see that in a free State the real influence is on the side of Opposition. It is it which, from day to day, directs public opinion. Power is a besieged army, doomed to the most arduous of duties, that of exhibiting courage in defense, and which, by the mere force of things, sees its resources daily diminishing. The Opposition, on the contrary, is a besieging army, in possession of the open country, which is constantly provisioned by complaints, recruited by passions, and which advances to the combat with the feelings of soldiers who are marching to an assured victory. This is the state of things in all constitutional monarchies. But with us the case is much worse. We have lived for ages under a despotic authority, and have contracted the habit of regarding power as the exclusive patrimony of a few, opposition as the patrimony of all. Under a despotic government, the Opposition, when it first arises, attracts all sympathies, because power is awful, and is its enemy, and silences arguments by bastiles. But with us all this is changed: the Opposition has become the real power; but it still enjoys the sympathies which it awakened when it wielded only the sword of honor. Thus is it doubly armed, for it has at once the strength of a free country, and the sympathies of one whose freedom is only commencing its career.

“This, then, is the enormous, the perilous power of which we hear so much; and you tell us that the public morals are corrupted by it. Is it, then, by accident that the people do not read your journals? Is it by accident they do not read your books? Is it by chance that they do not listen to your words in preference to ours? *If the morals are corrupted, it is you who have corrupted them.* Are we the persons who are every day publishing books in which religion is treated as an old prejudice—where the laws of family are set at naught, property treated as an abuse; where history is dressed up in the garb of imagination; where civic crowns are placed on the most guilty heads; where is resuscitated, to influence the public passions, the maxim so much blamed in former times, that the end will justify the means? I can not comprehend how the moderate part of the Opposition, men laying claim at least to some degree of prudence and foresight, can render themselves the auxiliaries of a party actuated by nothing but the most extreme revolutionary tactics. In our first political assemblies the authors of this system were its first victims. The melancholy return which we witness to such extreme measures should disgust all parties. In a free country there is no more decisive proof of public immorality than the indulgence at the tribune in words of hatred and animosity.

“The complaints made on the foreign conduct of Government are, if possible, still more unfounded. It has always been a fundamental principle with the King's Government to cause the neutrality of Switzerland to be respected; but the first condition of such a neutrality is that it should be respected by the Swiss themselves. The inviolability of Helvetia, so precious for the peace of Europe, becomes dangerous to all as

soon as the Swiss themselves begin to abuse it. Inviolability is not impunity. When the great Powers guaranteed the inviolability of the Swiss territory, they had no intention of establishing a volcano from whence anarchy and disorder were to be incessantly vomited forth upon the neighboring states. No one can deny that Switzerland has been the central point of all the factions, the refuge of all the revolutionists, the work-shop of all the conspiracies, directed against the peace of Europe. M. Thiers himself has well characterized it; for after the attempted assassination of Alibaud in 1836, he said: 'The event of the 25th March gives us additional reason to demand the expulsion of the refugees. France no more than Europe can consent that Switzerland should become the rallying-point of all revolutionists, alike prepared for murder or invasion, with an armed force. If the gentlemen of Berne choose to engage in such follies, France will not support them, but abandon them as lost reprobates.'

33. Concluded. "As to Italy, the Government of the King has never ceased to endeavor, with an affectionate solicitude, to aid the efforts of the Italian princes who labored for the regeneration of their country. No sooner was the intelligence received of the Pope's amnesty, than M. Guizot hastened to convey to his holiness the common thanks of Christendom. He declared that he regarded that noble act as the prelude to and pledge for others, which might satisfy public opinion without weakening the authority of the sovereign; and he never ceased to urge the adoption of those reforms, the principle of which had now been adopted. At Florence, as at Rome, he held the same language, that the French Government had no desire to intermeddle with the internal affairs of Italy; but that it was their anxious wish that the Italian governments should themselves set on foot those moderate reforms which the social condition of their people demanded, and which would confirm power by resting it on a wider basis. When Ferrara was occupied by the Imperial troops, M. Guizot did not lose an instant in demanding from the Imperial Government the re-establishment of the *statu quo*; and it was the influence of France which accelerated the pacific solution of that question. If the Roman and Tuscan people have obtained favorable conditions, and the arms necessary for their national guards, it is from France that they have received them. The uniform language of M. Guizot was that he accepted the Italian revolutions as accomplished facts, but that he would consider himself culpable if he impelled the Ital-

ians any farther on the fatal descent on which the revolutionists would drive them—prophetic words! of which the world is even now beginning to feel the truth."¹

39. Last budget of Louis Philippe. But whatever face the Finance Minister might put upon the situation of the French finances, the official budgets proved that they were in the most deplorable condition, and that whatever merit the Government of the Citizen King and the bourgeoisie may have possessed, economy is not to be reckoned among the number. Before the debate on the Address was concluded this was decisively proved. The budget brought forward

by the Finance Minister, on 3d January, 1848, presented a total of expenditure of 1,518,000,000 francs, while the income was only estimated at 1,192,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 326,000,000 francs; and the utmost economy contemplated for 1849 only proposed to reduce this deficit by 38,000,000 francs. This was more than double the deficit existing in 1789, when the Revolution began, which was 100,000,000 francs yearly.¹

Such was the keenness on both sides, and the ardor which the Liberals evinced in the attack on the Government, that the debate was prolonged for twenty days, and only terminated on 7th February. Several divisions took place, in all of which the Ministry had the majority, though it was by no means so considerable as it had been on former occasions. The amendment on the Address, proposed by the Liberals, was rejected by a majority of 83, the numbers being 222 to 189. Another amendment, proposed by M. Desmousseaux de Gevré, was rejected by 228 to 185. The ministerial majority was, on a scrutiny, declared to be 43. These majorities could not be considered as very large, considering that the whole strength of the Government was put forth on the occasion, and that the division was felt on all sides to be a vital one; and in closing the debate M. Guizot announced that, as soon as the entire Conservative party concurred in demanding reform, he would concede it, but that assuredly that day had not yet arrived. The Liberals, however, felt the division as a decisive defeat, so far as the Legislature was concerned, and they determined on abandoning all attempts to move the Chamber, and to agitate out of doors for a revolution. "The war of words," said the *National* on February 9, "is at an end; that of deeds is now to commence."²

Determined on vigorous and revolutionary action, the Liberal chiefs resolved on forcing on a banquet for the 12th arrondissement of Paris, which had been originally fixed for the 19th January, and postponed in consequence of an interdiction by the police. This was based on an old law passed on 24th August, 1790, which had never been carried into execution excepting during the Empire, but seemed to contain words which justified such an interposition of authority. This interdict was at first acquiesced in; but on the day following the rejection of the amendment on the Address, the Liberal deputies met and determined to persevere in their design, holding the old law referred to as either inapplicable to the banquet proposed, or gone into desuetude. This determination, however, was not taken without very considerable difficulty; only 94 deputies voted for it in the meeting on the subject, though the whole strength of the Opposition was assembled on the occasion. This was a great falling off from the 189 who had supported the amendment to the Address; and it indicated on what dangerous ground they were adventuring when they announced their resolution openly to brave the authority of Gov-

¹ Budget, 1848; *Moniteur*, Jan. 4, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* xxxi. 334; *Hist. of Europe*, c. iii. § 69.

^{40.} Divisions on the Address. Feb. 7.

² *Regnault*, iii. 367, 370; *Cas-sagnac*, i. 164, 165; *Ann. Hist.* xxxi. 91, 94; *National*, Feb. 9, 1848; *Regnault*, *Gouv. Prov.*, 84.

ernment.* They remitted to a committee, accordingly, to prepare an address to the public, announcing their determination to go on with the proposed banquet, which was fixed for the 22d February, and published in all the Opposition journals on the 14th of that month.†

Having thus resolved openly to defy the Government, the Radicals immediately began to increase the agitation by sounding the alarm in all their journals in the strongest terms. That object was soon gained. Terror spread immediately, and ere long became universal. All business was suspended. Before two days were over, every one whispered to his neighbor, "They will soon be fighting in the streets." The *Journal des Débats*, which had become the organ of the conservative section of the Opposition, upon this strongly counseled moderation to both parties, and even went so far as to announce that a conciliatory policy would be adopted by Government, and concessions made sufficient to satisfy all reasonable demands of the Opposition. But matters had now gone too far for the counsels of moderation to be heard on either side; and the King, in particular, whose obstinacy, when danger was approaching, had increased as much as his resolution, when it was present, had

* The Radicals had enough to do to keep together their troops, who were not a little shaken. The prodigious agitation of men's minds kept at a distance the timid, and caused the audacious themselves to hesitate.—RENAULT, *Hist. du Gouv. Prov.*, 84.

† "Une réunion de plus de cent députés appartenant aux diverses fonctions de l'opposition a eu lieu ce matin, pour décider en commun quelle ligne de conduite il convient de suivre après le vote du dernier paragraphe de l'adresse.

"La réunion s'est d'abord occupée de la situation politique que lui fait ce paragraphe. Elle a reconnu que l'adresse qui a été votée, constituée, de la part de la majorité, une violation flagrante, audacieuse des droits de la minorité, et que le Ministère, en entraînant son parti dans un acte aussi exorbitant, a tout à la fois méconnu un des principes les plus sacrés de la constitution, violé dans la personne de leurs représentants l'un des droits les plus essentiels des citoyens, et, par une mesure de salut ministérielle, jeté dans le pays de funestes ferments de division et de désordre. Dans de telles circonstances, il lui a paru que ses devoirs devenaient plus graves, plus impérieux, et qu'au milieu des événements qui agitent l'Europe et qui préoccupent la France il ne lui était pas permis d'abandonner un seul instant la garde et la défense des intérêts nationaux. L'opposition restera à son poste, pour surveiller et combattre constamment la politique contre-révolutionnaire dont les entreprises inquiètent aujourd'hui le pays tout entier.

"Quant au droit de réunion des citoyens, droit que les ministères prétendent subordonner à son bon plaisir et confisquer à son profit, l'assemblée unanimement convaincue que ce droit, inhérent à toute constitution libre, est d'ailleurs formellement établi par nos lois, a résolu d'en poursuivre le maintien et la conservation par tous les moyens légaux et constitutionnels. En conséquence, une commission a été nommée pour s'entendre avec les électeurs de Paris et pour régler de concert le concours des députés au banquet qui se prépare à titre de protestation contre les prétentions de l'arbitraire.

"Cette décision a été prise sans préjudice des appels que, sous d'autres formes, les députés de l'opposition se réservent d'adresser au corps électoral et à l'opinion publique. La réunion a pensé enfin que le cabinet, en dénaturant le véritable caractère du discours de la couronne et de l'adresse, pour en faire un acte attentatoire aux droits des députés, mettait l'opposition dans la nécessité d'exprimer, en toute occasion, sa réprobation contre un tel excès de pouvoir. Elle a donc résolu à l'unanimité, qu'aucun de ses membres, même ceux que le sort désignerait pour faire partie de la grande députation, ne participerait à la présentation de l'adresse."—*Journal des Débats*, 14th February, 1848.

diminished, was determined against any concession. "Every one," said he, "appears to be for reform; some demand it, others promise it. For my own part, I will never be a party to such weakness. Reform is another word for the advent of the Opposition to power, and that is another word for war; it is the beginning of the end. When the Opposition succeed to power, I shall take my departure."

Unfortunately, the King, during the most critical period of his life, was deprived of the intrepid counselor who had, by her resolution and abilities, so often brought him in safety through the most perilous crises of his fate. The Princess Adelaide, his sister, who had long been in a declining state of health, expired at Paris on 21st January, 1848. No bereavement could at this moment have been more calamitous to the King. To more than masculine intrepidity and firmness she united the still rarer qualities of strong sagacity and sound sense, with a practical knowledge of men surprising in one born in so elevated a sphere. Probably she owed it to the extraordinary vicissitudes of her own and her brother's career, which had brought her into contact with classes the most distant, changes the most surprising, catastrophes the most terrible. It was mainly owing to her moral courage that the vacillation was surmounted which led him so long to hesitate in accepting the proffered crown. Had she lived two months longer, there would probably have been no exhibition of the irresolution which caused him to lose it.

Meanwhile the committee to whom it had been remitted to choose a place for the proposed banquet, without having as yet selected a place, fixed upon the 22d February. Shortly after, a place was discovered in a street nearly deserted, in the Champs Elysées, named the *Chemin de Versailles*. This was a large open space inclosed by four walls, over which, as over the Roman amphitheatres, it was proposed to stretch a huge canvas covering, so as to convert it into an apartment capable of holding 6000 persons at table. This space was hired by the committee on the 20th, and on the 21st the preparations for stretching the canvas were commenced. But meanwhile the leaders of the Opposition, seeing matters approaching a crisis, felt anxious to avoid a collision, and gladly lent an ear to a compromise proposed by the Government, which promised the means of bringing matters to a judicial determination, without running the fearful risks of a conflict between the people and the military. The arrangement proposed was, that the company were all to be allowed to assemble, without impediment or molestation, in the place fixed on for the banquet, but that when there, they were to be invited to disperse by the officers of police, and the president M. Boissel, with M. Odillon Barrot and a few of the other leaders, should be summoned before the law-courts to answer for the alleged breach of the interdict. This proposal, it is true, would render abortive the whole objects for which the banquet had been projected; but such was the sense of responsibility entertained by the leaders of the movement, and the general consciousness

of the impending danger if the banquet were either dispersed by force or permitted to go on without impediment, that it was agreed to by the leaders of the Opposition, and M. Duchâtel on the part of the Government, and it was fondly hoped that the crisis had been surmounted.¹

This compromise was gladly accepted by the great body of the Liberals, and in particular those who desired a change of ministry, but not of the dynasty on the throne, but it was violently condemned by the ultras on both sides. The King and a part of the courtiers objected to it as an unworthy concession to popular violence, and an acknowledgment that the Government declined a combat. The extreme Radicals, led by M. Marrast and M. Ledru-Rollin, declaimed against it as a disgraceful abandonment of the rights of the people. The compromise, however, was carried through, and a sub-committee drew up a proclamation, in which it was announced that the meeting would take place, but the banquet would not follow, as it had been interdicted by the Government. To render the demonstration, however, without the banquet, as imposing as possible, it was announced that the procession was to take place on the largest possible scale. It was to extend along the boulevards from the Place of the Bastille to the Madeleine; the National Guards were invited to attend in their uniforms, but without their arms; and all the students and scholars at the military schools shared in the invitation. The utmost order and regularity was enjoined upon all persons forming part of the cortège, or witnessing it, and it was thought that a hundred thousand persons would appear in its ranks.²

The Government was seized with the utmost apprehensions when this programme appeared in the Opposition journals. The danger appeared more imminent than ever, now that the banquet was converted into a procession. It was not the after-dinner speeches, but a collision in the streets which was the real object of alarm. M. Guizot declared, in a Cabinet council held on the subject, that all authority was lost when Government entered into terms with its enemies. M. Duchâtel urged that the opportunity should be seized of re-establishing the shaken authority of Government. M. Jacqueminot protested that the troops should be brought forward to stop the procession. On their side the Liberal chiefs were hardly less embarrassed, for it had become apparent that the substitution of a procession for the banquet had only augmented the danger, by bringing it into the public streets, and into the presence of the people, and the party was divided on the subject. Impressed with these ideas, they agreed to publish an explanatory address, in which it should be announced that they had no intention of convoking the National Guard, or usurping the powers of Government. A draft of the proposed note was written out and submitted to M. Duchâtel; but the Government declined to agree to it, and the Chamber met at five in the afternoon, with-

out any thing being decided on the subject. Explanations were then made on both sides, but without leading to any amicable result—M. Duchâtel declaring that no impediment would be thrown in the way of any who chose going to the banquet individually, but that any attempt to form a procession on the public streets would be prevented; and M. Barrot replying that there was no intention of disturbing the public peace, that perfect order would be observed in the procession, and that, if the Government took a step which was virtually declaring Paris in a state of siege, they were provoking the breach of the peace which they professed so much anxiety to avoid. These explanations led to no result, and the Chamber separated without any thing being determined or agreed to on the subject. But in the evening it was agreed by a majority of the Liberal deputies that they should not attend the procession.³

Later still at night, a final meeting of the more decided Liberals took place in the office of the *Réforme*, to determine what should be done in regard to the procession on the following day. Opinions, even in that extreme section of the Liberals, were divided on the subject. M. Lagrange strongly urged the adoption of decided measures. "Yes!" said he, "let the democracy hoist its standard, and descend boldly into the field of battle for Progress. Humanity in a mass has its eyes upon you; our standard will rally around us the whole warlike and fraternal cohorts. What more are we waiting for?" Loud applause followed these words, and it seemed as if the entire meeting was about to declare for war, when M. Louis Blanc rose and said: "After the Opposition deputies have agitated the country to its very entrails, they recoil. I feel my blood boil within my bosom at such conduct, and if I listened only to my indignation I would say in presence of such baseness, 'Let us raise our war-cry and advance.' But humanity restrains me. I ask if you are entitled to dispose of the blood of a generous people, without any prospect of advantage to the cause of democracy? If the Patriots commence the conflict to-morrow, abandoned by the leaders who have hitherto put themselves at the head of the movement, they will infallibly be crushed, and the democracy will be drowned in blood. That will be the result of to-morrow's struggle. And do not deceive yourselves. The National Guard, which has gone in uniform from banquet to banquet, will to-morrow, in the same uniform, mow down the Patriots with grape-shot alongside of the soldiers. Determine on insurrection if you please; but for my part, if you adopt such a decision, I will retire to my home to cover myself with crape, and mourn over the ruin of democracy." Ledru-Rollin soon after added: "During the first Revolution, when our fathers had fixed on a field-day, they had prepared for it before. Are we in a similar situation? Have we arms, ammunition, combatants ready? The Government is thoroughly prepared. The army only awaits the signal to crush us. My opinion is, that to run into a conflict in such circumstances is an act of madness." These opinions were so obviously well-founded, that they at

¹ Regnault, II. 375, 377, 386, 387; Hist. du Gouv. Prov., 30, 33; Cassagnac, I. 168.

^{45.} Programme of the proposed procession. February 21.

² Journal des Débats, Feb. 21, 1848.

^{46.} Difficulties on both sides regarding a procession. February 21.

³ Regnault, III. 393, 394; Cassagnac I. 180, 183; Naissance de la République, 43, 44.

^{47.} Debate, and decision of the Liberal chiefs against the procession.

length came to prevail with the majority of the meeting. It was agreed at the eleventh hour that the proposed procession on the day following should be abandoned, and a formal impeachment of the Ministers before the Chamber of Peers substituted in its room. On the day following, a double set of placards appeared on all the walls of Paris—the first, from the Prefect of Police, interdicting any assembly on the public streets; the second, from the Banquet Committee, recommending the people not to attempt to form any procession.^{1*}

Shortly before, an article had appeared in the *National* from the pen of M. Mar-
 48. rast, which pointed to the proposed demonstration as a great moral movement, which was to crush the Government by the simple demonstration of public opinion, without any physical collision. “Do not,” said he, addressing the Minister, “reckon on a disturbance. If you wish it, rely upon it you shall not have it. What we are more anxious for is a demonstration of which the calmness may terrify you, while its magnitude may indicate the firm determination of the people. We wish that the deputies, the electors, the officers and soldiers of the National Guard, with all the citizens who have a resolute spirit, should meet you in a pacific mass, unarmed, immense, and whose all-powerful voice may indicate the respect in which they hold you. It is order which constitutes our strength—it is the voice of opinion which will pass over your battalions to crush you. The movement will be the more terrible for you from its very tranquillity. You shall have neither troubles nor disorders, nor a bloody collision. The people of Paris have no need of a battle to conquer—it is enough for them to show themselves.”² And

now, when they were, as they conceived, discreditably abandoned by the leaders of the “dynastic Opposi-

* “En ajournant ainsi l'exercice d'un droit, l'opposition prend l'engagement de faire prévaloir ce droit par toutes les voix constitutionnelles. Elle ne manquera pas à ce devoir; elle poursuivra, avec plus de persévérance et plus d'énergie que jamais, la lutte qu'elle a entreprise contre une politique corruptrice, violente et antinationale. En ne se rendant pas au banquet, l'opposition accomplit un grand acte de modération et d'humanité; elle fait qu'il lui reste à accomplir un grand acte de fermeté et de justice.”—*National*, 22d February, 1848.

The indictment against the Government promised in the last paragraph was at the same time drawn up and signed.

1. “D'avoir trahi au dehors l'honneur et les intérêts de la France.

2. “D'avoir faussé les principes de la constitution, la garantie de la liberté, et attenté aux droits des citoyens.

3. “D'avoir, par une corruption systématique, tenté de substituer à l'expression de l'opinion publique les calculs d'intérêt privé, et de pervertir ainsi le gouvernement représentatif.

4. “D'avoir trafiqué, dans un intérêt ministériel, des fonctions publiques ainsi que de tous les attributs et privilèges du pouvoir.

5. “D'avoir, dans le même but, ruiné les finances de l'état et compromis ainsi les forces et la grandeur nationale.

6. “D'avoir violemment dépouillé les citoyens d'un droit essentiel à toute constitution libre et dont l'exercice leur avait été garanti par la charte, par les lois, et par les précédents.

7. “D'avoir enfin, par une politique ouvertement contre-révolutionnaire, remis en question toutes les conquêtes de nos deux révolutions et jeté le pays dans une agitation profonde.”—*Réforme*, 22d February, 1848; REGNAULT, III. 396, 397.

tion,” they again addressed the people in the *Réforme*, dissuading them from any collision with the military, and promising them ulterior measures at a future time. “Men of the people,” said M. Flocon in that journal, “beware of any rash excess to-morrow. Do not furnish the Government with the opportunity so much desired of a bloody success. Do not give the dynastic Opposition, which abandons at once you and itself, a pretext of which it would willingly avail itself, to throw a veil over its weakness. You now see what are the consequences of allowing the initiative to be taken by those who are not our own. Patience yet a while! When it shall seem good to the democratic party to take the lead in its turn, it will be seen whether it will retire when it has once advanced.”¹

A very curious and valuable account exists, from the pen of one who was initiated into all their secrets, of the strength of the secret societies in France at this period, which embraced all who were decided Republicans. “The Republican party,” says Lucien de la Hodde, “was, in February, 1848, composed of the following persons: 4000 subscribers to the *National*, of whom only one half were Republicans, the other belonging to the dynastic Opposition, led by Garnier Pagès and Carnot. Of these 2000 there were not more than 600 in Paris, and of these only 200 could be relied on in an actual conflict. The *Réforme* had 2000 subscribers, of whom 500 were in Paris, and they would turn out to a man. The two societies, ‘des Saisons’ and ‘la Société Dissidente,’ promised 1000 combatants, though it was doubtful if they could muster 600, though the latter embraced all the Communists in Paris. To these we must add 400 or 500 old conspirators, whom the first musket-shot would recall to their old standards; and 1500 Polish, Italian, and Spanish refugees, who would probably do the same, from the idea that it would advance the cause of revolution in their own countries. In all, 4000 in Paris, and that was the very utmost that could be relied on in the capital. In the provinces there was only one real secret society, which was at Lyons: Marseilles, Toulouse, and two or three other great towns, professed to have such, but no reliance could be placed on them. On the whole, there might be 15,000 or 16,000 Republicans in the departments, and 4000 in Paris. In all, 19,000 or 20,000 out of 17,000,000 of male inhabitants—a proportion so infinitely small, that it is evident they could never have overturned a strong government.”²

On the other hand, the forces of the Government were much more considerable, and such as, if properly directed and supported by the National Guard, must have secured them an easy victory in any contest which might be approaching. The regular troops in Paris were 25,000 strong; and they might in six hours be doubled by the troops in the neighboring towns. Versailles had a strong reserve of cavalry, Vincennes of artillery. In a Cabinet council held on the afternoon of the 20th, when it was first known that the Banquet Committee had resolved to go on with the procession, it

¹ *National*, Feb. 22, 1848.

² De la Hodde, *Hist. des Sociétés Secrètes*, 402, 403.

³ Forces of the Government, and its measures, February 21.

was determined to prevent it by force; and orders were given to have the whole military posts of the capital strongly occupied at seven in the following morning. Had this resolution been adhered to the demonstration might have been prevented, and the family of Orleans at this moment seated on the throne of France. But, unfortunately, in the course of the evening intelligence arrived of the Opposition deputies having declined to take part in the procession, and published an address, dissuading others from doing so, which appeared in the evening papers of the 21st at four P.M. This was immediately communicated to the Government, and they, deeming the crisis over, thought it advisable to do nothing which might provoke a fresh collision, and accordingly determined to countermand the troops. Orders to this effect were dispatched in all directions from the Tuileries at eleven at night on the 21st; and, accordingly, on the morning of the 22d not a soldier was to be seen in the streets.¹

¹ Cassagnac, l. 197, 200; Regnault, III. 397, 399; Moniteur, Feb. 23, 1848.

The consequences of this unfortunate step were soon apparent. The people, who were for the most part ignorant of the resolution come to at the eleventh hour by the Liberal committees to countermand the procession, and of the counter-orders in consequence given to the troops, assembled in great numbers in the principal streets at daybreak on the 22d, and seeing no attempts made to interrupt them, deemed it certain that the demonstration was to go on, and that the cause of reform had triumphed. They were not shaken in this belief by the addresses already given, which appeared in the morning newspapers of the same day, inviting the people not to attempt a demonstration. They still remained calm and motionless, in great crowds, in the Boulevard de la Madeleine, the Place de la Concorde, and the Champs Elysées, awaiting the course of events, and convinced that before nightfall something decisive would take place. The emissaries from the *Réforme* and *National* gave this advice, which was implicitly obeyed. Meanwhile, the name of M. Guizot was in every mouth, and generally with the same execrations as that of M. de Polignac had been in July, 1830. As the afternoon approached, some bands of students began to traverse the streets, singing the Marseillaise, and shouting, "Vive la Réforme!—à bas M. Guizot!" Still, however, there was no actual rioting till late in the evening, when, in consequence of the crowds which still thronged the streets, some bodies of cavalry were stationed in the Rue de Rivoli, St. Honoré, and the boulevards. They were pelted with stones in some places by the mob, and in the centre of the city some attempts were made to erect barricades. In consequence of this circumstance, it was resolved to occupy Paris in a military manner on the following morning, and according to constant usage since 1830, by *joint detachments of the regular troops and the National Guard*. Orders to assemble the latter force were accordingly sent out late at night

² Cassagnac, l. 201, 208; Regnault, III. 401, 408; Moniteur, Feb. 23, 1848.

on the 22d, and at seven in the morning of the 23d the *générale* beat in all the streets of Paris,² and the National Guard, in uniform, were every where to be seen hasten-

ing to their rallying-points. To this resolution the fall of the monarchy is beyond all question to be ascribed.

The principal officers of the great civic force in Paris, which for ten years had been worked upon by the Liberal press, and which had become extremely discontented in consequence of its will not having in all cases been implicitly obeyed by the Government, had a meeting at nine at night, on the 22d, in the office of the *Siècle*, to deliberate on the course which they should pursue in the crisis which was approaching. It was there resolved unanimously that they should take up arms and appear in their battalions with or without the orders of Government on the following day. They were to assume such an attitude as should convince every one that, however determined to displace the Ministry, they would not permit the overthrow of the Government. In a word, they were to interpose between the contending parties in such a way as should at once prevent the effusion of blood, force reform upon the Government, and hinder the throne being shaken. For this purpose they were to place themselves every where between the soldiers and multitude, and compel both to desist from conflict, while at the same time their voice and attitude should force a change of men and measures on the Executive. This plan of operations was openly expounded in a petition drawn up by the officers of the 4th Legion, and to which nearly all the others gave in their adhesion. Thus the National Guard of Paris assumed the functions of the Legislature, and aspired, like the Prætorians of Rome, not merely to give, as they had done, a monarch to the throne, but to impose a policy on his Government. Meanwhile their commander, General Jacqueminot, was so ignorant of its real disposition, that he assured the Council that, with the exception of a few battalions which were ill-disposed and known, the loyalty of the whole civic force might with confidence be relied on.¹

¹ Recit. de St. Amand, Cap. à la 4^{ème} Légion; Le Drame aux Tuileries, 4; Cassagnac, l. 204; Regnault, Hist. du Gouv. Prov., c. 3.

It soon appeared how far the anticipations of General Jacqueminot were correct, and what support, in its last agony, the monarchy of July was to receive from the National Guard. The 23d February opened upon a city agitated but undecided, ready to obey the strongest impulse, to surrender the direction to whoever had the courage to seize it. The presence of the military in all the principal quarters sufficiently revealed the apprehensions of Government—the conduct of the civic force too clearly evinced to which side it would incline. At ten, M. Flocon, a determined Revolutionist, entered in haste the office of the *Réforme*, and exclaimed, "Quick, all clothe yourselves in the uniform of the National Guard: never mind whether they are your own or not: intimate to all Patriots to do the same. As soon as you are dressed, hasten to the mayor's, calling out 'Vive la Réforme!' Directly you are there, put yourselves at the head of the detachments as they arrive, and interpose them between the soldiers and the people." Quick, quick! the Republic is to be had

² The National Guard in effect join the insurgents.

³ De la Hodde, Soc. Sec., 442.

for the taking." These directions, emanating from the head-quarters of the movement, were too faithfully adopted; and the National Guard, timid, desirous to avoid a collision, and avert the shedding of blood, were every where too happy to follow them. The orders of Government being that all the posts should be occupied by the troops of the line and the civic forces jointly, the latter were every where on the spot with the soldiers, and, in conformity with their injunction, they constantly interposed between the military and the populace, so as to render any attempt to disperse the assemblages impossible, as no officer would incur the responsibility of openly engaging in a conflict with the National Guard of the capital.* Several of the legions openly joined them, at least in words, and traversed the streets, crying out "Vive la Réforme!" The military, condemned to inactivity by this skillful policy, remained passive spectators of the increasing tumult; and the fact of their nowhere acting, spread abroad the belief that they too had become traitors, and that the whole military force of the capital was on the side of the Liberals. The revolutionary leaders were not slow in taking advantage of this auspicious state of things. Orders were immediately sent to the secret societies every where to come forth, and bring with them the strength of the faubourgs.

The agitation rose to its highest point when these formidable bands, which recalled the worst days of the first Revolution, began to appear at noon in the Rue St. Honoré; and in the centre of the city barricades were hastily run up, and the gunsmiths' shops began to be pillaged.¹

Great was the consternation at the Tuileries when intelligence of these events arrived, and successive messengers brought in the news that the detachments of the National Guard were shouting "Vive la Réforme!" as they traversed the streets; that they were every where interposing between the military and the mob, and in some cases had actually formed line with fixed bayonets against the cavalry who had orders to clear the streets. To every one who came in the King put the question, "Is it possible that the National Guard is taking part with the Reformers—that it is following in the wake of the *National* and the *Réforme*?" From all he received the same answer, or the consternation painted on their visages told it too plainly. The imminence of the danger was at once perceived. By thrusting themselves in this dubious manner between the regulars and the mob, the civic force was serving the cause of revolution far more effectually than if they had openly joined it; for, had they done so, the united strength of the National Guards and insurgents would have been

quickly defeated by the regular soldiers, who were all steady; but now the insurgents were every hour gathering strength, from the passive attitude of the troops in presence of rapidly-increasing danger. The scales fell from all eyes; the fatal truth had become apparent; the Citizen King, the creation of the National Guard, was about to be destroyed by the power which had erected his throne. Yet how was the danger to be averted—how was the demon of their own creation to be exorcised?¹

In this extremity a council was hastily summoned in the King's cabinet, in the Tuileries, which the Queen was invited to attend. M. Guizot was from a feeling of delicacy, absent. The first words she uttered were: "If M. Guizot has the slightest feeling of devotion to the King and to France, he will not remain an hour longer in power—he is ruining the King." "Madame," replied M. Duchâtel, "M. Guizot is determined, like all his colleagues, to defend to the last extremity, if necessary, the King and the monarchy, but he has no intention, any more than ourselves, of forcing himself on the Crown." "Do not say such things," interrupted the King; "if M. Guizot knew—" "I desire nothing more than that he should know," resumed the Queen: "I would say it to himself. I esteem him sufficiently for that; he is a man of honor, and will understand me." Upon this, M. Duchâtel broke up the conference by going to bring in M. Guizot; and in his absence the Duke de Montpensier strongly supported the opinion of the Queen, and insisted on a message being immediately sent to the Chambers, announcing the concession of Parliamentary Reform; to which M. Duchâtel said, as a man of honor, he could not accede. When M. Duchâtel returned with M. Guizot, the King, who was still in his cabinet, with the Queen and the princes, without pretending to be insensible to the dangers of his situation, expressed the greatest repugnance at the idea of separating from his Minister. "I would rather abdicate," said he. "You can not do that, my friend," said the Queen; "you belong to France, not to yourself." "True," replied the King, with a mournful accent, "I am more to be pitied than my Ministers—I can not resign." Then turning to M. Guizot, he said, "Do you believe, my dear President, that the Cabinet is in a situation to make head against the storm, and to triumph over it?" "Sire!" replied M. Guizot, "when the King proposes such a question, he himself answers it. The Cabinet may be in a condition to gain the victory in the streets, but it can not conquer at the same time the royal family and the Crown. To throw a doubt on its support in the Tuileries is to destroy it in the exercise of power. The Cabinet has no alternative but to retire." The King then consulted his Ministers for a few minutes as to who should be sent for to construct a new Ministry, and Count Molé was mentioned. The King then, shedding tears, embraced his Ministers, who were not less affected. "You will always remain the friends of the King," said the Queen: "you will support him." "How happy you are," said the King, as

* "La Garde Nationale, appelée en effet le matin du 24 pour s'interposer entre le peuple et la troupe de ligne, répondait lentement et mollement à l'appel. Elle voyait dans le mouvement prolongé du peuple une manifestation antiministérielle, une *pétition armée* en faveur de la réforme électorale qu'elle était loin de désapprouver. Elle y souriait en secret. Elle ne s'alarmait pas trop de voir ce peuple voter à coup de fusil contre le système usé du Roi. Ce Prince avait vieilli dans le cœur de la Garde Nationale, comme le chiffre de ses années. La sagesse paraissait aux Parisiens pétrifiés en obstination."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, i. 71, 72.

¹ Cassagnac, i. 209, 210; Regnault, iii. 106, 107; De la Hodde, 445, 447; Hist. du Gouv. Prov., c. iii.

² Cassagnac, i. 209, 212; Regnault, iii. 404; Lamartine, Histoire de la Révolution de 1848, i. 85, 86.

they took their leave—"you depart with honor, I remain with shame."

No sooner was the retirement of M. Guizot determined on than he himself announced the intelligence with much dignity to the Chamber. The Opposition immediately broke forth into the most indecent acclamations; and the news, instantly communicated to the streets, spread almost with the rapidity of the electric telegraph over all Paris. Opinions were much divided on the subject. The National Guard and "dynastic Opposition" were in transports; theirs was the triumph; they had interposed between the Crown and revolution, and saved the monarchy. The Conservatives were in dismay: again, as in 1789, the Crown was receding before the populace, shrinking from an encounter; already it was whispered in the streets, "The King is betraying us." But the effect upon the extreme Liberals was still more serious. In an instant, like a demon suddenly unchained, the spirit of revolution stalked abroad. "All," says the annalist, "who were in debt, all who had any thing to gain by disturbance—the galley-slaves, the robbers, the burglars, the assassins—combined in one hideous *mêlée*. Some hoped for rapine and blood, others for disorder and confusion—all for selfish benefit from convulsion." At meetings hastily called at the offices of the *Réforme* and the *National* opinions were much divided as to the course which they should pursue. MM. Marrast and Flocon strongly counseled immediate insurrection; MM. Etienne Arago and Louis Blanc knew not what to advise, but recommended awaiting the course of events. To the latter opinion M. Ledru-Rollin adhered, deeming it too hazardous as yet openly to attack the monarchy. Meanwhile the National Guard, regarding the victory as gained, and themselves the heroes who had won it, returned, joyfully chanting songs of triumph, to their homes, and gave vent to the general enthusiasm with which they were seized by the spontaneous illumination of their windows.¹

But the expectations on both sides were destined to disappointment; and the night which began amidst the blaze of illumination was the last of any thing like freedom—the last of the monarchy in France. While the National Guards, who had virtually betrayed their oaths, were rejoicing in the success of their defection, bands of ardent, decided revolutionists were forming in the central parts of the city, prepared to turn to the best account the unlooked-for prospects of success which it had opened to them. One of these bands was formed at the door of the office of the *Réforme*, and headed by the most determined of its contributors; a second came from the door of the *National*, which marched toward the Boulevard Italien, shouting "Vive la Réforme!—à bas les Ministres!" A third, more squalid in appearance, more ragged in dress, more ferocious in expression, came up from the Boulevard de la Bastille. At its head was a savage-looking man named Lagrange, whose pale visage, restless eye, and quivering lip revealed a desperate intent. These three col-

umns united in front of the Café Tortoni, on the Boulevard Italien, and a vast crowd of idlers, expecting something, soon assembled around it. Soon their expectations were realized. A small detachment, armed with sabres and pikes, broke off from the main body on the boulevards, and moved toward the Hotel of Foreign Affairs, occupied by M. Guizot, in front of which a battalion of infantry was stationed, in consequence of its having been attacked the preceding evening. A red flag waved over the forest of pikes which the crowd bore along, and shone bright in the glare of the torches by which it was surrounded. The crowd halted at the line of bayonets which barred the street, and the horse of the commander reared and fell backward into the line, which closed and surrounded its chief. At this moment, when the battalion was standing with their loaded pieces in their hands, a shot was discharged by Lagrange toward the soldiers; and they, deeming themselves attacked, replied by a volley which at once brought down fifty of the mob, killed or wounded. Never did great effects more closely follow a comparatively inconsiderable event; in the excited state of men's minds, Lagrange's stray shot brought down the monarchy.¹

The premeditation and design with which this calamitous collision between the mob and regular troops had been provoked was immediately seen from what ensued. Hardly had the unhappy persons who were killed or wounded fallen than as many of them as it could contain were placed in a large wagon, apparently brought up with the crowd for the occasion. On it they were skillfully arranged with artistic talent for theatrical effect, the bloody wounds being carefully exposed to the view, and the whole surmounted by a female figure, half naked, who unfortunately had fallen in the affray. When the hideous mass was thoroughly arranged, the cry was raised, "To the *National*!" and thither they went, surrounded by a crowd, every instant increasing, in the highest state of excitement. After waiting a few minutes at this centre of the insurrection, they moved off, and, crossing the Quartier of Montmartre, again halted at the doors of the *Réforme*, where they arrived at midnight. There the crowd was harangued by the leaders, who represented them as the bodies of those who had fallen under the stroke of a cruel and vindictive tyranny. No one suspected, what was the truth, that the conflict had been got up, without a thought of its victims, to add to the excitement and fury of the people. From the office of the *Réforme* the procession continued its course all night by torch-light through Paris, surrounded by a dense crowd, in a frantic state of excitement, shouting and howling aloud, and spreading consternation and the thirst for vengeance wherever they went.^{2*}

* It is a curious proof of the difference of national character, and of the different temper of the public mind in Great Britain and France at this period, that a few days after this frightful theatrical exhibition had been got up with such effect in Paris—viz., on March 6, 1848—on occasion of the Radical riots in Glasgow, stimulated by the success of the French movement, a similar attempt,

¹ Lamartine, *Hist. de la Révolution*, l. 94, 97; De la Hodde, 456, 457; Cassagnac, l. 218, 219; Regnault, *iii.* 404, 405.

² Parade of the dead bodies through Paris.

² Cassagnac, l. 218, 219; Lamartine, l. 95, 98; Regnault, *iii.* 405, 406; De la Hodde, 456, 457.

¹ Cassagnac, l. 212, 214; De la Hodde, *Soc. Sec.*, 450, 453; Regnault, *iii.* 404, 405; Lamartine, *Hist. de la Révolution*, l. 96, 98.

^{57.} Catastrophe in front of M. Guizot's house.

During this eventful night, big with the fate of France and of Europe, the greatest embarrassment prevailed at the Tuileries. In pursuance of the advice of M. Guizot and M. Duchâtel, M. Molé had been sent for on the preceding day, and had had a conference with the King, but nothing definitive had been agreed upon; and toward evening the increasing agitation evinced too clearly that the time for half-measures had gone past, and that no alternative remained but strenuous resistance or unlimited concession. When intelligence arrived of the melancholy catastrophe in front of the Foreign Office, and the only question was a battle in the street or democratic government, the King, by advice of M. Guizot, who still, though out of office, remained in the Tuileries, sent for M. Thiers, who received the royal summons at midnight, and immediately repaired to the palace. At the same time, the command of the entire military, regular and National Guard, was withdrawn from Generals Sébastiani and Jacqueminot, and bestowed on Marshal Bugeaud, whose high character and deserved popularity with the soldiers, as well as his long career of victory, pointed him out as the most appropriate person to surmount such a crisis. M. Thiers, on his arrival, asked to see the military plans of Marshal Bugeaud, of which, upon examination, he approved; but he declared, at the same time, that he could not, in the circumstances, form a cabinet without the assistance of M. Odillon Barrot. The King manifested the greatest repugnance to this proposal; it was the announcement, not of a change of men, but of measures. To admit M. Odillon Barrot into the Cabinet was to abandon the whole policy of his reign, capitulate to the reformers, and accept democracy as the ruling power in the State. But the urgency of the circumstances would admit of no compromise; and at length the repugnance of the monarch was overcome, and M. Odillon Barrot was sent for and intrusted with the arduous duties of Minister of the Interior. The long-wished-for and entire change of Ministry was immediately announced by placards over all the streets of Paris, with the appointment of General Lamoricière to the command of the National Guard.¹

Meanwhile the agitation in Paris had everywhere become excessive, and in the crowded parts of the city reached a height which threatened an immediate convulsion. The insurgents, now relieved of all resistance by the dispersion of the National Guard and the paralysis of Government, got possession of the principal churches; and the dismal clang of the tocsin, which was rung all night, recalled to the few who yet survived the terrible night which preceded the 10th of August, 1792. Roused by the mournful and ceaseless sound, the inhabitants of Paris were all astir before daylight; few eyes

apparently suggested by the first, was made to enhance the excitement, by parading the body of one of the unfortunate persons who had been slain by the military, through the crowded streets. But in Scotland the effect was just the reverse of what it had been in France, and it contributed more than any thing else to quell the insurrection, for it showed that the military would do their duty, and what the consequences of resisting them might be.

were closed during the whole night. Under cloud of darkness, barricades were hastily run up in the central parts of the city, wagons and omnibuses overturned, pavement torn up, and every preparation made for a desperate defense. Already the gunsmiths' shops were broken open, and armed defenders were to be seen on the summit of the defenses. At the same time, the few remaining leaders of the constitutional Opposition, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, M. Remusat, Marshal Gérard, and General Lamoricière, hastened to the Tuileries to offer, in its last extremity, to the Government of the monarchy the aid of their counsels or the support of their arms.¹

But how urgent soever affairs may have appeared, or really have been, during the night, Marshal Bugeaud's vigor and capacity were equal to the crisis. No sooner did the veteran soldier receive his appointment as commander-in-chief than he hastened, at two in the morning, to the King, received his last instructions from him in person, and went forth with them to the military headquarters in the city. He found every thing in confusion, very few officers or aids-de-camp in attendance, and no one knowing who was to command and who obey. His vigor and capacity, however, soon gave a new direction to affairs; never was seen more clearly what a master-mind is, and what vigor and capacity can do in a crisis. Instantly, as if by enchantment, every thing was changed; order succeeded to chaos, consecutive movement to vacillating direction. Orders were dispatched in every direction, the bearers of which, in the obscurity of the night, were unobserved, and all reached their destination. By five in the morning the whole columns were in motion, and rapidly advancing to the important strategic points assigned to them in the city. They were four in number, and all commanded by officers of vigor and experience. The first was to advance to the Hôtel de Ville along the quay of the city, the same direction which the columns took which, on the 9th Thermidor, overthrew Robespierre; the second, which was commanded by General Bedeau, was to move by the boulevards to the place of the Bastille; the third, to penetrate through the heart of Paris between the two others, so as to be able to aid either, if required; the fourth was to march to the Pantheon, and occupy it in force. The orders of the whole were to advance rapidly forward and destroy all barricades on their passage, and await further orders when they had reached the point to which they were ordered to advance. Such was the vigor employed in the movements, that by seven the whole columns had reached their points of destination except the second, which was a little behind, owing to General Bedeau having engaged in a conference with the commander of a body of national guards which opposed his progress. The Hôtel de Ville, Pantheon, and whole centre of the city, were strongly occupied, without the troops left at the Tuileries and Palais Royal being weakened. Twenty-five thousand men, who had advanced in the four columns, had done the whole, and done it by the mere force of an advance, without firing a shot. The barricades had all been surmounted and

¹ Lamartine, i. 100, 108; Cassagnac, i. 223, 225; Regnault, iii. 408, 409.

¹ Lamartine, i. 109, 110, 140; Cassagnac, i. 223, 225; Regnault, iii. 409; De la Hodge, 455.

leveled, the important posts occupied, Paris was militarily won, the victory gained, the horrors of revolution averted. At this moment Marshal Bugeaud received an order, signed by M. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, *to cease the combat and withdraw the troops!* He refused at first

¹ Lamartine, i. 106, 103; Regnault, iii. 409, 410; Cas-sagnac, i. 222, 224. to obey it unless accompanied by an order under the sign-manual of the King; but soon one signed by the Duke de Nemours compelled submission.¹

The secret of this extraordinary and most calamitous change, when decisive success had already been obtained over the insurgents, was that M. Thiers and Odillon Barrot, who, with Duvergier de Hauranne, formed the new Ministry, thinking that the time for resistance was past, and that nothing but conciliation and concession could either avert the dangers from the monarchy or consolidate their newly-acquired power, had come to a resolution not only to terminate the conflict by submission, but to withdraw the troops from all the positions they had won in the city. A proclamation to this effect was at six in the morning drawn up and signed, and immediately placarded over all Paris.* It was received with shouts of triumph by the revolutionists, with profound indignation by the troops, with dismay by the dynastic Opposition and National Guard. All saw that the victory was renounced at the moment when it had been gained—that the Ministers in the moment of triumph had capitulated for the monarchy. Such was the indignation of the soldiers, as they marched back through the barricades which they had just won at the bayonet's point, that many of the officers broke their swords and left them on the pavement, and numbers of the soldiers threw away their muskets. Then was seen the peril of that intermixture, on a crisis, of civil and military authority, and the wisdom of the Romans, who in war vested the supreme civil as well as military authority in the consuls, and in times of great danger vested supreme power of every kind in the hands of a dictator taken from the military ranks. Had Marshal Bugeaud been appointed dictator on the night of the 23d February, 1848, instead of being subordinate to M. Thiers, beyond all doubt the Orleans family would at this moment have been seated on the throne of France.²

² Regnault, iii. 410, 411; Cas-sagnac, i. 248, 249; Moniteur, Feb. 26, 1848; Lamartine, i. 103, 109.

The consequences of this capitulation to a body of insurgents and a dubious oscillating National Guard proved exactly what might have been anticipated by any one in the least acquainted with the march of events in a revolution. The insurgents, still few in number, instead of being pacified, were only the more excited by the concession which had been made; the vacillating and selfish in crowds joined their ranks, from the belief they were likely

* "Citoyens de Paris!—L'ordre est donné de suspendre le feu. Nous venons d'être chargés par le Roi de proposer un Ministère. La Chambre va être dissoute. Le Général Lamoricière est nommé Commandant-en-chef de la Garde Nationale de Paris. MM. Odillon Barrot, Thiers, Lamoricière, et Duvergier de Hauranne, sont ministres. Le but—Ordre, Union, Réforme.—ODILLON BARROT, THIERS."—*Moniteur*, 25th February, 1848.

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to prove victorious; the brave and loyal retired in despair from a conflict which its leaders had already abandoned. Surrounded by crowds which incessantly shouted in the triumph of victory, the soldiers, in the deepest dejection, slowly wended their way back to the vicinity of the Tuileries and the Palais Royal, where they were massed in still formidable bodies around the last asylum of Government and order. But, broken in spirit and paralyzed in strength by the orders of Government, they were incapable of opposing any effective barrier against the torrent of revolution which now rolled impetuously forward from all quarters, and surged violently against the motionless barrier of steel which still environed the royal dwelling. From a window in the Tuileries, M. Guizot, in vain impotence, beheld the fall of the monarchy; he saw it in bitterness, but not regret. "Strong minds," says M. de Lamartine, "may be broken, but they never repent."¹

It was a small consolation to find, amidst this universal crash, that the authors of it in no degree profited by the ruin they had occasioned. The proclamation announcing the withdrawal of the troops from the combat was placarded

at eight in the morning; and the excitement consequent upon it, and the retreat of the military, was such, that by ten M. Thiers felt he could no longer direct the Government; and he was obliged to entreat the King to substitute M. Odillon Barrot in his room, which was accordingly done. But it was of very little importance who was made Prime Minister; the march of events, in consequence of the concession which had been made, was so rapid, that all administrations, and soon the monarchy itself, were swept before it. The troops, paralyzed by the order not to fire, and already foreseeing the change of government which was approaching, knew not what to do, and could oppose no resistance to the armed multitude which surrounded them. After a slight struggle they abandoned the Palais, and retired across the inner court to the military post of the Château d'Eau, already filled with wounded Municipal Guards, who had with mournful resolution resisted in it to the last. The mob, seeing the Palais Royal deserted, broke in, and speedily spread themselves over every part of the august edifice. In the twinkling of an eye it was all filled by a hideous multitude, and sacked and plundered from top to bottom.² Its beautiful pictures, splendid statues, and gorgeous furniture were pierced with bayonets, thrown down, or cast into the flames; in less than half an hour the magnificent apartments presented nothing but a mass of broken and destroyed

splendor. Markworthy circumstance! The Palais Royal, the cradle of the Revolution, where Camille Desmoulins had sixty years before cut down the green boughs in the interior garden, and distributed them to the insurgents³—where, eighteen years before, a fresh revolt was organized, and a new dynasty placed on the throne—was the first victim of the passions it had called forth and the treason it had organized. The judgments of God were coming upon the earth.

¹ Lamartine, i. 108, 110; Cas-sagnac, i. 227, 229; Regnault, iii. 410, 411.

² Lamartine, i. 111, 112; Ann. Hist. xxxi. 172; Regnault, iii. 411; Cas-sagnac, i. 227, 229.

³ Hist. of Europe, c. vi. § 96.

The King took breakfast—his last meal in the palace of his ancestors—on that morning, surrounded by his family and yet remaining officers, in the gallery of Diana in the Tuileries. After breakfast they retired into the royal cabinet—the room of deliberation successively of Louis XVI., Napoleon, Louis XVIII., and Charles X. The Queen, the Duchesses of Orleans and Montpensier, Marshals Soult and Gérard, M. Thiers, M. de Remusat, M. Cousin, M. Duvergier de Hauranne, were around him. General Lamoricière was in the court of the Carrousel haranguing the mob; they heard him respectfully, but continued advancing, while the loud shouts upon the capture of the Palais Royal, and the appearance of articles of plunder in the hands of the victorious insurgents issuing from its walls, both stimulated the passions of the aggressors, and told the trembling inmates of the palace what fate awaited them. The royal circle and cabinet were in that state of anxious uncertainty which is of all others the least calculated to resist revolutionary aggression, when MM. Remusat and Duvergier de Hauranne, who had just gone out, re-entered, and asked to speak to the princes in private. The princes rose from table, where they were at breakfast, and went with them to one of the windows. The anxiety of the King and Queen led them to join the group. “Sire,” said M. de Remusat, “it is necessary that the King should know the truth; to conceal it at this moment would be to render ourselves implicated in all that may follow. Your feeling of security proves that you are deceived. Three hundred feet from this the dragoons are exchanging their sabres and the soldiers their muskets with the people.” “It is impossible!” cried the King, stepping back with astonishment. “Sire,” said M. de l’Aubospère, an officer in attendance, “I have seen it.” Upon this all the company rose from table, and the King went up stairs, and soon came down with the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier, dressed in uniform. “Go,” said the Queen, who had the feelings of Maria-Theresa and Marie-Antoinette in her heart, “show yourself to the discouraged troops, to the wavering National Guard: I will come out on the balcony with my grandchildren and the princesses, and I will see you die in a way worthy of yourself, your throne, and your misfortunes.” The King descended the stairs, still hoping to arrest the movement, while the Queen and princesses went to the balcony. It was of sinister augury; Marie-Antoinette had stood there on 10th August, 1792.¹

The reception of the King by the troops and the National Guard on the Place of the Carrousel, as seen from a distance, was sufficiently encouraging. The Queen and princesses saw the waving of sabres in the air in the distance as the King passed along the lines, and heard the distant sound of cries, without being able to distinguish the words used. They thought that the reception had been enthusiastic, that the approach of the crisis had restored the loyalty of the troops, and they re-entered into the palace with joy in their hearts. But it was of short duration. The King returned from the inspec-

tion with despair engraven on his mind. He had seen the National Guard, heard the cry of “Vive la Réforme!—à bas les Ministres!” issue from their ranks, and witnessed the impassible motionless attitude of the troops of the line, utterly alienated by the inactivity to which they had been doomed, and the inactivity forced upon them. He re-entered the royal apartments with a pale visage, on which consternation and despair were as clearly painted as they had been on that of Louis XVI. when he came into the same room, after a similar review, on the morning of the 10th August, 1792.¹ The whole of Europe, c. vii. § 96. Hist. of persons in the apartment were now thrown into the utmost alarm; the agitation of the princesses was so great that they wept aloud; and such was the mournful character of the scene, that the eyes of the soldiers and National Guard on duty in the apartment were filled with tears, and they entreated the officers that they might be removed from the spectacle of the last agony of kings. At this terrible moment, while dropping shots on the Place Carrousel told that the final struggle was approaching, M. Emile de Girardin, formerly a deputy, now editor of the *Presse* newspaper, a decided Republican, and of an ardent character, entered the apartment, and having approached the King, told him, in a few short and decided sentences, that ministerial changes were now inadequate to tranquilize the public mind, and that “nothing short of ABDICATION would suffice.” The King, who was at that moment writing out a list of new ministers, still more Radical than Odillon Barrot and Duvergier de Hauranne, let the pen fall from his hand when he heard the fatal word, and earnestly inquired of Emile de Girardin whether there was no other alternative. “Sire!” replied he, “the abdication of the King, or the abdication of the monarchy—that is all that remains; there is not a minute to choose an intermediate path.” The monarch still hesitated before taking the decisive step, when the Duke de Montpensier interposed, and urged instant abdication with a rudeness both of words and gesture which, even at a moment of such extreme distress, struck the by-standers as unfeeling and indecorous in the highest degree.* Thus pressed on all sides, and incapable, from the tumult, of coming to a rational decision, the King took up the pen to sign his abdication. “Sign not,” said M. Piscatory; “abdication is the republic in an hour.” Marshal Bugeaud hastened in at the report of an abdication. “Never abdicate,” said the old soldier; “such an act will disarm the troops; the insurrection approaches; nothing remains but to combat it.” The King again hesitated;² but the din in the Place Carrousel was every minute increasing, the shots were more nearly approaching the windows of the palace, and breathless messengers came in every minute announcing that all was lost, and that abdication

* “Le Roi hésitait. Le Duc de Montpensier son fils, entraîné sans doute par l’expression énergique de la physiologie, du geste et des paroles de M. de Girardin, pressait son père avec plus de précipitation peut-être que la royauté, l’âge, et l’infortune ne le permettaient au respect d’un fils. La plume fut présentée, le règne arraché par une impatience qui n’attendait pas la pleine et libre conviction du Roi.”—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, I. 126.

alone could save the lives of any of the royal family. The Duke de Montpensier upon this renewed his instances with frantic energy; and the aged monarch, overcome by emotion, and hardly a free agent, signed the fatal instrument which terminated his reign.*

While these momentous scenes, in which was terminated the rule of the Bourbons
67. Proceedings in France, were passing in the palace of the Tuileries, the generals in the Place de Carrousel were vainly endeavoring to restrain the onward King.

pressure of the insurgents, or to prevent a conflict beginning between them and the soldiers, who, in the deepest dejection, still barred the approach to the last refuge of the monarchy. Marshal Bugeaud, on hearing the first musket-shots, mounted on horseback and went between the combatants. A hundred voices called on him to retire, and not expose himself; but the intrepid veteran went on regardless of the danger, as he had been of the balls of the Moors in Africa. General Lamoricière followed in his footsteps; his horse was killed, and he himself wounded as he was haranguing the advanced posts, and he was carried into a neighboring house to have his wound dressed. It was all in vain. The troops, sullen and dejected, remained motionless. The insurgents, inflamed by the prospect of victory, were deaf to any other counsels but those of passion. Rapidly closing in after the retiring columns, they already almost touched the Tuileries, where the King, now nearly deserted by all except his own family, was still left. The Queen retained her courageous demeanor; the princesses were in tears. The dis-crowned monarch was strongly urged to declare the Duchess of Orleans regent, but he positively refused. "Others," said he, "may do so if they deem it necessary, but I will not. It would be contrary to law; and since, thank God, I have never yet been guilty of violating it, I will not begin to do so at this moment." "What then!" said the Duchess of Orleans; "will you leave

me here, without relations, without friends, without counsel? What would you wish me to do?" "My dear Helen," replied the King, "the dynasty and the crown of your son are at stake; remain, then, to save the crown for him." With those words the King, with the Queen and princesses, set out to leave the palace, and the Duchess of Orleans retired into her own apartments.¹

But for the precautions taken by the Duke de Nemours to secure the means of escape
68. Escape of the Royal Family. to the royal family, it would have been no easy matter for them to have got away, for the Tuileries was surrounded

* "J'abdique cette couronne que je tenais de la voix de la nation, et que je n'avaie acceptée que pour amener la paix et la concorde parmi les Français."

"Me trouvant dans l'impossibilité d'accomplir cette tâche, je la lègue à mon petit-fils le Comte de Paris. Puisse-t-il être plus heureux que moi. — LOUIS PHILIPPE."

The following proclamation was immediately placarded over Paris:

"ABDICTION DU ROI.
DISSOLUTION DE LA CHAMBRE.
AMNISTIE GÉNÉRALE."

By a strange omission, this placard, though genuine and emanating from authority, was unsigned. — *Moniteur*, 25th February, 1847; *Ann. Hist.*, 1848, p. 267.

on all sides by frantic multitudes thirsting for pillage, and little disposed to spare those whom they had been taught to consider as their titled oppressors. The royal family traversed on foot, happily without being known, the broad central avenue of the Tuileries, passed the wicket of the Pont Tournant, and reached the foot of the Obelisk in the Place de la Concorde at one o'clock in the afternoon. Here, however, a disappointment all but fatal awaited them. The royal carriages, which had been directed to meet them there, were not to be seen; they had been seized and burned or knocked to pieces by the populace. Fortunately two humble cabriolets were disengaged on the quay, which was still free, and into them the august fugitives were hastily thrust, after having been rudely jostled by the mob. The carriages set off at a quick trot by the Quai de Billy, under the escort of a squadron of cuirassiers and a detachment of cavalry of the National Guard, and soon got out of Paris, taking the road to the Château d'Eau, where they hoped to arrive two days after, from whence the passage was easy to England. 1848, 88; Cas-
And thus, amidst defeat and disgrace, departed the Citizen King from Paris, and abandoned the throne of France.¹

There remained to prop up the falling dynasty the infant Count of Paris, in whose

favor the King had resigned, the Duke de Nemours his legal, and the Princess Helen, his mother and nat-
69. Heroic conduct of the Duchess of Orleans.

ural guardian. The former, though a prudent and sensible man, had none of the qualities fitted to struggle with the terrible crisis in which his family had become involved; but the latter, of heroic character, was well fitted for the task, and might, had she been supported with the same courage which she evinced herself, have, even at the eleventh hour, saved the throne for her son. Calm, retiring, and unobtrusive, she had, since the death of her husband, been entirely devoted to her maternal duties; but under this placid demeanor was concealed the soul of a heroine, which now prompted to noble deeds. She was soon called into action. As the troops, after the departure of the King, were retiring through the Tuileries from the Place of the Carrousel, and three cannon-shot, the last discharged on that day, fired at the mob rushing from the quay into the square, were shaking the windows of her apartment, M. Dupin, the President of the Chamber of Deputies, entered the room. "What are you about to tell me, Sir?" exclaimed the princess. "I have come to tell you," replied Dupin, with a look of hope on his countenance, "that perhaps the rôle of Maria-Theresa is reserved for you." "Lead the way," said the princess; "my life belongs to France and to my children." "Then there is not a moment to lose; let us go instantly to the Chamber of Deputies." They set out accordingly, the princess leading her eldest son by the hand; the second, who was not able to walk, being carried by an aide-camp. The Duke de Nemours walked beside them; a faithful valet named Herbert was their sole escort.²

No sooner had they left the Tuileries for the hall of the legislative body than an impetuous mob, now wholly unresisted by the soldiers and officers

¹ *Ann. Hist.* xxxi. 88, 89; Lamartine, I. 149, 152; Cas-sagnac, I. 235, 236.

on guard, broke into the palace, tore down from the walls the ensigns of royalty, and with loud shouts proclaimed a republic. Meanwhile the princess, with her scanty attendants, but soon followed by a noisy crowd, pursued her way to the Chamber. All was there uncertainty and trepidation; the departure of the King was known, but nothing more; the leaders were not to be seen; M. Thiers was absent, M. Lamartine had not yet arrived; and every one, in anxiety and terror, was waiting for some person to take the lead. M. Dupin, ascending the tribune, declared that the King had abdicated and transmitted his rights to his grandson, and to the Duchess as regent. This was not the case, as the Duke de Nemours was regent; but M. Dupin rightly judged that when the throne itself was in jeopardy, the most popular regent was the one most likely to render success probable. Loud applause from all sides followed M. Dupin's announcement; and on his motion the Chamber declared, by acclamation and with enthusiasm, that, in respect of the resignation of the King, they declared the Count of Paris king, and his mother the Duchess regent. Loud acclamations followed this announcement, and the throne seemed saved.¹

By a little courage and loyalty on the part of the popular leaders, it probably might have been so at that time. But M. de Lamartine, who had just before come up to take his seat in the assembly, was at the critical moment interrupted at the entrance of the building by a group of Republicans, fresh from the office of the *National* and the *Réforme*, who strongly appealed to the vanity which, unfortunately, not less than enthusiasm and generosity, formed a leading feature in his character, and persuaded him that the days of royalty were past, that a republic was inevitable, and that the people all looked to him to be the founder of the new order of things. Unhappily for France and for his own reputation, he yielded to their seductions and the whisperings of his own ambition, and agreed to support a republic. "There is but one way," said he to those who addressed him, "to save the people from the danger which a revolution in our present social state threatens instantly to introduce, and that is to trust ourselves to the force of the people themselves, to their reason, their interests, their arms. It is a REPUBLIC which we require! Yes" (with increased energy), "it is a republic which can alone save us from anarchy, civil war, foreign war, spoliation, the scaffold, destruction of property, the overthrow of society, the invasion of the stranger.

The remedy is heroic. I know it; but there are occasions, such as those in which we live, when the only safe policy is that which is grand and audacious as the crisis itself."²

Shortly after, M. Thiers entered with consternation painted on his visage, and in the utmost agitation. "The tide is ascending," said he, raising his hat above his head; and with these words, which, coming from the Prime Minister, increased the general alarm, he disappeared in the crowd. At this

moment, when the ablest and first men in France were reeling under the stroke of fate, the folding-doors were thrown open, and the Duchess of Orleans appeared, leading her eldest son, the Count of Paris, in her right, and with her second, the Duke of Chartres, in her left. Calm and serene, the heroic princess gazed on the scene around her: with no support but her infant children and her own courage, she faced a nation in arms. The scene and her appearance must be painted in the eloquent words of an eyewitness—himself, as the event proved, the worst enemy of the princess and her race. "A respectful silence immediately ensued; the deputies in deep anxiety crowded around the august princess, the strangers in the galleries leaned over in hopes of catching a word which fell from her lips. She herself was dressed in mourning; her vail, half raised, partly disclosed a countenance the emotion and melancholy of which enhanced the charms of youth and beauty. Her pale cheeks are marked by the tears of the widow, the anxieties of the mother. No man could look on her countenance without being moved. Every feeling of resentment against the monarchy faded away before the spectacle. The blue eyes of the princess wander over the hall, as if to implore aid, and were a moment dazzled. Her slight and fragile form inclined before the sound of the applause with which she was greeted. A slight blush, the mark of the revival of hope in her bosom, tinged her cheeks; the smile of gratitude was already on her lips. She felt she was surrounded by friends. In her right hand she held the young king, in her left the Duke de Chartres; children to whom their own catastrophe was a 'spectacle. They were both dressed in a short black vestment. A white little collar was turned down the neck of each on his dark dress—living portraits of Vandyck, as if they had stepped out of the canvases of the children of Charles I."³

There was a time when such a spectacle as this—that of a young and heroic mother pleading the cause of her innocent children for the throne—would have spoken to the heart of every man in France; when every sword would have leaped from its scabbard, and, like the Hungarians of old, every voice would have exclaimed, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria-Theresa!*" But Burke had said on a similar occasion, not less truly than eloquently, "The age of chivalry is past; that of sophists, economists, and calculators has succeeded." M. Dupin's motion to declare the Count of Paris king, and his mother regent, was indeed carried by acclamation; but when he proposed to register the names of the members present, in order to prevent any from drawing back, the acclamations were not so loud. At this critical moment one of the doors of the Chamber was opened, and immediately a crowd rushed in, armed with pikes and muskets, and filled all the passages of the hall. Encouraged by the presence of these noisy supporters, the Republicans assumed bolder language; and though still only a small fraction of the assembly, they succeeded in drowning the voice of the majority. The princess said with a tremulous voice, "I have come with all I have dear in the world"—but here the noise became

¹ 70.
Opinion in the Chamber of Deputies.

² Ann. Hist. xxxi. 91; Lamartine, I. 160, 164; Casagnac, I. 237.

³ 71.
Treachery of M. de Lamartine.

⁴ Lamartine, I. 160, 168; Ann. Hist. xxxi. 90; Casagnac, I. 236.

⁵ 72.
Entrance of the Duchess of Orleans into the Chamber.

⁶ Lamartine, I. 175, 176.

⁷ 73.
She is refused a hearing, and obliged by the mob to retire.

such that her words were inaudible. M. Lamartine said, with hypocritical expressions, "M. President, I demand that the sitting should be suspended, from the double motive, on the one hand, of respect for the national representation; on the other, for the august princess whom we see before us." The Duchess, however, who was aware that her sole chance of success consisted in remaining where she was, hesitated to withdraw. But the danger from the ferocious figures around her was so instant that she was soon in a manner forced from the place where she sat, by the Duke de Nemours, Marshal Oudinot, and the officers around her, to a higher part of the benches, near the door by which she had entered. No sooner had she done so than M. Marie exclaimed, "You can not create a new regency to-day; the law forbids it. I demand a Provisional Government, which may take the subject into consideration along with the Chambers." M. Crémieux concurred in this demand. M. Ledru-Rollin exclaimed: "You can not create a regency in the house of the people; I protest against such a usurpation of the rights of all. Nothing can be done without it. I demand a Provisional Government, and the immediate convocation of a convention." M. de Lamartine began his speech by professing a chivalrous devotion for the princess; but he concluded with these words: "I demand in the name of the public peace, of the blood which has been shed, of the people famished amidst their glorious labors, that you should appoint a Provisional Government." Loud applause, especially from the mob in the passages, followed these words, and the most audacious among them, ascending the benches, leveled their muskets at the head of the princess. A scene of indescribable confusion now ensued; clamor and cries were heard

on all sides; the whole Chamber in the utmost agitation rose up, the President disappeared from the chair; and the attendants of the princess, in an agony of terror for her life, in a manner forced her out of the hall.¹

No sooner was the princess gone than, amidst loud cries and vociferations, the nomination of the members of the Provisional Government commenced. In this important task the Chambers were reduced to absolute nullity. Every thing was determined by the cries and the gesticulations of the ferocious band of Republicans who had entered the hall, under command of Captain Dunoyer, and Lagrange, who had made himself so conspicuous the evening before at the head of the insurgents. Amidst indescribable tumult and confusion certain names were proposed to the crowd, and received with acclamations or hisses, according to the fancy of the moment or the popularity of the party proposed. M. de Lamartine, who was still in the tribune, sent down names to the persons intrusted with this taking of the votes, and named himself, MM. Marie, Ledru-Rollin, Crémieux, Dupont de l'Eure, Arago, and Garnier Pagès.² As these names were read out they were variously received with loud acclamations, or groans and hisses; but, upon the whole,

they seemed to have the voices of the majority in the hall, and they accordingly were accepted as the Provisional Government at the Chamber of Deputies.*

But while one band of insurgents was thus disposing of the government in the Chamber of Deputies, another and still more determined body was already in possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where they had proclaimed, amidst, if possible, still greater tumult, another Provisional Government, of still more Radical elements, consisting of M. Marrast, M. Flocon, M. Louis Blanc, and M. Albert—the last being a common workman, and the representative of that class in Paris. It was necessary, therefore, to dispossess, and that without a moment's delay, this rival authority, for in an hour it might get the ascendancy and obtain the government of France. To the Hôtel de Ville, therefore, the first Provisional Government immediately went, surrounded by an immense crowd, and with as much parade as the circumstances would admit. When they arrived, however, they did not find their rivals disposed to yield up their newly-acquired power, and a violent altercation ensued between the opposite leaders, which was on the point of coming to blows, and actually did so among their followers in the passages and stairs. Meanwhile the dense multitude which thronged the Place de Grève, outside the building, was loudly howling out for a government, and threatened instantly to break in and sack the building if the Republic was not instantly proclaimed and the Provisional Government announced. Under the influence of this violent pressure from without, and in mutual terror, a compromise took place between the rival candidates for power, a mixed Provisional Government was nominated, composed of the leaders of both; and M. de Lamartine, from the top of the stair, called out the names and formally announced the Republic.† This declaration had the effect of, in some degree, calming the populace, who, as darkness now came on, gradually dispersed, leaving the Provisional Government, as now remodeled, in possession of the Hôtel de Ville and supreme authority. They had, however, a rude assault to sustain from a band of still more violent Republicans, who commenced an attack at midnight on the Hôtel de Ville. They were very near being forced and dispossessed of power. It was only by a strenuous exertion of personal strength that they were able to keep their ground against

* The following was the manner in which the vote was taken for the Provisional Government:

"Dupont de l'Eure.—'Oui, oui!' Arago.—'Oui, oui!' Lamartine.—'Oui, oui!' Ledru-Rollin.—'Oui, oui!' Garnier Pagès.—'Oui, oui!—Non!' Marie.—'Oui!—Non!' Crémieux.—'Oui, oui!' Une voix dans la foule.—'Crémieux, mais pas Garnier Pagès.' 'Si, si!—Non!' M. Ledru-Rollin.—'Que ceux qui ne veulent pas lèvent la main?' 'Non, non!'—'Si, si!'—DE LA HODDE, *Histoire des Sociétés Secrètes*, p. 484.

† The Provisional Government, as arranged by this compromise at the Hôtel de Ville, was as follows:

"President of the Council, M. Dupont de l'Eure; Foreign Affairs, M. de Lamartine; Interior, M. Ledru-Rollin; Justice, M. Crémieux; Finance, M. Goudchaux; War, M. Bedeau; Commerce, M. Marie; Public Works, M. Bethmont; Marine, M. Arago (Etienne); Public Instruction, M. Carnot; Telegraph, M. Flocon; Police, M. Caussidière; Mayor of Paris, M. Garnier Pagès."—*Ann. Hist.*, xxxi. 94, 95.

75.
Nomination of another Provisional Government, and proclamation of a Republic.

74.
Nomination of the Provisional Government.

² Moniteur, Feb. 25, 1848; Ann. Hist. xxxi. 90, 91; Cassagnac, i. 253, 254; Regnaud, Gouvern. Prov., c. 3; De la Hodde, 463, 464.

the assailants; and the first duty to which the rulers of France were called was the humble one of barricading the doors of the Hotel, and putting their shoulders to the doors to keep out the mob. They did do so, however, and, after a violent struggle, with success; and early next morning the Provisional Government was announced by the telegraph and the *Moniteur* to the whole country.¹

Such was the termination of the reign of the Citizen King, and the rule of the *bourgeoisie* in France. Begun by the defection of the army and the revolt of the middle class, it ended in the treachery of the National Guard, and the ascendant of the very lowest and most abandoned of the people. Their portrait has been drawn by the graphic hand of one who knew them well, who has left the following picture of the associates for whom he overturned the throne, and by whom he was for a brief period elevated to power. "They were in part composed," says Lamartine, "of galley-slaves, who had no political ideas in their heads, nor social chimeras in their hearts, but who accepted a revolution as the condition of the disorder it was to perpetuate, the blood it was to shed, the terror it was to inspire. They contained also a part of that ragged scum of the population of great cities which public commotions cause to rise to the surface, before it falls back into the common sewers from whence it had arisen; men who floated between the fumes of intoxication and the thirst for blood; who sniffed carnage while issuing from the fumes of debauchery; who never ceased to besiege the ears of the people till they got a victim thrown to them to devour. They were the scourings of the galleys and the dungeons."²

The Duchess of Orleans, whom M. de Lamartine had abandoned for these supporters, was rudely jostled by the crowd, and ran no small personal danger in leaving the Chamber of Deputies. Surrounded by a few faithful and courageous friends, among whom M. de Morny was the most resolute, she was with difficulty rescued from the insults and pressure of the mob, and being closely veiled, when she got to a little distance from the Chamber, she ceased to be known, and passed for one of the numerous fugitives who were flying across the streets in every direction. She was separated, however, both from the Duke de Nemours and her two sons in the throng; and the elder of the two last, being recognized, was seized by the throat by a gigantic assassin, who appeared about to strangle him, when he was torn from his grasp by a brave National Guard and carried to the princess, who burst into tears as she embraced him. The Duke de Chartres, however, was still missing; in vain his unhappy mother called aloud for her child, and climbed up to the windows of the room into which she had been carried, to endeavor to catch a glimpse of him amidst the agitated crowd. At length she saw him from afar, and he was brought to her arms almost fainting, for he had been thrown down in the crowd on the stair of the Chamber

and trampled under foot. The Duke de Nemours soon after joined them, having changed his dress, and assumed that of a bourgeois, in the interval; and, favored by the darkness, the royal fugitives escaped on foot, and having met with a stray carriage in the Champs Elysées, they succeeded in prevailing on the driver to take them up, and got off. Meanwhile the King and Queen, with the rest of the royal family, passed the first night at Dreux, one of the country seats of the Orleans family. They continued their journey next day with all the expedition possible, by Verneuil to Evreux, where, under a feigned name, and unknown, they were hospitably entertained by a farmer on the royal forest there. The day following they continued their flight in a berlin, drawn by two cart-horses; but fresh difficulties and dangers awaited them from the peril of being recognized in the towns lying on the road, and the King was without money, having left 350,000 francs (£14,000) in bank-notes on his bureau by mistake in the haste of departure. The Provisional Government, however, had the humanity to send him a considerable sum to facilitate his escape; and at length, after undergoing many adventures, and performing part of the journey on foot, the King and Queen embarked at Honfleur on March 2. the 2d March, under the modest name of "*Mr. and Mrs. Smith.*" From thence they sailed, still unknown, to Havre, from whence, on the 3d, they embarked on board the *Express*, and landed the same day at New-March 3. haven, on the English coast. On the day following the whole royal family was united at Claremont, in Kent, in the common asylum of European misfortune.¹

Two causes stand prominently forward as having been chiefly instrumental in bringing about the Revolution of 1848, and the overthrow of Louis Philippe in France. These are, the defection of the National Guard, and the want of firmness in M. Thiers and the King, when Marshal Bugeaud, whose firmness was equal to the emergency,* had placed decisive success within his grasp. Had either of these events not occurred, the insurrection would with ease have been put down. But although these immense faults were the immediate cause of the catastrophe, yet we should err if we supposed that they were the remote and ultimate cause. The disaffection and treachery of the National Guard was the consequence of the incessant abuse which, during the whole course of his reign, the Liberal press had vomited forth upon Louis Philippe and his Government. This had at length come to such a pitch that it had caused them to forget the whole real advantages they had derived from his rule, and to regard it

* "Le Maréchal, qui avait eu des graves dissentiments avec le Général Lamoricière en Afrique, s'avancait vers lui et lui tendait la main. 'J'espère,' lui avait-il dit, 'mon cher Lieutenant, que nous avons laissé nos différends en Afrique, et que nous n'avons ici que notre estime mutuelle et notre dévouement à nos devoirs de soldats.' Lamoricière, digne de comprendre de telles paroles, était ému jusqu'aux larmes."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution*, I. 136. "Il y a déjà longtemps que j'ai prévu la crise actuelle. Je ferai mon devoir; pour moi, j'ai brûlé mes vaisseaux."—MARECHAL BUGEAUD à M. THIERS, February 23, 1848; CASSAGNAC, I. 274.

¹ *Moniteur*, Feb. 24, 1848; Ann. Hist. xxxi. 94, 95; De la Hodde, 490, 500; Regnault, Gouv. Prov., c. 8; Cassagnac, I. 271, 273; Lamartine, I. 235, 240.

² 76. M. Lamartine's portrait of the Revolutionists.

¹ Lamartine, Hist. de la Révolution de 1848, I. 6, c. 13, vol. I. 284.

¹ Ann. Hist. xxxi. 102, 104; Regnault, III. 420, 421; Lamartine, I. 204, 230.

78. Causes which brought about the Revolution.

as synonymous with every thing that was base, oppressive, and corrupt among mankind. It is to the excessive violence of the Liberal press of all shades in France, during the eighteen years of his pacific and prosperous reign, that is to be ascribed the overthrow of his dynasty, and with it of the semblance even of real freedom in France.

But this violence of the Liberal press, which paralyzed the National Guard in the decisive moment, was itself the effect of a more general preceding cause. This cause is to be found in the nature of its origin, and the crimes by which its early triumphs had been obtained. They now, in their natural results, brought about a deserved but terrible retribution. It was the constant complaint of the Liberals during his whole reign that Louis Philippe's Government was a continual denial of its origin—a shameful dereliction of its principles. That was undoubtedly true; but it was so only because that origin and those principles could never be made the foundation of a durable government. It was based on corruption and supported by venality, because it had no other foundation on which to rest; because, having lost “the unbought loyalty of men, the cheap defense of nations,” it had no resource but to appeal to their selfish desires. It maintained an immense military establishment, and was ruinously expensive, because its defiant attitude, both to the legitimate Powers of Europe and its

internal enemies, imperatively required a state of constant preparation. Erected amidst the smoke of the Barricades, supported by the bayonets of the revolted National Guard, the first necessity imposed upon the Citizen King, as upon all revolutionary governments, was to coerce the passions by which his elevation had been produced. To go on indulging and fanning them would at once have landed the nation in the horrors which immediately succeeded his fall. Thence the system of resistance and coercion, which was from the first pursued, and which, by adding the bitterness of disappointment to the fervor of revolution, produced the extraordinary violence and enduring hatred of the extreme Liberals, which at length brought about his fall. Thence also the inability of the King to resist the revolt which finally overthrew his throne. The Citizen King could not withstand the insurrection of the citizens: the monarch of the Barricades could not enjoin the storming of the Barricades. His last weakness was the consequence of his first strength: he endured in the end what he had made others more innocent endure. Cradled in treachery and treason, his throne was overturned by treachery and treason. He had driven his lawful sovereign, his generous benefactor, into exile, and sent him, a discrowned wanderer, into foreign lands; and he himself was, by consequence of his own acts, driven into exile, and sent, a discrowned and discredited fugitive, across the melancholy main, to the shores of the stranger.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

CHINESE WAR AND INDIAN HISTORY, FROM THE AFGHANISTAN DISASTER IN 1841 TO THE GENERAL PACIFICATION OF THE EAST IN 1842.

It is observed by an American reviewer of the History of Europe during the French Revolution, that so vast was the extent of the British empire during that memorable contest, and so multiplied its relations in all parts of the earth, that there is no country, except China, with which its annalist does not find himself brought in contact, and of which he does not find it necessary to give some account. The next quarter of a century saw this exception removed. Great Britain, at the close of that period, came into collision with the Chinese empire; the ancient civilization and immovable institutions of Asia were brought into fierce hostility with the rising power and expansive forces of Europe. This occurred, too, at a time of all others the least favorable to the European side of the contest, for the military strength of Great Britain, when it broke out, had been reduced to an unparalleled state of weakness from the effects of a long external peace and recent democratic revolution; and the warlike resources of India were simultaneously engaged in a desperate strife with the Himalaya snows, where a disaster of unprecedented magnitude was about to ensue. Yet to all these difficulties England rose superior, and the most glorious pacification she ever brought about in the East concluded a double war deeply checkered in the outset with disaster. The account of this contest is not the least memorable part of contemporary history, or the least honorable to the arms and the constancy of Great Britain.

Situated in the eastern extremity of Asia, on the verge of the Pacific Ocean, CHINA has, from the earliest ages to which authentic history reaches, preserved the same manners, habits, institutions, and national character. On this account it is an object of singular interest and importance to the philosophic observer. Of enormous extent, peopled by an almost fabulous multitude of inhabitants, its history extending back to the most remote antiquity, conquered repeatedly by the savage hordes which have so often from the table-land of Tartary descended to devastate and subdue the finest realms of Asia, it has still remained the same from the first settlement of the country by mankind. In no other country or part of the world, except perhaps in Japan, has a similar phenomenon been exhibited. So vast is the territory which the Chinese inhabit, so enormous its population, that foreign conquest, how decisive or desolating soever, produces no lasting effect upon its government, institutions, or national character. The conquerors are lost in the multitude of the conquered, and after a few generations are, except in war, almost undistinguishable from them.

The dimensions of China are such that they can scarcely be conceived, even by the most creative imagination. Its length, from Kashgar to the mouth of the Amoor, is 1350 leagues; and its greatest breadth, from the Saian Mountains to the Isle of Hainan, 850 leagues. Its sea-coasts are 2000 leagues in length. The superficial surface embraced in these limits may be roughly estimated at 670,000 square leagues, or above 5,000,000 square miles, being a little less than a tenth of the whole habitable globe, and nearly fifty times the area of the British Islands. This includes Chinese Tartary, which is much more thinly inhabited than China proper, and of much greater extent. The latter, however, contains 195,000 square leagues, or 1,800,000 square miles, being nearly double the whole of Hindostan, and about twelve times the area of France. This comparatively small portion of the country is inhabited, according to the census taken in 1825, by 367,000,000 of people, being a full third of the human race. The numbers given to Lord Macartney in 1795 were 333,000,000. These passed for long as gross exaggerations, and Balbi estimated them at only 170,000,000. The more intimate acquaintance with China, however, which has resulted from the recent war with the British, and their establishment at Hong-Kong, has led to the conclusion that the earlier accounts were not exaggerated, and that the empire now really contains 360,000,000 of souls.¹

The national revenues of China are by no means on a scale proportioned either to the immensity of its surface or the magnitude of its population. They amount in all to £37,000,000, of which about two-thirds is paid in grain, and the remainder in money. The former constitutes, as in all Oriental states, the real rent of land, and the principal source of national income; and the grain received is stored up by the Government collectors in huge magazines in each province, as a resource against the oft-recurring evils of famine. The quantity thus preserved in the public store-house of each province is accurately fixed, and always maintained according to the number and probable necessities of its inhabitants; and the entire quantity reaches the enormous and almost incredible amount of 2,802,798 tons. The real amount of the revenue is not to be estimated, however, merely by the number of pounds sterling in British currency which it forms. The value of money, and general poverty of the working-classes, are also to be taken into account; and if these are considered, the national income may be estimated as equal to at least £120,000,000 annually in this country.²

¹ Malte-Brun, ix. 436; Lord Macartney's Travels, 276; Amiot, 1076.

² Malte-Brun, ix. 439, 441; Balbi, 1074.

The military establishment for China proper amounts to 1,232,000 soldiers, besides 95,000 irregulars for Chinese and land.

Tartary; and of these immense forces it is calculated that 900,000 men may be reckoned on as effective. The naval armament carries 32,000 guns, scattered over 9500 vessels bearing the imperial flag—a state of things which proves that the war vessels consist almost entirely of junks or gun-boats. These troops, so far as they are composed of the Chinese proper, are, for the most part, miserably deficient both in discipline and the military virtues; and they almost always have taken to flight when attacked by any body, however inconsiderable in proportion, of European troops. But the case is very different with the descendants of the Tartar conquerors, who have placed a sovereign on the throne, and for centuries have governed the country over its whole extent. They have lost none of the courage or innate virtues of their ancestors; and in the war which ensued with England at this time, some of their chiefs exhibited, in the northern provinces, extraordinary intrepidity and devotion.¹

The great cities of China were long celebrated all over the world for their immense population; but the authentic accounts which have recently been obtained take much from the supposed prodigy. None of them approach to the population of London, which now exceeds 2,500,000. Peking, the capital of the empire, contains only 1,700,000 souls; Canton, 845,000; Nankin, the ancient capital, 514,000. It can not be said that these numbers are very great in a country containing 360,000,000 of inhabitants. This is probably owing to the want, as in all Asia, of any class of landed proprietors in the European sense of the word, and the scanty nature of its foreign commerce. China is essentially an agricultural country, and its principal wealth is drawn, and its immense population supported, from the resources of the soil.²

The territory of even China proper being of such enormous extent, no general or uniform character can be assigned to its surface any more than could be done to the whole of Europe. In so far as any general description can be applied to it, the country consists of a series of basins formed by the ramifications of different chains of mountains, breaking off from the great central mass which forms the kingdom of Thibet, and the eastern ranges of which extend far into China. The great basins which these chains form are four in number, and they are all traversed by the great rivers which flow eastward from the Thibet Mountains into the Pacific Ocean. The southernmost of these basins lies to the south of the Nan-Ling chain; the second is bounded by that chain on the south, and the mountains of Peling on the north; the third extends from the latter mountains to the chain of Yan; and the fourth lies to the north of the last-mentioned chain, and includes the city of Peking. These ranges of mountains are for the most part of great elevation, and their summits are covered with perpetual snow, which, in the south of China, implies a height of 12,000

feet above the sea. They are, like the Himalaya and the Caucasus, of inestimable importance, by providing in their icy caverns perennial supplies of water by which irrigation may be afforded to the plains which adjoin the rivers flowing from them in their progress toward the sea. The greatest and most important plains of China are those which lie between the Hoang-ho, or Yellow River, and the Yang-tze-kiang, or Blue River. These two great rivers rise near each other in the mountains of Thibet, but separate before they emerge from the hills, and embrace the richest agricultural districts of the empire, and from whence the chief supplies of food for its inhabitants are drawn. They are both above a thousand leagues, or 2600 miles, in length; and some of their tributary streams are larger than the Rhine or the Danube. In addition to these magnificent natural canals, there are, especially in the northern provinces of China, great numbers of lakes formed by chains of mountains intercepting the rivers in their course to the sea, some of which are of vast extent, being 80 or 90 leagues in circumference, and of great service to the inhabitants, both as furnishing the means of internal communication and as affording inexhaustible supplies of fish.³

The Chinese have turned to good account the supplies of water which their snow-fed rivers afford them, by conducting it into an infinite number of canals, which serve the double purpose of promoting internal communication, and furnishing the means of irrigation indispensable, especially in the southern provinces, to agricultural production. As in Lombardy, the large canals which draw off the water from the rivers are conducted into innumerable little rills, which are preserved with the utmost care, and carry the fertilizing stream into every garden and field of the level country. But, in addition to this, there are several great canals intersecting the territory in different directions, which serve the purposes of internal commerce, and compensate in some degree the enormous distances which separate one part of the empire from the other. The most important of these internal arteries is that called the Imperial Canal, which is 600 leagues in length, and connects Peking with the southern provinces of the empire. It was begun in the year 1181 of the Christian era, and finished in the end of the thirteenth century. It is 90 feet broad over the greater part of its extent, is edged by cut stones, and so great a number of persons are employed, either in the canal itself or the irrigation connected with it, that its sides are generally lined with rows of houses, continuous like the streets of a town. At every league locks are established, connected with large tanks to let off the superfluous water in the rainy season, and store it up for the use of the adjoining fields. This canal, which may be called the great artery of the empire, is indispensable to Peking and the northern provinces, by furnishing the means of transporting the tribute paid in kind from the great grain provinces in the south to the capital, and supplying it with the means of subsistence.⁴

The vast extent of China, and the circumstance of its being bounded on the one side by

¹ Rienzi and Klaproth, 317; Malte-Brun, ix. 440-443.

² Balbi, 974; Malte-Brun, ix. 839-841, 848.

³ Canals, and especially the great one.

⁴ Dechalde, i. 83; Martineau, 174; Malte-Brun, ix. 843, 844.

the warm ocean, and on the other by the mountains of Thibet, have rendered the climate and average temperature of its different provinces extremely various. In its eastern provinces the heats of summer are tempered by the balmy breezes of the Pacific; in the western they are chilled by the cold winds which sweep down from the snows of Tartary. In the south the sugar-cane, cotton-plant, and all the productions of the tropics, are to be found in abundance; in those a little to the north the tea-plant grows in profusion, which has become in a manner a necessary of life in Great Britain and some parts of Europe. In the central provinces vast crops of rice and wheat furnish food to the immense population of the country; while in the north barley and oats are to be found, and all the cereal productions of northern Europe. The indifference of the Chinese people and their government to foreign commerce is mainly to be ascribed to this cause. Their empire forms a

¹ Kirwan, *Essai sur la Temperature*, 179; *Mem. des Savans Etrangers*, vi. 509; Malte-Brun, ix. 845, 846.

world within itself, containing nearly all the productions of all climates; the foreign commerce of other nations is to them a home-trade, and no external disaster seriously affects either their wealth or subsistence so long as their internal communication continues uninterrupted.¹

To the same cause is to be ascribed the indifference of the Imperial Government of Pekin, in the general case, to the concerns of their distant provinces, or the quarrels in which they may be involved, and the ample powers, amounting almost to independence, which the viceroys over them enjoy. The concerns or disputes of the remote viceroys excite little attention in the imperial cabinet, so long as they remit their portion of the revenue regularly, which, being for the most part paid in kind, is not liable to be affected in any considerable degree by a stoppage or diminution of foreign commerce. The viceroys at Canton, Shanghai, or the other great ports of the empire, are rather independent sovereigns paying a tribute than the lieutenants of a vigorous and efficient central government. So thoroughly centralized, however, is the machine of society, and so entirely dependent, as elsewhere in the East, on the Imperial Government, that this independence exists only so long as the appointed tribute is regularly paid, or no great disaster forcibly arrests the attention of Government. If the revenue fails, or an external calamity rouses the anxiety of the Emperor,

² De Guignes, ii. 445; *Mem. des Missionnaires*, viii. 41, 848; Malte-Brun, ix. 400.

the viceroy or mandarin is recalled, and ere long the bastinado or the bow-string may remind him of the precarious tenure by which his authority, great as it was, had been held.³

11. Agriculture being the main resource of China, and the means not only, as in other Agriculture countries, of furnishing food for the inhabitants, but of paying the revenue to the Government, the whole energies of the people are directed to this one object. Incredible is the industry exerted, the pains bestowed, to fertilize and increase the produce of the soil. Not only is a greater proportion than in any

other state of equal extent under cultivation, but what is devoted to crops is worked with an unparalleled amount of attention and diligence. Tanks are cut out of the rocks on the summit of mountains, to collect the water which gathers on those humid heights, from whence the fertilizing stream is conducted to the slopes beneath, which are shaped into terraces. If there is a river at their foot, its water is conveyed to the top by means of portable machinery. The summits, if sterile and barren, are planted with pine-trees, so that every part may be made to contribute something to the use of man. They have even in some provinces contrived to render the lakes productive of more than fish, by planting and cultivating in them aquatic plants having tubercles something like the carrot (*Sagittaria tuberosa*), capable of forming human food.¹

¹ De Guignes, iii. 826; Malte-Brun, ix. 347.

Little attention is paid to the rearing of animals, and very few of them are employed in the labors of cultivation.¹² Every thing almost is done by the human hand, and the greater part of the crops which are raised are for human subsistence. Among any other people this state of things would lead to a want of manure and a deterioration of produce; but this is prevented among the Chinese by the diligence with which they collect, and the economy with which they distribute, the whole human refuse, which is returned chiefly in a liquid form to the fields. No difficulty is experienced by them in disposing of the sewerage of cities or the drainage of houses. It is all collected in tanks, and applied through watering-pans to the roots of plants, as is sometimes done in our gardens. Farms are small, seldom exceeding eight or ten acres, generally only three or four, and the occupants all live in detached houses on their little possessions. Thus the general aspect of the country, both in its level and mountainous regions, is that of a vast garden; and it is this mode of cultivation which explains how the immense population is fed.³

² Barrow's *China*, iii. 66; De Guignes, iii. 288, 329; Malte-Brun, ix. 845.

Like all other Oriental states, the Chinese have no landed proprietors in the European sense of the word—that is, owners of considerable tracts of land interposed between the Emperor and the cultivators of the soil. In China, as in Hindostan and over the whole East, the sovereign is the real landed proprietor. The land-tax, generally from a third to a half of the produce, is the real rent of the soil, and the limit of each cultivator's possession is what he can cultivate himself, with the aid of his family or domestic servants. This state of things, which covers the earth with a crowd of indigent cultivators, earning a subsistence and nothing more from the soil, and leaves no authority or influence but in the holders of political office or the possession of mercantile wealth, is the grand characteristic of Asiatic society, and the principal feature which distinguishes it from that of modern Europe. No government is practicable in such a state of society but an absolute despotism, communicating its orders through equally despotic satraps, mandarins, or governors of cities and provinces.³

³ De Guignes, ii. 445; Malte-Brun, ix. 339, 406.

The power of the Emperor is unlimited, so far

as the constitution itself is concerned. No checks

14 or restraint of any sort are provided against his authority—his will is law, his act the ministration of God Almighty in the government of the earth.

The same unlimited power which the Emperor possesses is enjoyed by the mandarins, or provincial governors, within their respective jurisdictions. No one thinks of disputing, none is courageous enough to resist, their authority. When one of these functionaries appears in the streets he is preceded by a hundred executioners, who announce his approach by loud howlings, which freeze every heart with terror. If any one neglects to range himself by the wall to let the procession pass, he is instantly beset by the executioners, who leave him half dead on the street, with strokes of bamboo canes. Justice is administered by these functionaries gratuitously, and without the aid of attorneys or legal assistants of any kind. It is sufficiently summary in civil cases; the judgment is pronounced on the first hearing, and the defendant receives the bastinado if he does not instantly satisfy the judgment. In criminal cases the punishment is still more severe, and too often consists of cruel tortures. It can not be inflicted, however, until the sentence has been confirmed by superior tribunals, and, in cases inferring death, by the sanction of the Emperor himself. The mandarins, in their turn, are subjected to a despotism fully as rigorous as that with which they are intrusted over others; and if delinquency or malversation is established against any of their number, by

1 De Guignes, *Mem. des Missionnaires*, viii. 41, 348; Macartney, ii. 239; Malte-Brun, ix. 399, 400. what appears to the Emperor to be sufficient evidence, he is instantly dispossessed, his fortune confiscated, and he himself bastinadoed with as little mercy as he had shown to the meanest of his former subjects.¹

In every country, however, even the most despotic, there is, practically speaking, some check upon the oppression of Government, when it rises to such a height as to have become unbearable, and to affect the persons or property of considerable numbers of the people. This last remedy is not wanting in China. It is true the laws recognize no limitation whatever on the will of the Emperor, and he may do whatever he pleases; but necessity compels him to have a council to share with him the labors and responsibility of Government; and they are permitted to tender their advice in council, which, when the sovereign is a man of sense and candor, is often done with freedom and effect. The mandarins also, though at an awful distance below, are permitted to make representations on the working of particular enactments or decrees, which are sometimes attended to, especially if they tend to an augmentation or additional facilities in the collection of the revenue. A certain restriction upon misgovernment arises from the custom, which has passed into a consuetudinary usage, of choosing the mandarins and public functionaries only from the lettered or highly educated classes. They do not form a privileged class, like the high castes in India or the feudal aristocracies of Europe, but are a body chosen by competition and open examination from all the other classes of society. Thus the career,

whether of civil or military employment, is open to all, and it is the knowledge of this which renders the people so patient under the despotism which prevails. Every one hopes that he himself, or his son, may become one of the despotic governors. Finally, there exists the *ultimum remedium* of insurrection, when tyranny has become unbearable, which, although threatened with the severest penalties by the laws, and utterly adverse to the feelings and habits of the people, does sometimes come into operation, and takes effect in rebellions fearful to contemplate, from the oceans of blood shed, and the unbounded cruelty exercised and suffering endured on both sides.¹

It is usually supposed that the Chinese are all Buddhists, or followers of the religion which, soon after the Christian era, had spread from Thibet over the adjoining regions of Asia. But although the Buddhists are the most numerous, they are not the only religious persuasion which prevails in China. The whole inhabitants, in remote ages, were worshipers of the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the ocean, and some of the most striking visible objects of nature. This primitive worship was succeeded by a more philosophic system, which was divided into the followers of Confucius, whose principles had some resemblance to those of the Stoics, and the adherents of *Lao-kium* or *Tao-tse*, which are more analogous to those of Epicurus. But neither of these systems, the growth of a civilized age, and the offspring of contemplative minds, was adapted to the wants of the great body of men, who are chiefly influenced by their passions and imagination. The majority of the people, accordingly, eagerly embraced the religion of Fo, the disciples of which entered China from Thibet about the year 65 of the Christian era. This faith recognizes the unity of the Supreme Being; but that sublime tenet is accompanied by innumerable superstitions and worship of inferior deities, which bespeak the pusillanimous and crouching spirit of the Oriental servitude. The priests of this faith are extremely numerous; they are said in the whole empire to exceed a million. This immense body live entirely, like the mendicant friars in Europe, on voluntary charity, and, like them, they conceal, under an humble guise and squalid exterior, the pride of unbounded influence and the desire for sensual gratification. All the three religions live in perfect harmony with each other, are equally tolerated by the State, and each is considered by the others as alike true and leading to salvation. Hence the Chinese proverb, "The three religions in reality are only one."²

To those who consider universal education and reading, coupled with the general use of printing, as an infallible security against the abuses of despotism, the example of China is in an especial manner worthy of attention. There is no country in which learning has so long prevailed, or been so generally diffused. At a period long anterior to the literary celebrity even of the Greeks and Romans, the Chinese were far advanced in several branches of knowledge, and institutions to bring it home to the great body

¹ Abbé Remusat, 247, 251; Malte-Brun, ix. 420.

² Malte-Brun, ix. 416-419; De Guignes, ii. 283, 290; Neukof Ambassador, ii. 50; Remusat, 147.

¹⁷ State of education among the Chinese.

of the people were generally established. A collection was begun, in the last century, of their "chosen works," and it soon reached 180,000 volumes. Encyclopedias, popular libraries, and general collections, have been established among them from time immemorial; and nowhere does this possession of education so immediately and exclusively tend to elevation and success in life. The use of gunpowder, the compass, and the art of printing, were common in China long before they were known in Europe. In the year 932 of our era, before the Norman Conquest, a beautiful edition of the best Chinese authors was printed at Peking for the use of the students at the imperial college. Artesian wells, balloons, artificial fire-works of the finest description, have been familiar to them from time immemorial. Education and the power of reading and writing are diffused to an extent scarcely known in any country of Europe; and the multitudes of the lettered class who have not been able to pass the examinations for public offices spread themselves over every province, town, and village, and earn a livelihood by teaching the young, which alone opens to all the career of success in life. Yet, with all this, China is the most despotic country in the world, and the one in which the absolute authority of the Emperor and his inferior functionaries is most universally and willingly obeyed, and in which the spirit of the people seems most thoroughly and irrecoverably broken by a long course of servitude.¹

¹ Nouveaux
Mélanges
Asiat.; De
Guignes, l.
377; St. Croix,
iii. 156; Mal-
ta-Brun, ix.
403-407.

Commercial intercourse with this singular people, on the part of any of the European nations, was necessarily subject to very considerable risks, from the peculiar habits of the people, their jealousy of foreigners, and the immense extent of the empire, which rendered any foreign trade, how considerable soever in the eyes of European powers, an object of comparative indifference to a government resting on such vast territorial possessions. As long as the trade remained in the hands of the East India Company, however, the traffic was carried on with prudence and circumspection; it was conducted by a few persons, who became acquainted with the native character, and, by seasonable *douceurs*, allayed the jealousies or restrained the complaints of the local authorities. Thus any considerable collision was prevented, and if any disputes did occur, they were in general soothed by a bribe to the mandarins, or the concession, on the part of the Company's agents, of the point in dispute. But although this mode of carrying on the business prevented a rupture, and was extremely advantageous to the East India Company so far as their commercial interests were concerned, yet it was eminently prejudicial to the national character with the inhabitants and government of the country. It naturally gave rise to the belief, which soon became universal in the celestial empire, that Great Britain was a country wholly set upon mercantile profit, destitute alike of public spirit and the means of enforcing any national object, and the traders of which would submit to any indignity, provided they were allowed to retain possession of their lucrative traffic.

^{18.}
Cautious
management
of their trade
by the East
India Com-
pany.

It was in part foreseen, what the event soon more than verified, that when the Chinese trade was thrown open, in pursuance of the Act of 1833, there would be a great increase in the trade to China,¹ and therefore an augmented risk of collisions with the inhabitants or official persons of that empire. The bill opening the trade accordingly contained a clause authorizing the appointment of certain superintendents of the trade to Canton, where alone it was permitted by former custom, and conferring on them considerable power over all engaged in the trade. Lord Napier was the first commissioner appointed, and he arrived at Macao on the 15th July, from whence he proceeded to Canton, where he arrived on the 25th of the same month. According to custom, the *Andromache*, a vessel of war on board of which he had come, anchored below the Bocca Tigris, being the principal fortified pass on the river leading to Canton. From thence he proceeded in a cutter to the neighborhood of Canton, where he sent a holograph letter to the governor of the town, announcing his arrival, and requesting permission to enter the city. This, however, was peremptorily refused on a variety of frivolous grounds, and the viceroy declined to recognize Lord Napier's diplomatic character. At the same time the Hong-Kong merchants, seeing he had not come in the supplicatory attitude to which they had been accustomed, threatened to stop the trade. Shortly after, Lord Napier, in his residence outside Canton at Whampoa, was subjected to a variety of petty annoyances, descriptive of the determination of the Chinese authorities to drive him from the neighborhood of the city. His baggage was broken open, though the keys were at hand; his supply of provisions cut off, and his residence surrounded by soldiers. At the same time the viceroy refused to sanction any transactions involving British property subsequent to the 16th August. Under these circumstances, Lord Napier, who was a sailor, and possessed all the spirited feelings of his profession, requested the officers of the *Andromache* and *Imogene* to furnish him with a guard of marines, and to bring their vessels to anchor at Whampoa for the protection of the merchant vessels there assembled. To do this they required to pass the Bocca Tigris, the passage of which had been hitherto forbidden to vessels of war; and this brought on the first collision between Great Britain and the Chinese empire.²

¹ Davis's Chi-
na; An. Reg.
1840, 242, 243.

Early on the morning of the 7th September the two frigates passed the batteries of the Bocca Tigris, working up against a northerly wind. The guns all opened upon them, but they were so ill-directed that only one man was hurt by a splinter, and a few ropes shot away. The wind having then failed, and there being no steam-tugs in the squadron, they were obliged to anchor below Tiger Island, a little farther up the river. On the 9th they weighed anchor, and proudly passed within pistol-shot of the batteries, which they speedily laid in ruins, though with the loss of two killed and several wounded. Adverse winds again retarded their progress till the 11th,

^{20.}
Passage of
the Bocca Ti-
gris and Ti-
ger Island.
Sept. 7.

when they again set sail, and anchored off Whampoa in a situation to protect the merchant vessels, which to the number of forty-six were there assembled. Upon this the viceroy at Canton agreed to reopen the trade, provided the British commissioner withdrew from Whampoa to Macao. Lord Napier, to avoid coming to extremities, agreed to this; but he fell a victim soon after to the climate, and

¹ Davis: Ann. Reg. 1840, 243.

was succeeded by Mr. Davis as chief superintendent.¹

After Lord Napier's death, and a brief interregnum during which the government was conducted by Mr. Davis with great prudence, Sir George Robinson became chief superintendent, and was assisted by Captain Elliot as a second commissioner. Sir George conducted the administration intrusted to him during 1835 and 1836 with much judgment, and no collision between the two nations occurred during this period. But a foundation was laid of a very serious difference at a future time, in the immense increase which took place in the smuggling trade in opium, not only in the river of Canton, but all along the coast as far as Chusan. The Chinese Government, partly alarmed at the immense quantities of this dangerous and intoxicating drug which were introduced, and also displeased at being deprived of the import duties which would be paid on the introduction of the same article by the regular trader, passed several severe edicts against the contraband trade, which Sir George regularly transmitted to the Foreign Office, with an urgent request for instructions how to act, which, however, were never furnished. The truth is, that vast pecuniary interests were involved in the continuance of the contraband traffic; and Government, aware of this, and fearful of bringing on a collision which might injure them if they took any decided step in the matter, thought it best to do nothing, and leave the commissioners to act as they deemed expedient, and on their own responsibility. Immense fortunes were in course of being made by the English merchants engaged in the trade; and the export of it from India became so immense that the East India Company enjoyed a revenue from the monopoly of that article of £4,000,000 a year. Both Mr. Davis and Sir George Robinson, however, warned the Government in the most emphatic terms of the impending danger; but the latter declined taking any steps to abate it.²

21. Pacific state of affairs in 1835 and 1836. Robinson became chief superintendent, and was assisted by Captain Elliot as a second commissioner. Sir George conducted the administration intrusted to him during 1835 and 1836 with much judgment, and no collision between the two nations occurred during this period. But a foundation was laid of a very serious difference at a future time, in the immense increase which took place in the smuggling trade in opium, not only in the river of Canton, but all along the coast as far as Chusan. The Chinese Government, partly alarmed at the immense quantities of this dangerous and intoxicating drug which were introduced, and also displeased at being deprived of the import duties which would be paid on the introduction of the same article by the regular trader, passed several severe edicts against the contraband trade, which Sir George regularly transmitted to the Foreign Office, with an urgent request for instructions how to act, which, however, were never furnished. The truth is, that vast pecuniary interests were involved in the continuance of the contraband traffic; and Government, aware of this, and fearful of bringing on a collision which might injure them if they took any decided step in the matter, thought it best to do nothing, and leave the commissioners to act as they deemed expedient, and on their own responsibility. Immense fortunes were in course of being made by the English merchants engaged in the trade; and the export of it from India became so immense that the East India Company enjoyed a revenue from the monopoly of that article of £4,000,000 a year. Both Mr. Davis and Sir George Robinson, however, warned the Government in the most emphatic terms of the impending danger; but the latter declined taking any steps to abate it.²

² Davis, 172-77; Ann. Reg. 1840, 244, 245.

22. Vast increase of the smuggling trade in 1836 and 1837. The more rigid enforcing of the edicts against the smuggling in opium, by the Chinese Government, led not only to an extension of it to Chusan, but also, what was far more dangerous, to its being conducted, not as heretofore in Chinese junks, but in British boats by British seamen, in the river of Canton itself, as far up as Whampoa. The demand for the intoxicating drug was so great among the Chinese, and the profits arising from its contraband introduction to the English merchants engaged in the traffic so immense, that their combined action overcame all obstacles. Captain Elliot, in November, 1837, represented the extreme danger of this state of things, when British seamen were daily engaged in the open violation of the Chi-

nese laws; but Lord Palmerston declined to interfere. Sensible, however, that this anomalous state of things could not long endure without an open collision between the two countries, the Cabinet took some steps to be prepared for the danger, and sent Admiral Sir Frederick Maitland in the *Wellesley*, 74, with the brig *Algerine*, into the Chinese waters, and they arrived in the Canton River on 12th July, 1838. Sir Frederick in vain endeavored to open a pacific communication with the viceroy at Canton: the letters he sent were returned unopened; and a British man-of-war boat, having passed the Bocca Tigris, was fired upon by the batteries. For this insult, however, an adequate apology was tendered and accepted. Soon after, a quantity of opium, the property of a British trader, was seized in Canton by the Chinese officers, the vessel which brought it ordered out of the river, and the native merchant who was the owner of the vessel subjected to a severe and degrading punishment.¹

The Chinese Government at length resolved to take effectual measures to stop this contraband traffic, which they regarded as not less derogatory to the majesty of the empire than injurious to the health and morals of their subjects. 23. Vigorous measures of the Viceroy Lin.

In January, 1839, a new Viceroy, named Lin, was appointed for Canton, and he arrived there in the middle of March following. His arrival was immediately signalized by the most vigorous measures. He demanded that the whole opium in the factories should instantly be delivered up to him, and a bond taken from every merchant that they would never again attempt to introduce it; and in the event of any such being thereafter brought, it should be confiscated, and the importer put to death. Should the foreigners fail to comply with these requisitions, they were to be forthwith overwhelmed by numbers and destroyed. Mr. Dent, one of the most respectable English merchants, was required to attend before the tribunal of Lin, in Canton, to answer some charges against him, Lin thus claiming a direct jurisdiction over the foreign factories. At the same time, the factories were rigorously blockaded by a large body of troops, and all supplies from every quarter cut off. Under these circumstances, Captain Elliot required all the opium then in Canton to be delivered up to the Chinese authorities, and in pursuance of it 20,283 chests of that article, worth about £1,000,000, were, on 8d April, given over to the persons authorized by Lin to receive it. Meanwhile every effort was made to get the blockaded merchants to surrender and subscribe the bond required of them; but this demand was evaded. This imprisonment and blockade continued till May 4th May, when, all the opium having been delivered, the merchants were allowed to depart, and Captain Elliot withdrew the last, on the 25th, under an edict from the governor never again to return. Such was "the course of violence and spoliation," which, in Captain Elliot's words, "had broken up the foundations of this great trade, perhaps forever."²

The feelings of exasperation produced on both sides by these violent proceedings were increased in August following by an affray which took place between some English sailors and Chinese villa-

¹ Davis, 184-192; Ann. Reg. 1840, 245.

² Davis, 208-212; Ann. Reg. 1839, 428; 1840, 246, 247.

gers, in which one of the latter was unfortunately killed. A demand was immediately made to have the homicide given up, which was of course refused. This was followed by an edict prohibiting the Chinese to furnish provisions to the British, and soon after a British schooner, the *Black Joke*, was boarded by several Chinese junks, several Las-cars on board cut down and thrown overboard, and Mr. Moss, a young Englishman, cruelly wounded. Toward the end of the year, Lin, in conjunction with Tang, the Viceroy of Wantung, issued an edict against the importation of any English goods, though transhipped on board the vessels of any other nation; requiring a bond to be entered into by the masters of such foreign vessel, to the effect that he had no British effects on board, under the penalty of confiscation if any such were discovered. So much distressed were the British merchants by these proceedings, that Captain Elliot condescended so far as to petition Lin for a restoration of the commerce in the mean time, in terms little calculated to convey an impression of the dignity of the British empire.* But to this it was replied that, till the murderer of the Chinese was given up, there could be no intercourse between the two nations, and the port would remain closed. A certain amount of commerce, however, was afterward permitted below the Bocca Tigris, when it was again interrupted in consequence of the captain of a British merchant vessel, Mr. Warner, having signed the bond required by Lin, and passed the Bocca Tigris in order to unload his cargo at Whampoa. This concession made the Chinese authorities rise in their demands, and it was then insisted that the captains of all vessels should sign the bond in the same manner as Warner had done. The British refused, and this led to the first commencement of serious hostilities.¹

¹ Parliamentary Paper Additional, p. 8; Capt. Elliot to Lord Palmerston, Nov. 5, 1840; Davis, i. 138-143; Ann. Reg. 1840, 248, 249.

The British forces in the river of Canton consisted of the *Volage* and *Hyacinth* frigates, and were anchored about a mile below the first battery; the Chinese squadron consisted of twenty-nine vessels of various sizes, including several fire-ships. After a fruitless correspondence, in which Lin peremptorily demanded that the man who had killed the Chinese should be given up, the flotilla weighed anchor and approached the English frigates, which had assumed a position, at the request of the Chinese, a little further down, but still covering the merchant vessels. As the Chinese flotilla, however, continued to advance, and appeared determined to pass inside the ships of war, so as to be able to carry into effect their threats of destroying the merchant vessels, Captain Elliot, about noon, gave the signal to engage. Then, for the first

time in their long annals, the Chinese were brought into serious collision with the Europeans, and felt the force of an English broadside. The ships bore away ahead in close order, having the wind on the starboard beam. In this way, under easy sail, they ran down the Chinese line, pouring in a quick and well-sustained fire. The wind being a side one, they were able to veer about and run along the line from its other extremity, with their port broadsides bearing on the enemy. The Chinese returned the fire for some time with vigor; but their guns, ill-directed, did little mischief, and were no match for the British artillery. In less than an hour one war-junk blew up within pistol-shot of the *Volage*, three were sunk, and several water-logged. The Chinese admiral, who had personally displayed much courage, upon this withdrew in great disorder to his former anchorage, and the English, in obedience to their orders not to act on the offensive, suffered them to retire unmolested. Shortly after, the *Volage* made sail for Macao, to protect the British merchant vessels that were embarking cargoes there, and the *Hyacinth* remained in the river of Canton.¹

Captain Elliot's Dispatch, Oct. 28, 1840; Davis, i. 143-145; Ann. Reg. 1840, 249, 250.

It soon appeared how ill-judged it was to have stopped midway in the career of victory, and how incapable the Asiatics are of appreciating moderation or yielding to any other argument but force. Two hundred years of

submissive policy at Canton, dictated to preserve the profits of trade at any hazard to national reputation, had engendered the idea that the British would submit to any indignity rather than incur the risk of losing their lucrative commerce, and it had become indispensable to make a vigorous effort to undeceive the Chinese. In the outset of the altercation the British Government were obliged to temporize, for they were in Europe on the verge of a war with France, and in the East involved in a desperate strife with the Afghans. But now circumstances had changed; the treaty of July, 1840, had coerced French ambition in the Levant; and the first and deceitful success in Central Asia had permitted a considerable part of the forces destined for its invasion to return to Hindostan. A powerful armament, accordingly, was fitted out and dispatched to the Chinese waters, consisting of the *Wellesley*, 74, and several lesser vessels and brigs, which, with those already there, formed a respectable squadron of one line-of-battle ship, two frigates, five brigs, and two armed steamers, with several troop-ships having some military on board. So little were the Chinese aware of the quality of the new adversaries with whom they had to deal, that, hearing of the arrival of a large vessel on the coast, the Governor of Canton issued a proclamation, offering a reward of 20,000 Spanish dollars "to whosoever might capture an English great ship carrying 80 guns, and deliver the same to the Government, and 5000 dollars for every mandarin or officer slain."

Several attempts to burn the British squadron were afterward made by means of fire-ships, though happily without effect, the danger having been averted by the vigilance of the boats of the fleet. But, meanwhile, an expedition was prepared against Chusan, a valuable and important island lying off the east

* "England having already enjoyed commercial intercourse with the heavenly dynasty for about 200 years, all that I now beg at this time is the continuance of our former legal commerce as of old, and that every thing be done in respectful submission to the statutes of the great pure dynasty, while at the same time the laws of my native country be not opposed, thus causing that both may exist and remain together."—Captain Elliot to Commissioner Lin, September 4, 1840; Ann. Reg., 1840, 248.

June 9.

coast, and the chief of a group of lesser isles bearing the same name, which, after a show of resistance, was abandoned to the British. Then, ¹ Davis, L 147; for the first time in history, was Ann. Reg. the British flag hoisted on a Chinese town. ¹ 1840, 252, 253.

This success to a certain degree opened the eyes of the Chinese to the dangers of the contest into which they had so unnecessarily plunged; and Lin was in consequence recalled, and a new governor, named Koshen, sent to Canton, who declared that he had full power to treat for the settlement of all the questions in dispute. Negotiations were opened accordingly by Captain Elliot at Macao. It was soon evident, however, that the Chinese were only negotiating to gain time. "We must adopt other methods," said Koshen, in a letter to the Emperor, "which will be easy, as they have opened negotiations." In the midst of the most pacific professions, a secret edict came to the knowledge of the British, detailing the means of destroying every British vessel and subject, which were all doomed to destruction. At the same time, it was learned that every preparation had been made for barring passage up the river by sinking vessels laden with stones in one channel, and strengthening the batteries on the sides. Hostilities were immediately resumed, and on the

7th January an attack was made on the forts of Bocca Tigris, which were soon laid in ruins; and a body of marines having landed, they were stormed, and the British flag hoisted on the ramparts. No less than 173 heavy guns were taken on this occasion; and preparations having been made to renew the attack next day on the principal fort of Anunghoy, which was the last defense remaining to Canton, Koshen feigned submission, and Captain Elliot agreed to an armistice on conditions eminently favorable to the British. These were—that the island of Hong-Kong, situated some way down the river, should be ceded to the British; six millions of dollars (£1,500,000) paid as an indemnity to the

merchants whose opium had been confiscated, of which 1,000,000 was to be paid at once; and trade opened on equal terms with the Chinese, and to be commenced at Canton on the 2d February following.²

This treaty proved the ruin of the governor who had negotiated it. So entirely had the court of Peking been kept in the dark by their agents in Canton as to the real state of affairs, that, at the very time it was concluded, the Emperor sent an order to his viceroy "to send the heads of the rebellious barbarians to the capital in baskets;" and Koshen, in terror for his life, wrote to Peking, on the conclusion of the treaty, representing it as entirely favorable to the Chinese, and the result of abject submission on the part of the British. No sooner, however, did the real nature of the treaty become known to the Government at Peking, and in particular that money was to be paid, than they issued a violent manifesto against Koshen, who was deprived of his office, and his property, which was enormous, confiscated to the imperial treasury. The British Government, on their part, were hardly less dis-

satisfied with the treaty, both for its containing the cession of the fine island of Chusan—having stipulated nothing about the opium trade, the ostensible cause of the war, and stopped the British in the career of victory, when its real object—the taming the insufferable arrogance of the Chinese authorities—had not been attained. In pursuance of these views, Captain Elliot was recalled by the Home Government, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed plenipotentiary in his stead. In the mean time, however, Hong-Kong had been formally taken possession of by the British troops, and orders had been ¹ Parl. Deb. dispatched to Chusan to restore May 6, 1841; that island to the Chinese authorities. ¹ Ann. Reg. 1841, 278, 279.

When such was the temper of the Governments on both sides, it was not likely that the suspension of hostilities could be of very long duration; it soon, accordingly, came to an end. On 19th February a hostile shot was fired by north Quang-tong batteries on the Canton River at a boat of the *Nemesis*; and the squadron under the command of Sir Gordon Bremer immediately advanced to avenge the insult. The fleet was forming into two divisions: the first, under Sir H. Fleming Lowhouse, consisting of the *Blenheim*, 74, with the *Melville* and *Queen* steamers, with four rocket-boats, proceeded to attack Anunghoy; while the second, under Sir G. Bremer in person, laid themselves alongside of the batteries on the southwest of Quang-tong. Both attacks proved entirely successful; in less than an hour the batteries of Quang-tong were silenced, and a body of troops, under Major Pratt of the 26th Cameronians, having landed, the fort, with the whole island, was captured, with 1300 Chinese soldiers, without the loss of a man. At the same time, the Anunghoy batteries were silenced by the steady, well-directed fire of the *Blenheim*, *Melville*, and *Queen*; and Sir H. Lowhouse having landed at the head of a body of marines, the whole batteries on that side also were stormed, and the British colors hoisted on the forts, with the loss only of five killed and wounded. Next day the light squadron of the fleet proceeded farther up the river, and commenced a fire upon a mass of forty-nine junks, which, with an old East Indiaman, were stationed to bar the passage near Whampoa. After a smart fire of an hour the junks and batteries were silenced, and the marines, with a body of seamen, being landed, the Chinese, 2000 in number, were driven out of the works, with the loss of 300 slain. Pursuing their success, the British light vessels approached Howqua Fort, the last defense of Canton; and preparations were making for attacking it, when the Chinese again made offers of accommodation. Captain Elliot a second time fell into the snare, and a suspension of hostilities with these arrogant barbarians was agreed to, when all the external defenses of their city had been captured, and decisive success was within his power.²

It was foreseen at the time, by the naval and military commanders of the expedition, that this "forbearance would be misunderstood, and that a further punishment must be resorted to before this perfidious and arrogant government is

27. Ineffectual negotiations. Capture of the forts of Canton.

2. Captain Elliot's Disp. Jan. 8, 1841; Ann. Reg. 1841, 277-279; Davis, L 147, 148.

28. The treaty is disavowed on both sides, though partially executed.

29. Storming of the forts, February 26.

Feb. 27.

March 2.

2. Sir G. Bremer's Dispatch, March 3, 1841; Ann. Reg. 279, 280.

brought to reason." The event proved that Sir

30. G. Bremer's anticipations were too well founded. On 17th March, Farther hos- a flag of truce sent by Captain tilities, a fresh armistice, and Elliot was again fired upon by the renewed war. Chinese, and, in consequence, the

light squadron, under Captain Herbert, ad- vanced next day to the Howqua Fort, March 18. which it soon silenced, burned or sunk

the whole flotilla assembled under its walls; and moving up within sight of Canton, hoisted the Union Jack on the walls of the British Factory, while the guns of the squadron commanded the whole approaches by water to the city. Upon this the Chinese governor again had recourse to the artifice of negotiation, and again the British plenipotentiary was deceived. On the March 20.

20th March, a circular by Captain Elliot announced to the British merchants that a suspension of hostilities had been agreed to, and in consequence trade was partially resumed during the next six weeks. Fortunately the British commanders were more alive to the method of carrying on war with Asiatics. Sir G. Bremer repaired to Calcutta to explain to the Government there the necessity of sending reinforcements, which was promptly done; and in the interval, a hero destined to future fame, Major-General SIR H. GOUGH, arrived, and took the command of the land forces. Meanwhile four imperial edicts were issued, breathing the most fierce defiance to the English. "They are," said the Emperor, "like dogs and sheep in their dispositions. It is difficult for heaven and earth to bear any longer with the English; and both gods and men are indignant at their conduct." By the same decree, Koshen, for having consented to an armistice, was ordered to be delivered over to the Board of Punishment; and as the hostile preparations of the Chinese continued unabated, and the constant arrival of hardy Tar-

tar soldiers from the north was every day rendering them more formidable, while 1 Sir Hugh Gough's an attack by fire-rafts had already been made, on the 21st, on the mer- 25, 1841; chant vessels, it was resolved to an- 1841, 280, ticipate their hostile movements, and 281; Davis, make an immediate attack upon Can- 149, 150. ton.¹

Canton at this time was garrisoned by about 81. 20,000 men, including a great many Tartar soldiers, who had inherited Plan for all the courage and daring which had storming of the forts of so often rendered them formidable Canton. to the greatest empires of Europe and Asia. It was surrounded by brick walls from twenty to thirty feet high, flanked by many projecting towers, lined by a plentiful array of heavy artillery. The attempt to reduce by force such a city so defended was a serious undertaking; but Sir H. Gough, having obtained considerable reinforcements from India, resolved, with his characteristic daring, to make the attempt. For this purpose he determined to land the troops and attack the city on the northwest face, where it was probable an assault would not be expected. The walls in that quarter run along a range of low heights, and are flanked by four strong forts, the approach to which lies through a level marshy country, in some places slightly undulated, and closely intersected by a net-work of canals and streams for irrigation.

While the main assault, with the bulk of the land forces, was to be directed against 1 Sir Hugh these forts, the attention of the ene- Gough's 2d my was to be distracted by an attack Disp., May 25, on the factories, which had been 1841; Ann. again ceded to the Chinese, and the 281; Davis, 1. whole river defenses.¹ 150, 151.

Seen from a distance, the fortifications of these Chinese cities seem very formidable, 32. and scarcely capable of being carried Storming of by a *coup-de-main*. But a nearer ap- the forts. proach generally takes much from May 24.

the terrors of the undertaking. The armed crowd at the top can not withstand a well-directed fire; the ramparts are speedily thinned when the shot begins to fall, and as there is always a landing-place at their foot, and generally a few boats to be got, it is no difficult matter for a few brave men to push themselves across, and, by means of scaling-ladders, reach the summit. This done, the victory is gained: the defenders of the rampart speedily take to flight. So it proved on the present occasion. A well-directed fire of rockets and shells was kept up on the two western forts; and the 49th, under Lieutenant-Colonel Morris, and the 18th, under Major-General Barrett, by a sudden rush crossed the ditch, scaled the rampart, and won the forts. The posts thus carried looked down on Canton within 100 paces, and several attempts were in consequence made to dislodge the British by side attacks from an intrenched camp situated at a little distance. These, however, were all repulsed, though not without loss, by the 49th, who were exposed in flank to a heavy fire from the city wall. The troops remained in possession of the external forts they had won that night, which was spent in bringing up guns to aid in the assault of the city itself,

ordered for the following morning. 2 Sir Hugh Gough's It was prevented from taking place, Disp., May 24, 1841; An. however, by a flag of truce, which 1841, 281, 282. at ten o'clock was hoisted on the walls.²

The terms proposed by the Chinese, and acceded to by Captain Elliot, were:

1. That the Imperial troops, other 33. than those of the province, should Terms of ac- quit the city within six days, and commodation with the Can- remove to a distance of sixty miles; ton Govern- ment.
 2. That 6,000,000 dollars should be paid in one week for the use of the Crown of England, of which 1,000,000 were to be forthcoming before the evening of the following day;
 3. That the British troops should retain their present position, but the ships of war retire below the Bocca Tigris, and the troops withdraw as soon as the whole was paid;
 4. Indemnity to be paid in a week for the burning of the factories.
- Thus did the British plenipotentiary, with the defenses of Canton in his possession, and the city itself at his mercy, agree to terms nearly identical with those to which the Chinese had formerly agreed before the Fort Anunghoy had ever been passed—an instance of moderation in success which might have been praiseworthy in Europe, but was to the last degree injudicious in the East, where obedience is never yielded but to force, and moderation is never ascribed except to terror. The bad effects of this concession were soon apparent. Before the ink of this treaty was well dry, a dispute arose with the

Chinese, in consequence of some of the camp-followers of the British army having injured some tombs in the vicinity of Canton. A mob of several thousand persons immediately assembled in a menacing manner in the rear of the British position; and it was only by threatening instantly to recommence hostilities if the assemblage was not dispersed that the mob withdrew within the walls and tranquillity was restored. But the consequences of this hostile popular demonstration going unpunished were extremely pernicious. They fostered the idea among the Canton rabble that the "outer barbarians" were, after all, not invincible; that their successes heretofore had been owing to the timidity of their rulers, not their own want of courage or prowess; and to the effects of this ignorant delusion a long series of subsequent insolent acts and aggressions, which led to a renewal of the war in 1857, are in a great measure to be ascribed.¹

The British Government disapproved, as well they might, of this pacification. Captain Elliot was recalled, and Sir H. Amoy. Pottinger was dispatched to succeed him. The troops were largely reinforced; and in the end of August a formidable expedition, consisting of the *Wellesley* and *Blenheim* ships of the line, with the *Blonde* and *Druid* frigates, a number of sloops and armed steamers, with twenty-one transports, stood to the northward, with a view to operations against parts of the country nearer the seat of the Imperial power. The first point against which operations were directed was Amoy, a considerable town strongly fortified, situated to the north of Hong-Kong. A wall, several hundred yards in length, and crowded with seventy-six guns, had been erected to defend the harbor. On the whole walls of the city were mounted 500 guns, and on the strength of these, and their granite fortifications, the place was deemed impregnable. So it proved to the attack on the sea-side. Though the fire of the ships was poured in with the utmost vigor, not one facing was injured. But Sir H. Gough landed the Royal Irish, with himself at their head, and, rapidly forming on the beach, advanced to the walls. These were quickly escaladed, with very little resistance on the part of the Chinese; and the summit of the rampart having been gained, the walls were cleared and the city taken. In this action the cowardice of the Chinese troops stood forth in strange contrast to the resolution of their Tartar officers; for while the former fled at the first onset, after discharging a few muskets and arrows, two of the latter killed themselves, the one at the head of his men when they ran away, the other by walking into the sea when the place was taken. At the same time, the island of Koolangtoo, situated opposite the harbor, and entirely commanding it, was carried by the 26th Regiment and a body of marines, though defended by fifty guns. The town was abandoned after its capture, as, being of great extent, it

¹ Sir Hugh Gough's Dispatch, Aug. 30, 1842; Ann. Reg. 265, 266; Davis, i. 152.

bor, and from which the city might be bombarded at pleasure.

Chusan was the next object of attack. This island had been restored to the Chinese authorities under the first convention concluded by Captain Elliot, and on this occasion the resistance was much more resolute than it had been on the former. Extensive works had been erected to guard the harbor of Chusan and the town of Tinghae, in addition to its old walls. Nothing, however, could withstand the assault of the British soldiers and marines. The fleet entered the Chusan group of islands on the 21st September; and on the 1st October, having completed their reconnoitring, the attack was made. The Chinese had erected a sea-wall along the shore, armed with heavy cannon; but this was easily overcome by landing the troops at its extremity, storming the work there, and driving the Chinese along the rampart. This done, they pushed on to the hill above the city on the west; and the walls having been surmounted by escalade, the town fell a second time into their possession, and they retained it for five years, to the unbounded satisfaction of the inhabitants, who still look back to it as the happiest period they had ever known. The island had been considered as very unhealthy during the first occupation, and nearly half of the force left there had perished by disease; but this was chiefly owing to the excessive indulgence of the troops in ardent spirits, and inattention to the water which the soldiers drank, which was of the worst description. On this occasion perfect discipline was maintained: the men were kept to regular habits; and the consequence was, that the island proved as salubrious as it was fertile and commodious for the purposes either of war or commerce.¹

Having secured this important acquisition, and left such a garrison in it as defied all the efforts of the Chinese for its expulsion, the expedition proceeded still farther north to Chinghae, a strong fortress commanding the entrance of the Ningpo River. Here they arrived on the 7th October; and the two line-of-battle ships were towed, in a perfect calm, into their positions, under the guns of the citadel and the eastern part of the city walls. At the same time, the military force, about 2200 strong, landed on the opposite side of the river, and attacked the Chinese intrenched camp, which was guarded by 5000 soldiers, who were quickly put to the rout, and the camp taken, with very little loss to the victors. The wall of the citadel was shortly after breached by the fire of the *Wellesley* and *Blenheim*, and a large part of it came down with a tremendous crash. Not an instant was now lost in landing the seamen and marines, under the command of Captain Herbert of the *Blenheim*, on the ruined rampart; and the troops, having surmounted the rocks and stones, rushed up the breach, and in a few moments the summit was won. At the same time, the citadel gate was blown open by a petard and powder-bag; and the Chinese having fled in dismay, the pass was won, and the union-jack hoisted on the outer works. The inner wall, twenty-six feet high,

was immediately after scaled by the seamen and marines; and ere long this strong fortress, completely commanding the entrance of the river, and deemed impregnable, was entirely in the hands of the British land and sea forces. The

governor, Yukien, who had boasted to the Emperor he would send him the heads of the "outer barbarians," was seized with such dismay at his defeat, that the next day he destroyed himself by poison.¹

The capture of Ningpo, a large city containing 800,000 souls, the walls of which are five miles in circumference, was next effected, and with very little resistance. Having provided for the safety of their conquests,

Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker proceeded with the remainder of the forces, consisting of 750 bayonets, with the Sappers and Artillery, against that city, which it was expected would offer an obstinate resistance. It proved, however, just the reverse. The troops having been landed near the gates, the walls on either side were speedily carried by escalade; and the Chinese themselves removed the obstructions at the gates, and admitted the 18th, the band of which soon played "God save the Queen" on the ramparts. The inhabitants received the victorious troops, by whom the strictest discipline was observed, in the kindest manner. Their wishes were openly expressed to be taken under the protection of the British, and liberated from the oppression of their Tartar governors.²

The advanced period of the year, and the approach of the autumnal storms, rendered farther operations by the combined land and sea forces impossible, and the British remained in quiet possession of their conquests. Encouraged by the accounts which they received during the winter of the small number of the forces, the Chinese secretly assembled a body of 14,000 men in the neighborhood of Ningpo, and at daylight of March 10 attacked the city. So complete was the surprise that they got over the walls and into the marketplace, in the centre of the town, with scarcely any opposition; but when there, they were attacked by the British with artillery and the bayonet, and driven out with the loss of 250 killed. On the same day an attack on the gates of Chinghae was also repulsed with great loss. After these checks the Chinese altered their plan of operations, and endeavored to make the position of the British untenable by obstructing their supply of provisions; and for this purpose they stationed a body of 4000 men at Tse-kee, eleven miles to the westward of Ningpo. This force was attacked by Sir H. Gough on the March 15. 15th; and after a smart action, in which the Chinese displayed more courage than they had yet done during the war, they were again defeated, with the loss of 900 men. The troops who fought on this occasion were Tartars, composed of the élite of the Imperial army, and embracing 500 of the Guard.³ They were a fine muscular body of men, very different from the effeminate hordes the British had hitherto encountered, and

bespoke the descendants of the ancient conquerors of the empire.

Chapoo was the next object of attack—a considerable town still farther to the north, the principal mart for the trade with Japan, and situated at the mouth of the great River Tshen-tang. The fleet and army appeared off it on the 17th May, having previously, in order to concentrate the troops, evacuated Ningpo. The recent defeats they had experienced on land had opened the eyes of the Chinese to the quality of the enemy with whom they had to deal, and they had made extraordinary efforts for the defense of the place. When the ships approached it, the works and hills around the town seemed covered with soldiers, who were 10,000 strong, a third of the number being Tartars. The *Cornwallis*, *Blonde*, and *Modeste*, however, anchored abreast of the principal batteries, upon which they opened a heavy fire, which was very feebly returned; and when the attention of the enemy was fixed on that side, the troops under Gough disembarked on the east of the town, and, driving the enemy before them, soon formed a junction with the naval brigade, which had landed at the west side of the same range of heights in the rear; and the two, united, advanced against the city. Its walls were speedily carried by escalade, the Chinese troops flying in all directions. A body of 800 Tartars, however, threw themselves into an old temple, where they defended themselves with desperate resolution, till the building fell from the bursting of shells within its walls, which crushed them all except forty, who were extricated alive. The astonishment of the survivors was great when, instead of being put to death as they expected, they were dismissed with praises and rewards for their distinguished valor.¹

These repeated successes, which were all gained in one way—by landing a body of troops in the rear of the towns, and assailing them in a quarter where they were not expected—had a powerful effect in impressing the Chinese Government with a respect for the British arms. In a military point of view, however, they were of no greater importance than the desultory attacks of the Baltic sea-kings, in former days, were on the British Islands. But a decisive operation was now in contemplation, which would at once strike at the heart of the enemy's power, and, by threatening the supplies of the capital, ere long compel submission. To understand how this came about, it must be premised that the great River Yang-tze-Kiang descends from the mountains in the west of the empire, and runs in an easterly direction along its whole breadth, till it falls into the sea, in several branches, near Woosung. In this way it intersects at right angles the great canal of China, which, as already mentioned, forms the principal artery by which the capital is supplied with the necessaries of life. The point where the canal crossed the river was Chin-Kiang-foo, which, from its importance, was strongly fortified. The entrances of the river from the sea were protected by immense works, and no less than 258 guns were mounted on the batteries commanding the straits. So confident were the

¹ Sir W. Parker's Disp.

Oct. 11, 1841;

Ann. Reg.

1842, 266, 267;

Davis, l. 154.

87.

And of

Ningpo.

Oct. 13.

Chinese that these works were impregnable, and that any fleet which attempted to force them would rush upon its own destruction, that they permitted, without firing, a close reconnoissance, on the evening of the 14th June, by the two commanders-in-chief, and even cheered loudly the boats sent in the same night to lay buoys to guide the vessels in the positions they were to take up for the attack.¹

They were not long, however, in discovering their mistake. At daybreak on the morning of the 16th the ships weighed anchor, and took up their stations opposite to the batteries. The cannonade immediately began, and was kept up with great spirit for some time. By degrees the enemy's fire slackened, and at the end of two hours the marines were landed in boats, under cover of the ships' guns, and by a sudden rush they carried the whole batteries before the land troops could be brought up in support, with a loss of only two killed and twenty-five wounded. This great success opened the mouth of the Yang-tze-Kiang, and it was followed next day by the advance of the light vessels of the squadron up the Woosung River. A battery of fifty-five guns was abandoned as they approached, and on the day following two more batteries, mounting forty-eight guns, were taken, after receiving two broadsides; and the ships approached the great city of Shanghai, which was occupied without resistance. In these two days were taken no less than 364 pieces of cannon, of which

seventy-six were brass guns of heavy calibre, and of exquisite workmanship. On several of these were cast, in Chinese characters, the words "Tamer and subduer of the barbarians."²

Great was the astonishment of the Imperial Government when they learned that the entrance of the great river had been forced, Shanghai occupied, and all their stupendous batteries carried, with little delay, and scarcely any loss to the "outer barbarians." A commissioner, named Elipoo, was dispatched from Peking on the usual mission to stop the invaders' progress by feigned submission and elusory negotiations. The terms proposed, however, were justly deemed inadmissible by the British commanders; and as they had now become aware of the artifices of their opponents, they resolved to pursue their operations without intermission, and strike at the heart of the enemy's power before they had time to recover from their consternation. Accordingly, on the

6th July, the fleet sailed from its anchorage off Woosung, and made sail for Chin-Kiang-foo. It consisted of seventy-five sail, of which fifteen were vessels of war, and ten armed steamers, with fifty transports, having on board 9000 land troops, and made a magnificent show as it advanced up the great river, not deigning to fire a shot at the numerous towns and villages which lay along its banks.³ A few broadsides knocked to pieces the batteries at Suythan, where alone resistance was offered; and on the

28th the whole fleet anchored before Chin-Kiang-foo.

This city, the walls of which were in excellent repair, stands within half a mile of the river, its northern and eastern faces upon a range of steep hills, its southern and western on low ground, with the Imperial canal, which en-

circles its walls, serving as a wet-ditch to the fortifications. Sir Hugh Gough resolved instantly to storm it, and for this purpose the troops, early in the morning, were landed in three brigades, consisting in all of about 4500 effective men. The first, under Lord Saltoun, was destined to attack the enemy's intrenched camp; the second, under General Bartley, to force an entrance at the south gate; and the third, under General Schoedde, to escalate the walls at the northern angle. All the three attacks proved successful; but the resistance of the garrison, which was directed by a renowned chief, Haeling, was most obstinate, and great slaughter ensued before the place was carried. Lord Saltoun's brigade speedily carried the intrenched camp, driving the enemy before him; and General Bartley's advanced-guard blew open the southern gates by the explosion of powder-bags, and the column rushed in. It was found, however, that this did not lead into the city, but only into an outwork of considerable size, which, though important, was not of itself decisive of the assault. But meanwhile General Schoedde's men had escalated the walls at the north angle, and, after clearing the whole walls to the westward, had with great difficulty made themselves masters of the inner gate leading from the outwork which had been carried to the interior of the city. The Tartars here fought desperately, and the heat was so overpowering that several of the soldiers on both sides died under sun-strokes, and a sort of forced truce took place till six in the evening. Then the two columns, uniting together, pushed forward into the streets, and the place was at length carried, after a bloody contest of two hours' duration. The Tartars fought to the last, with a courage worthy of their race and their fame; and their heroic commander, Haeling, finding the day irrecoverably lost, retired to his own house, to which he deliberately set fire, consuming himself and his family in the flames. Several of his leading officers did the same; and in every garden which the soldiers entered were found wells nearly choked with the bodies of women and children, who had been slain and thrown in by their own husbands and fathers.⁴

This victory was in reality decisive of the fate of the war, because, by giving the British the command of the great canal, it enabled them at pleasure to cut off the supplies of grain to the capital. But still further to improve their advantages, the British commanders, without the delay of a day, continued their advance up the great river, and on the 9th August cast anchor before NANKIN. This great town, the ancient capital and second city in the empire, containing 514,000 inhabitants, is strongly fortified. The

Failure of negotiations, and advance of the British fleet to Chin-Kiang-foo.

42. Great was the astonishment of the Imperial Government when they learned that the entrance of the great river had been forced, Shanghai occupied, and all their stupendous batteries carried, with little delay, and scarcely any loss to the "outer barbarians." A commissioner, named Elipoo, was dispatched from Peking on the usual mission to stop the invaders' progress by feigned submission and elusory negotiations. The terms proposed, however, were justly deemed inadmissible by the British commanders; and as they had now become aware of the artifices of their opponents, they resolved to pursue their operations without intermission, and strike at the heart of the enemy's power before they had time to recover from their consternation. Accordingly, on the

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43.

Description of Chin-Kiang-foo.

44. Arrival of the British before Nankin, and preparations to storm it.

45.

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47.

Tartar city, which is separated by strong fortifications from the Chinese, forms a sort of citadel, the approach to which is by paved roads running through deep morasses, and commanded by the guns of the place. Not deterred by these formidable appearances, Sir H. Gough no sooner arrived before the city than he made preparations for storming it; and the troops were in the act of getting into the boats with a view to that undertaking, when hostilities were suspended by a request from Sir H. Pottinger, as he was in terms of pacification with the Chinese Government.¹

Never was a more marked contrast exhibited than appeared in the demeanor of the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the present, to what it had been on every prior occasion. All was now civility and

condescension to the British commissioner; and although in their dispatches to the Emperor the Chinese envoys still spoke of the "outer barbarians" with hatred and contempt, yet in their intercourse with them they evinced that studied politeness which the Asiatics know so well how to assume when circumstances render it necessary. After some difficulty, especially as to the money payment, which was first stated at 80,000,000 dollars, the terms were agreed on as follows: 1. The payment by the Chinese of 21,000,000 dollars at stipulated periods, to run over a period of three years. 2. The cession in perpetuity of the island of Hong-Kong, in the Canton River, to the British Government. 3. The opening of a right to trade under a tariff of moderate amount, and on a footing of perfect equality, at the five ports of Canton, Amoy, Shanghai, Foo-choo, and Ningpo. 4. The island of Chusan to be held by the British till the last of the money payments had been made, and then restored to the Chinese. On these conditions a formal treaty of peace was signed by Sir H. Pottinger and the Chinese plenipotentiaries on the 29th August. It is remarkable that the opium trade, the original cause of discord, was never once mentioned in

this treaty—a clear proof either that it was the ostensible, not the real, cause of the war, or that the question itself was involved in such difficulties that, by mutual consent, it was passed over in silence.²

Begun, as all other wars in which the empire at this period was engaged, without any adequate preparation or information as to the enemy whom they were to attack, the Chinese war was protracted for double the period, and cost more than twice the sum at which, if commenced with a sufficient force and vigorously followed up, it might have been brought to a successful termination. Twice over the civil commissioner interfered, and prevented the defenses of Canton from being carried, when about to fall into our hands; and as the contest at this period was more a local than a national one, it is probable that such a decisive success in the outset would at once have brought about a pacification. But if this, the inherent weakness of a popular community, blasted the efforts of Great Britain in the outset, there never was a more glorious proof afforded of the strength

of such a community in the end than the issue of the same contest exhibited. Roused at length to the necessity of putting forth her giant strength, Great Britain, under the vigorous direction of LORD ELLENBOROUGH, with the right hand revenged, by a triumphant advance, our Afghanistan disaster, while with the left she carried the war into the heart of China, and dictated a glorious peace under the walls of the ancient capital of the empire. The expedition up the great river, and the storming of the fortress which commanded the crossing of the imperial canal with its waters, was conceived and executed with an ability and vigor worthy of Napoleon himself. The successful attainment of this object with such limited means, at the very moment when an arduous contest was going on in the heart of Asia, forms one of the most glorious eras in the history of Great Britain.

And in truth the contest in Central Asia was of such magnitude as might well absorb

the whole resources of a powerful state, and involved in such peril as seemed instantly to threaten its dissolution. The disastrous tidings of the entire destruction of the army

which had retired from Cabul had spread far and wide throughout India, and for the first time awakened the Council at Calcutta to a sense of the enormous risk they had incurred in pushing forward a column unsupported so far into a hostile country, and the danger of immediate overthrow to our Indian Empire from its destruction. The East India Company had from the very outset disapproved of the expedition to Afghanistan, and advised either the abandonment of the country, or a large augmentation of the military force in it. The Indian treasury was exhausted by the enormous expenses with which the war had been attended, which had already exceeded £10,000,000; and now that the principal army in the occupation of the country had been destroyed, it was more than doubtful whether the two lesser ones which remained at Candahar and Jellalabad would not speedily share the same fate, and in that case it might with confidence be anticipated that a general revolt of the native powers in the whole peninsula would take place, and Mohammedan ambition again endeavor to regain its lost dominion over the whole of Hindostan.³

Overwhelmed as he was with this terrible calamity, Lord Auckland did his utmost to stem the torrent of disaster which had burst upon the empire under his direction. The first thing to be done was to collect a force at Pesh-

* As the history of the Afghanistan war is now to be resumed, the Author thinks it right to say that the chief authority relied on, where others are not quoted, is Mr. Kaye's graphic and admirable narrative of that memorable contest. He is uniformly referred to when this is done, as was also in the former part of the narrative, at the end of each paragraph. The passages referred to are, however, not in general inserted as quotations with inverted commas, because they are almost all so much abridged, the Author being obliged, in a chapter and a half, to condense the matter of two large volumes. But he is the first to acknowledge his great obligations to that accurate and fascinating work, which, like Livy's narrative of the Second Punic war, or Ségur's of the Moscow campaign, will always form the ground-work of subsequent histories on the subject.

awar, both to stop any incursion which the victorious Afghans might make from the Khyber Pass into the northern provinces of India, and to form the nucleus of a new army, which might advance to bring off the garrisons left in Jellalabad and Candahar, if they should prove able to hold out till succor could reach them. The only forces at hand for this purpose were four regiments of native infantry, which were hurried across the Punjaub when the disasters were beginning, and reached the left bank of the Indus on the 28th December, 1841. But though there were a few artillerymen in this force, there were no guns; and a few pieces of ordnance, which the Sikhs, with great difficulty, were persuaded to lend them, proved so crazy that, the moment it was attempted to put them in motion, they went to pieces. Forces of other kinds, however,

gradually came up, and on the 4th January the new brigade, consisting of 3034 effective men, crossed the Indus, and reached Peshawur. Fortunately for the interests of Great Britain in the East, the choice of the Commander-in-Chief, after some difficulty, fell upon Major-General POLLOCK, then commandant of Agra, to direct this force, one of the most illustrious of the many illustrious men who have founded or preserved our empire in the East.¹

Instructed in the rudiments of the military art at Woolwich Academy, young Pollock entered the Company's service as a lieutenant of artillery in 1803, that stirring period when Lord Lake and Sir Arthur Wellesley were prosecuting the war against fearful odds on the side of the Mahrattas. He was present at the storming of Dieg in 1803, and in the terrible siege of Bhurtpore in 1805. In the pursuit of Holkar in the close of the same year, he again distinguished himself by his courage and activity. He was engaged in the Nepal war as commander of the artillery under General Wood, and having been made brigademajor for his services on that occasion, he was appointed to command the Bengal Artillery in the Burmese war, and for his services in that arduous contest he received the honor of C.B. He was afterward obliged to revisit England for the recovery of his health; but having returned to India, he was selected by Sir Jasper Nicolls, the Commander-in-Chief, to take the command of the troops proceeding to Peshawur, and directed to join them with the utmost expedition. His appointment gave universal satisfaction. Quiet in manner, unobtrusive in disposition, correct in conduct, he concealed under these modest qualities a moral courage which nothing could shake, a fertility in resources which rose superior to every difficulty. Called to the arduous task of organizing a new army at Peshawur, and avenging our disasters in Afghanistan, with troops few in number, and whose morale had been grievously shaken by the disasters which had occurred, he executed it with the most distinguished ability, the most unshaken firmness; and to him, jointly with General Nott, who was in command at Candahar, and General Sale, who yet held Jellalabad,

history must award the glory of having saved in its most dangerous crisis, the British empire in the East.²

If ever two men stood, in respect of character, in decided contrast to each other, it was Pollock

and Nott. The latter general, who, when the catastrophe occurred, was in command of the forces at Candahar, was as fiery and irritable as the former was mild though resolute. Possessed of distinguished military abilities, he from the first clearly perceived the dangers with which the advance to Cabul was threatened, and expressed his opinion in no measured terms to the Government on the subject. He received, in consequence, the reward which so often attends the communication to persons in authority of truth at variance with their preconceived opinions. He was disliked at head-quarters, coldly regarded by the Governor-General, for a time superseded in his command, and only restored when the necessities of the campaign made it impossible to dispense with his abilities. Though sagacious and far-seeing as to future danger, and urgent to make preparations against it while it might yet be averted, no man faced peril more gallantly when it was present, or exerted the resources of an intrepid mind more energetically to ward it off. When the treaty at Cabul was concluded, which stipulated for the removal of the British troops from the whole of Cabul, he refused to abide by it as soon as he learned that the Afghans, instead of observing, were daily violating its conditions in the most essential particulars, and maintained his ground till the advance of Pollock again enabled him to resume the offensive. Ardent in character, fearless in language, intrepid in action, his whole mind, like that of Nelson, was wrapped up in the honor and glory of his country; while, like Collingwood, his heart at the same time expanded in the amenities and affections of domestic life. His character is fully displayed in his published correspondence—a work which, like the Wellington Dispatches, will remain an enduring monument of the patriotism and lofty feelings which at that period inspired the officers of the British army.

Opinions were much divided in the Supreme Council at Calcutta as to the course to be hereafter pursued in regard to Afghanistan. Some, among whom was Sir Jasper Nicolls, urged the expediency of withdrawing altogether, without farther effort, behind the Indus. They represented that the great diminution which would thus

be effected in the space to be occupied by, and expenditure required for the army, would so strengthen our military position as to enable the British forces summarily to chastise any native power which might attempt to take advantage of the consternation produced by the Afghanistandisaster to insult our dominions. On the other hand, any attempt to renew our invasion of that savage region would so scatter our forces, and embarrass our finances, as to render it difficult to put down any combination of native powers in Hindostan against us. The only wise course, therefore, seemed to be, after providing for the safe retreat of the forces still left in Afghanistan, to retire behind the Indus. On the other hand, it was strongly urged by Mr. Clerk, the Governor-General's agent on the northwestern frontier, that the greatest danger at such a crisis was to be found in inactivity; that the British dominion in India being mainly founded

¹ Kaye, ii. 270, 275.

² Kaye, ii. 270, 275.

on opinion, the prestige of its arms must be restored, or it would speedily perish; that it was not enough to withdraw our garrisons from Jellalabad and Candahar—it was necessary, by pushing forward reinforcements to these points, to enable Sale and Nott to chastise the enemy on the theatre of his recent victories, and

¹ Sir Jasper Nicolls to Government, Jan. 24, 1842; Kaye, II. 274-276; Lord Auckland to Sir J. Nicolls, Jan. 3, 1842; Ibid. 278, and Feb. 2, 1842; Ibid. 276.

then withdraw with dignity and unsullied honor from Afghanistan. Sometimes the Governor-General seemed inclined to pursue the bold-er, sometimes the more timid policy; but meanwhile forces were directed with all possible expedition to Peshawur, in order, at all events, to attempt the extrication of Sale and the garrison of Jellalabad from their hazardous situation.¹

The situation of things, meanwhile, at Calcutta, and over all India, was gloomy in the extreme. It has been thus eloquently described by an eye-witness: "There was not in that great palaced city, or in any one of the smaller stations or cantonments in India, an Englishman whose heart did not beat, and whose hand did not tremble, for the fate of the Cabul force when he opened the letters and papers which brought him intelligence from beyond the frontier. No one who dwelt in any part of India during the early months of 1842 will ever forget the anxious faces and thick voices with which tidings were sought, questions and opinions asked and interchanged, hopes and fears expressed, rumors sifted, probabilities weighed, and how, as the tragedy deepened in solemn interest, even the most timid and desponding felt that the ascertained reality far exceeded in misery and horror all that their excited imaginations had darkly foretold. There was a weight in the social atmosphere as of dense superincumbent thunder-clouds. The festivities of the cold season were arrested—gayety and hospitality were not. There were few families in the country which did not look on with apprehension for the fate of some beloved relation or friend; while unconnected men, in whom the national overlaid the personal feeling in this conjuncture, sighed over the tarnished reputation

of their country, and burned to avenge the insults that had been heaped upon their country."²

When such were the feelings and apprehensions of the European part of the inhabitants of the country, it may readily be believed how deep was the impression made upon, how vehement the agitation among, the native part of the population.

Among the Mohammedan princes in particular, and their descendants, who, till the coming of the English, had long been the rulers of the country, the excitement was peculiarly strong. The time seemed to many of them to have come when a great disaster had shaken the British power to its foundation, and when by a vigorous, united effort the yoke of the stranger might be thrown off, and the thrones and power which they formerly enjoyed be restored to them. The rajahs began to make preparations; secret messages were interchanged between them. It was well known that the question had come to this

—not whether Afghanistan was to be reoccupied, but whether India was to be preserved. Again, as on occasion of Monson's retreat in 1804, it was known that a secret understanding to take advantage of our distresses existed among a large part at least of the native chiefs, and any fresh disaster would occasion a general outbreak from the Himalaya snows to Cape Comorin.¹

The crisis, however, in the first instance, was to be met by the troops at Peshawur; and the native portion of that force was in the worst possible state to meet it. There were four regiments of infantry there, in great part composed of young soldiers, and all in the most demoralized state. The Sikhs, among whom they had for long been living, had inspired them with that dread of the Afghan with which they themselves and all the inhabitants of Hindostan had long been inspired. The total destruction of the noble army which the British had lately led into the country increased these feelings of alarm, and led the troops to anticipate nothing but death if they ventured within the terrific pass. It was evident that nothing was to be expected from the Sikh soldiers. Their feelings of jealousy toward the stranger, scarcely suppressed, left no hope of any cordial co-operation, and, on the contrary, begat a well-founded apprehension that they might any day rise in arms against us, and entirely cut off the communications of the army which was engaged in such a desperate enterprise in front. Meanwhile, Akbar Khan and the Afghan chiefs did their utmost to induce the Afredis, who inhabited the rugged jaws of the Khyber, to close the pass against the British, and with such success that any attempt to force it would be strenuously resisted. Nevertheless, the distressed condition of the garrison at Jellalabad, which was much straitened for provisions, made it indispensable, without delay, to make a forward movement, even with the small force in hand, in order, if possible, to extricate them from their perilous situation.²

This enterprise was attempted on the 15th January with two sepoy regiments, with which Brigadier Wild attempted to reach and strongly garrison the fort of Ali-Musjid, which lies at the entrance of the pass, about

twenty-five miles above Peshawur. This fort, which is situated on a conical rock within the Khyber, has always been regarded as the key of the pass, and it was garrisoned by a small native force in the British interest, which had withstood alike the seductions and the arms of the Afredis. Being now hard pressed for provisions, two regiments, with a large convoy of bullocks, were sent to reinforce them; but they were unable to reach the fortress, though they got, with little opposition, to the foot of the rock on which it stood. Two other regiments of sepoys, sent up to assist them a few days after, refused to follow their officers when they came into action, and fled disgracefully; the Sikh soldiers openly mutinied, and refused to enter the pass, and the Sikh guns broke down, and one of them had to be abandoned to the Afghans. The two regiments around Ali-Mus-

⁵²
Extreme and general despondence over India.

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Agitation and incipient confederacy among the native powers.

¹ Kaye, II. 261; Governor-General's Proclamation, Jan. 31, 1842.

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Depressed state of the troops at Peshawur.

² Kaye, II. 288, 290; Ann. Reg. 1842, 288.

⁵⁵
Failure of the attempt to force the pass. January 15.

Jan. 19.

jid at length got into the fort; but the convoy, on which they depended for food, had been unable to penetrate, except to a small extent; and although Captain Thomas, of the 64th Native

Infantry, volunteered to hold it with 150 men, for whom there were provisions, not a man would remain with him. Thus, on the 23d, it became necessary to abandon the post, and the four sepoy regiments returned to Peshawur.¹

It was now evident that there was no hope of forcing the pass till the arrival of Pollock's brigade, which was hurrying up through the Punjaub. It consisted of three regiments, and three guns, with a few cavalry.

Such, however, had been the depressing effect of defeat and inactivity on the health of the troops, that the entire force, after Pollock's arrival, hardly exceeded what Wild alone had commanded a few weeks before. The hospitals were full of sick; the troops still on duty were to the last degree depressed and disheartened; and such was the disaffection which prevailed, that not only were the regiments which had been defeated averse to enter the Khyber themselves, but they sent emissaries to the new regiments which came up, to endeavor to persuade them also to refuse to advance. So general was the demoralization, that even some officers declared it would be better to sacrifice Sale's brigade than risk the loss of 12,000 men in the attempt to rescue it. In these circumstances it was utterly impossible to make an immediate advance toward Jellalabad; and the first duty of the general in command was to use his utmost efforts to restore the health, confirm the loyalty, and reanimate the spirits of his soldiers. For this task, happily for his country, Pollock stood pre-eminent. His mild manner and kind acts won the heart of the sepoys; by incessant vigilance he restored their health, and by an equable, cheerful demeanor, he succeeded at length in reviving their spirits. Sale and M'Gregor at Jellalabad kept incessantly urging him to move forward; but well aware that a premature attempt would prove ineffectual and

lead to their ruin, he stood firm, magnanimously sacrificing to a sense of public duty the desire most dear to a soldier—that of instantly hastening to the relief of a comrade in distress.²

But although left in this manner to their own resources, the garrison of Jellalabad found, in their own indomitable fortitude and perseverance, and the courage and capacity of their leaders, means of defense, which, in the circumstances, would otherwise have seemed unattainable. When Sale first found himself reduced to his own forces after the Cabul disaster, he had just 2500 men, of whom, in the middle of February, only 2273 were effective: of these, 838 were sepoys. The place, though nominally a fortress, had in reality very little means of defense. The ramparts were on all sides in a ruinous state, in some actually fallen down; yawning breaches, in many places, would admit a company of foot-soldiers abreast; the ditch, in others, was so filled up that a half-troop might

trot in in line. With indefatigable vigor and perseverance, Sale, aided by his gifted engineer, Broadfoot, set himself to work, the moment he got possession in November, to repair the fortifications; and with such success were his exertions attended, that before the end of January the breaches and ruined places in the walls were all repaired, a ditch ten feet deep and fourteen broad every where cleared out round the works, and the whole buildings within point-blank range of the works leveled. They were thus secure against a *coup-de-main* or siege operations from any Asiatic army without cannon; but this afforded no safeguard against the approaches of famine, which were seriously to be apprehended, as on the 19th February they had only provisions for the men for seventy, for the horses for twenty-five days. Forage and food in abundance were to be had in the neighboring villages, but they were of no use to the besieged, as they had neither money to buy them nor cavalry to forage in presence of Akbar Khan, who, with a large body of horse, lay within a few miles distant. The garrison, however, were in good heart, and confidently looked forward to being delivered by Pollock; and their courage received an additional stimulus by the heroic conduct of Lady Sale, who, before being made prisoner by the Afghans, wrote to her husband to allow no consideration of her danger to interfere with his performing his duty, and defending the place to the last extremity.³

But at the very time when this brave garrison were, with reason, congratulating themselves on the security which their indefatigable efforts had gained for them, a terrible calamity ensued. On the 19th February, at the very moment when Sale and M'Gregor were writing to Pollock, urging his early advance to their relief, an earthquake of fearful severity was felt at Jellalabad. The shocks were so violent that the ramparts suddenly yawned, and in many places were thrown down, and great part of the buildings in the town fell with a sudden and awful crash. In the first moments of alarm the garrison instinctively ran to arms, thinking that a mine had been sprung, and that an immediate assault might be expected. Fortunately most of them, from doing so, got out of the buildings safe; but Colonel Monteith, the field-officer of the day, was overwhelmed by the fall of his house, and dug out of the ruins, buried up to the neck in rubbish. No less than a hundred shocks succeeded the first great one, which tended still to extend the devastation, and, while they continued, rendered impossible all attempts to arrest the mischief.⁴

Many governors, in the circumstances in which he was now placed, with his fortifications in a great measure ruined, and a superior and victorious enemy in the vicinity, would have deemed the post no longer tenable, and made the best of his way down to Peshawur. Not so Sale, Broadfoot, and their heroic followers. What they did has been recounted in the simple words of the latter. "No time," says Captain Broad-

¹ Sale's Report, Feb. 19, 1842, and Letter to Pollock, Feb. 14, 1842: Parl. Papers regarding Afghanistan; Kaye, II. 306, 307.

^{57.} Courage and fortitude of the garrison of Jellalabad.

^{58.} Captain Broadfoot's Report, Apr. 16, 1842; Sale to Pollock, Feb. 19, 1842; Kaye, II. 307-310.

^{59.} Efforts of the garrison to repair the disaster.

foot, "was lost. The shocks had scarcely ceased when the whole garrison was told off in working parties; and *before night* the breaches were scarped, the rubbish below cleared out, and the ditches below them dug out, while the great one on the Peshawur side was surrounded by a new gabion parapet. Another parapet was erected on the remains of the northwest bastion, with embrasures allowing the guns to flank the approach to the ruined gate; while that gate itself was rendered inaccessible by a trench in front of it; and in every bastion round the place a temporary parapet was raised. From the following day all the troops off duty were continually at work; and such was their energy and perseverance, that by the end of the month the parapets were entirely restored, or the curtains filled

¹ Captain Broadfoot's Report, Apr. 16, 1842; Kaye, ii. 810, 811.

in where restoration was impracticable, and every battery re-established. The breaches had been built up, with the rampart doubled in thickness, and the whole of the gates retrenched."¹

The spirits of the garrison after this were much raised by the receipt of Lord Auckland's proclamation, declaring that the misfortune that had occurred afforded only a fresh opportunity for displaying the power and resources of the British empire. They now looked forward confidently to being relieved. It was long, however, before the relief came. Meanwhile, such was the respect with which the garrison of Jellalabad had inspired the blockading force, that though Akbar Khan, with a body of 7000 men, lay in the close vicinity, and more than once actually approached the walls, he never ventured to engage the British who went out to meet him, and the blockade was kept up at a distance only. But still the position of the garrison was extremely precarious, and becoming more so every day. Provisions were growing very scarce. By the middle of March the men were put on short rations, the draught cattle, camels, and artillery horses began to be killed, and Sale's applications to Pollock for relief became daily more urgent. Still the terrors and mutinous temper of the sepoys was such that no advance was practicable till the European troops arrived. At length the numerous obstacles which had opposed their advance were removed. The English dragoons (3d) and horse-artillery reached the camp at Peshawur on the 30th, and next day Pollock gave orders to commence the march toward Jellalabad. The 33d, however—Wellington's old regiment—which was anxiously expected, did not come up for some days afterward, and the march did not begin till the 5th of April.²

Taught by the disastrous issue of the former attack, Pollock had skillfully arranged his plan of operations, and fully explained it to his commanding officers. The assaulting force was divided into three columns—the first to follow the direct road from Peshawur up the pass at the bottom of the defile, the two others to scale the rugged eminences on either side, and turn the enemy's works at the bottom by

their flanks. Every preparation had been made by the enemy to resist the attack. The road at the bottom was strengthened by a stout barricade, composed of felled trees and large stones, which ran right across the pass from the one precipice to the other; and the heights on either side, which consisted of lofty bare crags, terminating in sharp peaks, were apparently inaccessible from below, and, wherever men could find a footing, were covered by strong bodies of mountaineers, second to none in Asia in the skill with which they used the musket. This was the first time in the annals of the world that the forcing of this terrible defile had been attempted by armed men. Timour himself, at the head of 200,000 men, had recoiled from its terrors, and purchased a passage through by a large payment to the Afredi tribes which held its sides; and Nadir Shah, the great Persian conqueror, a century before the British advance, had done the same.¹

Before commencing his arduous undertaking, Pollock addressed a noble proclamation to his troops, in which, without disguising the dangers of the enterprise, he appealed to their feelings of honor cheerfully to undertake it. One great object was to reduce to the lowest point the baggage of the army. The general set a good example by reducing his own baggage-cattle to one camel and two mules. The spirit of the troops had been much elevated by the arrival of so many reinforcements, especially the European cavalry and artillery; and having completed his arrangements, and visited all his commanding officers the evening before, to see that they thoroughly understood the duties assigned to them respectively on the following day, and finding all things in readiness, the signal to march was given at three in the morning of the 5th. Silently and steadily the soldiers moved over the plain toward the mountains, which rose like an awful barrier before them when the twilight began to dawn. Before, however, they reached the foot of the rocks the enemy were aware of their approach, and every eminence where footing could be found was covered with their musketeers. The Afghans were so confident in the strength of their position, that they made no attempt to obstruct the advance of the British till they were already at the entrance of the pass. The assault then began with the two wings destined to carry the heights on either side, and that on the left, under Colonel Moseley, was soon closely engaged with the enemy; but in spite of the extremely steep and rugged nature of the ascent, they made sensible progress, and were to be seen springing from rock to rock, and emerging out of thickets, but still advancing up the heights. The right column, under Colonel Taylor, advanced up the steep ascent with equal determination, but the precipices near the top were so high as to be absolutely inaccessible; and Pollock, seeing this, detached the grenadiers of the 9th and a body of sepoys to their assistance; but they too were stopped by the precipices at the summit, and suffered severely by stones hurled down upon them.² At length Taylor, by a circuitous path, reached the top, and the heights on either side being now

¹ Pollock's Dispatches, April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 475, 476; Kaye, ii. 851, 852, 856.

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Storming of the Pass.

² Plan of attack on the Khyber. April 5,

² Pollock's Dispatch, April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 475, 476; Kaye, ii. 855, 856.

won, the Afghans, who found themselves exposed to a severe dropping fire from above, gradually withdrew from the pass.

Seldom was a victory more seasonable, or attended with more important results.

63. The forcing of the Khyber Pass resounded through all Asia, and went far to obliterate the impression produced by the Afghanistan disaster. The sepoy in particular, whose spirit it had been thoroughly subdued by that catastrophe, now felt that their character was regained, and that they were capable again to enter on the career of victory. The Sikhs, recently so dubious, were now all civility, and offered to garrison Ali-Musjid as soon as it was taken, and keep open all communications in the rear. This fort was evacuated in the night by the Afghans, April 9. and no farther opposition was made to the advance. On the 9th the advanced guard reached Lundu-khanu, at the northern extremity of the defile; and on the 14th April 14. the whole troops, with the immense convoy they were conducting, was clear of the pass. On the morning of the 16th the advanced guard came in sight of Jellalabad. The sight filled the garrison with the most enthusiastic joy: the soldiers thronged the walls; the bands of every regiment went out to meet the conquerors, and struck up "God save the Queen" as they passed by; and 1842, 244, 245; cheers which made the very welkin ring resounded through the air, as, in proud array and with erect heads, they entered the gates of the fortress.¹

Ann. Reg. 1842, 244, 245; Sir R. Sale's Report, April 16, 1842; Kaye, ii. 338, they entered the gates of the fortress.¹

If the garrison of Jellalabad had good cause to welcome these conquerors of the Khyber with these military honors, they in their turn had as good reason to salute the garrison with equal distinction, for never had a defense been conducted with more fortitude and constancy. Great as were the efforts made by Pollock to disengage them, the aid would have come too late had it not been for their own indomitable spirit and resolution. On the 1st April, when almost at the last extremity for provisions, they made a sortie, and carried off, in the very teeth of the enemy's covering parties, five hundred sheep and goats. This supply was of inestimable importance, for it gave them the means of subsistence till the probable period of their relief. Some days after, reports were spread by the blockading force of a great disaster sustained by Pollock in attempting to force the Khyber Pass; and on the 6th their whole guns fired a royal salute in honor of the supposed victory. In these circumstances, a council of war in the garrison decided that nothing could save them but a sudden irruption, which might drive the enemy to a distance, and enable them to aid Pollock's advance, and sweep the country to some distance for additional supplies. It was resolved, accordingly, to make a general sally, which was fixed for daybreak on the morning of the 6th.²

64. Sale divided his troops into three columns: the centre, consisting of the 18th, 500 strong, was under the command of Colonel Dennie; the left, of the same strength, composed of sepoy,

was under the orders of Colonel Monteith; and the right, consisting of one company of the 18th and one of the 85th, was led by CAPTAIN HAVELOCK, an officer destined to deathless fame. A few guns and horsemen accompanied the sally, which was made by the Cabul and Peshawur gates at daybreak on the morning of the 7th. Akbar Khan had drawn up his troops, 6000 strong, in order of battle to defend his camp—his right resting on a fort, his left on the Cabul River, and some ruined works within eight hundred yards of the place being filled with Ghilzye marksmen. The attack was led by Havelock at the head of the skirmishers of the 18th; who forced their way, in spite of a stout resistance, through the ruined works, and then, pushing on, assailed the main line. Meanwhile Dennie, while nobly leading the central column to attack the fort, received a ball in the breast, of which he soon after expired. The assault of the fort, however, went on, and after an obstinate resistance it was carried; while at the same time Monteith forced back the enemy's right. Sale now directed a general assault upon the Afghan camp. The artillery advanced at the gallop, and directed a heavy fire on the enemy's centre, while the infantry pressed forward in splendid style to complete their victory. The attacks all proved successful. Two of the columns penetrated the line near the same point; while the third, in spite of a heavy fire from three guns under cover, and repeated charges from the horse, drove the forces opposed to them headlong into the river. By seven in the morning the victory was complete. The enemy was driven off in great disorder toward Lughman and Cabul, their camp captured, all the tents burned, the blockade raised, and two cavalry standards taken, with four guns which had been captured from the British during the Cabul retreat. This recovery gave unbounded joy to the troops; but the victory, important as it was, was dearly purchased by the loss of Colonel Dennie, one of the brightest ornaments of the British army.¹

These glorious successes diffused universal joy in India, the more so as they immediately succeeded such a long series of disasters. To none did they give more satisfaction than to the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, who had arrived at Calcutta on the 28th February, and immediately with a firm hand assumed the direction of affairs. Honors and distinctions were worthily bestowed, in great but not undeserved profusion, on the troops who, by their constancy and valor, had won such glorious triumphs, and done so much to restore the lustre of the British arms in the East; and the men all received a gratuity of six months' batta. Lord Ellenborough stated, in an animated proclamation on the subject, "The illustrious garrison which, by its constancy in enduring privation, and by its valor in action, has already obtained for itself the sympathy and respect of every true soldier, has now, sallying forth from its walls under the command of its gallant leader, Major-General Sir R. Sale, thoroughly beaten in open field an enemy more than three times its numbers, taken the standards of their boasted cavalry, destroyed their

65. Total defeat of the Afghans, April 7.

66. Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation to the garrison of Jellalabad, April 21.

1 Sale's Disp., April 7, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 248, 249.

2 Sale's Dispatch, April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 245.

3 Sale's Disp., April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 245.

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3 Sale's Disp., April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 245.

4 Sale's Disp., April 16, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 245.

camp, and recaptured four guns which, under circumstances which can never again occur, had during the last winter fallen into their hands. The Governor-General cordially congratulates the army upon the return of victory to its ranks. He is convinced that there, as in all former

times, it will be found, while, as at Jellalabad, the European and native troops, mutually supporting each other, and evincing equal discipline and valor, are led into action by officers in whom they justly confide."¹

EDWARD LAW, EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH, who now succeeded to the government of India in the most critical and arduous period of its history, was born on 8th September, 1790.

The grandson of Edmund Law, Bishop of Carlisle, the author of many remarkable works on science and religion, he was the son of the still more celebrated barrister, who is so well known under the title of Lord Ellenborough. The future Governor-General of India inherited all the talents, both forensic and of action, of his father and grandfather. A powerful speaker, and ever listened to with respect in the House of Lords, he possessed the still rarer and more valuable qualities of courage in council and determination in conduct. Never were those qualities more imperatively required than when he was called to the direction of Indian affairs. His predecessor's career had been distinguished by a rashness in forming designs, and a vacillation when the dangers predicted from them arose, which had brought the British Empire in the East to the verge of ruin. Lord Ellenborough was as much distinguished by caution and foresight in forming his plans as by constancy and vigor in carrying them into execution. Intrepid and far-seeing, he calmly contemplated danger when yet distant, and made anxious preparations to resist it when it should arrive, and was equally instant and vigorous when the moment for action came.

Had Lord Ellenborough united to these great and commanding qualities the prudence in language and knowledge of mankind, which are not less indispensable to any durable tenure of power by a statesman, he might long have retained the reins in India, and produced beneficial effects as great as the outset of his career was fortunate and glorious. But, unfortunately, he was distinguished at the same time by that occasional warmth and impetuosity of language which is so often the accompaniment of powerful intellect and strong internal conviction. A few casual expressions were eagerly seized on by a powerful party, both at home and in India, to run down the new Governor-General; and the "wild elephant" became a by-word, as the "ignorant impatience of taxation" of Lord Castle-reagh had been. This powerful party was the East India Directors and their numerous civil servants in both hemispheres, and the secret of their ceaseless hostility to Lord Ellenborough was as follows:

The peculiar circumstances of the East India Company had, from the earliest period when their territorial sovereignty commenced, induced them to keep their military commanders in a constant state of subjection to their civil officials.

From this subjection of military to civil authority, even in conducting the operations of war, there had arisen various disputes between the two classes of the Company's officers, which had often marred their brightest conquests, and more than once brought the British Empire in the East to the verge of ruin. Lord Wellesley, whose powerful and ardent mind was very much akin to Lord Ellenborough's, inclined strongly to the military side; and that veteran statesman had, on the eve of Lord Ellenborough's departure for India, written to him a very remarkable letter, strongly recommending, in war at least, the placing the civil as well as military authority in the hands of the commanders of the armies, subject, of course, to the general control of the supreme government of Calcutta. In pursuance of this advice, which entirely coincided with his own ideas, Lord Ellenborough, as soon as he arrived in India, vested the entire political as well as military power of their respective provinces in Pollock and Nott. This change excited no small consternation at Calcutta and Leadenhall Street, and contributed in some degree to the early recall of Lord Ellenborough.¹

When Lord Ellenborough landed at Calcutta in the end of February, he came with a strong conviction that the vindication of the honor of our arms in Afghanistan was a point of paramount importance, upon which the existence of our Indian empire was essentially dependent. One of his first acts, accordingly, was to issue a proclamation on the subject, in which the intention to do this was distinctly and manfully asserted; and the intention to withdraw from Afghanistan rested on its true ground—viz., the unpopularity of the King, whom in an evil hour we had been induced to put upon the throne. But how strong soever this conviction may have been, it necessarily underwent, in process of time, a considerable modification. The failure of Wild's attempt to penetrate the Khyber, the fall of Ghuznee, and repulse of General England in an attempt, to be immediately noticed, to get through the Kojuk Pass with a brigade coming from Scinde to reinforce Knott's forces at Candahar, necessarily imposed caution, and suggested the painful doubt whether more serious risk might not be run by a second campaign in Afghanistan than advantage gained, and whether our entire dominion in India might not be lost in the effort to re-establish its military renown. It was the disasters sustained on the side of Candahar which first suggested this doubt, and they were of a kind to awaken the most painful reflections.²

Candahar, Khelat-i-Ghilzye, and Ghuznee, were the chief strong-holds in the possession of the English in Western Afghanistan, and their communications to the rear were all with Scinde through the Bolan and Kojuk passes, not with the Punjaub through the Khyber. The first was perfectly safe. It was in the hands of General Nott, who had a large force under his command, though among them was only one British

¹ Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation, April 21, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 439.

^{67.} Character of Lord Ellenborough.

^{69.} Lord Ellenborough's preference of the military authorities to the civil.

¹ Kaye, ii. 345, 346.

⁷⁰ Lord Ellenborough's views regarding Afghanistan.

March 15.

² Kaye, ii. 457, 458; Parl. Papers regarding Afghanistan, No. 42.

^{71.} Position of the British in Candahar.

regiment, and he was alike without the means of transport or money to purchase it; so that though he could hold his own, he could not be relied on for any effective aid to the other stations. Nott had strenuously opposed and fearlessly pointed out the extreme dangers of the advance into Afghanistan, and the reckless diminution of the force by which it was to be held; but now that the disaster had come, he was equally resolute, like a good soldier, to hold his post, and not withdraw from the country till the captives were delivered, and the honor of the British arms avenged. The order dispatched from Cabul for the evacuation of Candahar did not arrive, by some accident, for two months after it had been written; and when it did

come, as the violation of the treaty by the Afghans in every respect was notorious, Nott refused to comply with it till the pleasure of the Governor-General was taken on the subject.¹

The disaster at Cabul, as might have been expected, produced great excitement in Candahar and the whole of Western Afghanistan. The Douranee tribes were all in commotion when the intelligence arrived of the insurrection; and so threatening did affairs appear at that time, that when, in obedience to positive orders, Nott sent M'Laren with three regiments toward the capital, he said to the commanding officer, "The dispatch of this brigade to Cabul is not my doing. I am compelled to defer to superior authority; but, in my own private opinion, I am sending you all to destruction." No sooner was the retreat of this brigade known than symptoms of insurrection appeared in every part of the province, and Mohammed Atta Khan, who had been sent from Cabul specially to stimulate and organize it, soon gave it consistency and unity. Major Rawlinson exerted himself with vigor, and with partial success at first, to arrest the movement; but when the extent of the Afghanistan disaster became fully known, it could no longer be restrained. Insurrections broke out in several places at once, and several detached parties of the British were cut off, one of which, under Captain Woodburn, after heroically defending itself for two days in a small fort, was destroyed almost to a man. A

considerable convoy, under Lieutenant Golding, which was to escort some treasure from Candahar to Ghirisk, was treacherously assailed by a party of Afghan horse in our service and forming part of the escort, the treasure plundered, and officers cut down. The principal force of the enemy was stationed at Delhi, about forty miles from Candahar, under Atta Mohammed, whither the disaffected from all quarters, and even that city itself, were daily joining him. Rawlinson was clear to send a brigade to attack him, while Nott was equally decided that it would be unwise to hazard a force in the depth of winter at so considerable a distance for the object of dispersing 1000 or 1500 men; but ere long the point was decided by the approach of the Afghan chief so near to Candahar that it became absolutely necessary to attack him.²

The Afghan force, being swelled by reinforce-

ments from all quarters to 9000 men, took post on the River Urghundaub, within five miles from Candahar, in such a position as to cut off all foraging parties or supplies from that quarter to the city. Thither Nott advanced to attack him on the 12th January, with five regiments of infantry, a few of the Shah's cavalry, and sixteen guns. The success of the British was so rapid that it could hardly be called a battle. The infantry advanced in columns and battalions, with the artillery in their intervals, the fire of which told with such effect upon the unwieldy masses of the enemy that in less than half an hour they broke and fled. A village where Atta Mohammed tried to make a stand was carried by storm, and the cavalry and horse-artillery having come up, the Afghan force again broke and fled in wild confusion, some in one direction, some in another. This victory was the more important that it was the first success gained since the Cabul disaster, and secured ample supplies of forage for some time to the horses, which was much wanted. Rawlinson was on the field, and acted as Nott's aid-de-camp.¹

Although Nott's military position was much improved by this achievement, yet it was still full of difficulty, and future disaster was looming in the distance. The Douranees were still in strength in the neighborhood, although the excessive severity of the weather, and the snow, which lay on the ground for six weeks, rendered operations in the field impossible. The cold was intense, fuel extremely scarce, medicines almost wholly exhausted; and though food for the soldiers was not wanting, the provender for cattle was so scanty that the horses could scarcely draw, and the sheep were so lean that they were scarcely worth killing. Money Nott had none, and thus he found himself at the distance of two thousand miles from the seat of government, in the midst of a hostile country, surrounded by enemies, and unable, from want of the means of transport, to render any aid to the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzye, now closely blockaded, and reduced to great straits from want of provisions. Impressed with these considerations, Nott wrote repeatedly, in the most urgent terms, for reinforcements, without which all attempts to resume offensive operations were out of the question. But, though fully alive to the necessities of his situation, Government were so hard pressed at this time with similar requisitions from Pollock for the relief of the Jellalabad garrison, that they were for long unable to comply with his request. February and March passed without any succor being received; and Nott and Rawlinson became convinced that vigorous measures were indispensable to save them from destruction. Accordingly, between the 3d and the 7th March, they expelled the suspected citizens, about 6000 in number, with all the humanity which circumstances would admit, from the city;² and having thus secured, as he thought, his rear, Nott, on the 7th March, set out with the 40th Queen's regiment, four sepoy regiments, all his cavalry, and sixteen guns, to attack

¹ Nott's Correspondence, i. 404, 405; Neill's Four Years in the East, 175; Kaye, ii. 403, 404.

² Great difficulties of Nott's situation.

² Nott to England, April 2, 1842; Correspondence, ii. 14, 15; Rawlinson's Journal, MS.; Kaye, ii. 412, 415.

the enemy. A sepoy regiment, and two of the Shah's, were left behind with Rawlinson, to guard the city during the absence of the principal force, and all its gates were walled up, except the Herat and half of the Shikarpoor ones.

It was now proved that, however rude and barbarous in some respects, the Afghans were by no means deficient in genius for war. As Nott advanced with his imposing force, the Afghans retired, keeping carefully out of the range of the British guns. On the 9th, however, the

light companies of the 40th, with those of the 16th Native Infantry, got within range, and speedily drove the enemy from the heights which they occupied on each side of the valley, where the main body of their force, chiefly cavalry, was drawn up. But they retired when the heights were forced, and all attempts to bring them to a general action failed. But meanwhile Meerza Ahmed, the Afghan general, was playing a deep and able game, which brought Candahar into the greatest possible jeopardy. While the army in the field was retiring before Nott, and drawing him farther and farther from

the city, a large part of it doubled about, and returned by unseen paths to the neighborhood of Candahar, which was soon beset by a large and hourly-increasing force. Rawlinson immediately dispatched repeated messengers to Nott to inform him of the danger, and that he was hourly threatened with an attack. They

arrived too late, however, to enable Nott to return; and meanwhile the Afghan marksmen were swarming up close to the walls, and at eight o'clock, when it was quite dark, they commenced an attack.¹

The forces in the city, consisting of two weak native battalions, were wholly inadequate to manning the long circuit of its walls; and the risk was serious that the enemy, though they had no artillery, would get in, either by escalade or by forcing one of the two gates. Huge bags of grain were piled up inside the Herat gate, against which the principal attack was directed, and as many infantry as could be collected, with two guns, were placed so as to command the entrance. Hardly were these preparations made, when the enemy advanced in dense masses, and with loud cries, up to the gate. The musketry rang fiercely on both sides—for the assailants fired incessantly at the line of defenders on the top of the walls, who, on their side, replied with fearful effect on the crowded bands below. During the din of this strife the Afghans piled up fagots on the outside, which soon burned up fiercely, and the gate, which was of wood, took fire and fell inward. With loud shouts the Afghans rushed in, and eight or ten of the most daring of them were seen waving their cimeters on the top of the pile, but they were soon all shot down. Their fate, and the rapid fire kept up from the

walls, deterred the assailants, who at length, after a contest of four hours' duration, drew off.² A similar onset took place at the Shikarpoor gate, and was repelled in a similar manner; and a division at the

Herat gate was repulsed without difficulty. By midnight the enemy drew off at all points in the deepest dejection, having lost 1000 men in this fruitless assault.*

Nott re-entered the city which had been the theatre of this glorious exploit on the 12th March. This repulse sensibly improved Nott's situation; but still his position was extremely precarious, and he urged Government, in the strongest terms, to send him the reinforcements now become indispensable for his existence, as well as the ultimate fate of the war. Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Clerk, the political agent in the Punjab, strenuously exerted themselves to second his representations, and at length powerful reinforcements were prepared in that province to proceed to his relief. These were formed into three divisions: the first, under General England, 1200 strong, with 2000 camels laden with supplies, headed the convoy; the second, of equal strength, with 2000 camels, under the command of Major Simmons, came next; the third, under Major Reid, 1100 strong, with 2600 camels, brought up the rear. The three divisions were to proceed at a considerable distance from each other—and the first division under England in person reached Quettah, having surmounted the Bolan Pass, on the 12th March, but with the loss of 300 of his camels in getting through that arduous defile.¹

England, with the leading column of the convoy, moved forward to the southern entrance of the Kojuk Pass, which The Afghans were posted at the entrance of a defile leading to the village of Hykulzie. Rawlinson had earnestly pressed Nott to send some troops to the northern extremity of the pass, to aid in getting England, with his convoy, through. Nott, however, did not deem himself in sufficient strength to do so, and the troops were not sent. England, after reconnoitring the enemy's position, resolved on an attack. The Horse Artillery under Leslie was ordered to advance, and open on the heights on the left, while the light companies of the 41st British and 20th Native Infantry ascended the hill on the right. At first they were unopposed; but suddenly, when they were half way up, the enemy started up from behind coverts, poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that Major Athorp of the Native Infantry was desperately wounded, and Captain May of the 41st fell dead; and the whole column was thrown back in disorder, with the loss of 100 out of 500 assailants.

* A very curious incident conspired with the courage and decision of the brave commanders and their garrison to save Candahar on this occasion. "The enemy's plan was to have fired the gates at once, and made a simultaneous attack on them; and that this was not carried into effect was the result of a fortunate accident. Mr. Phillips, quarter-master of the 40th, who had been left behind sick, was intrusted with the charge of the Citadel gate. Before fastening it for the evening, something fortunately induced him to look outside, and on opening it he saw two or three fagots laid against it. Immediately it occurred to him that they could have been placed there for no good purpose, and he brought them inside. But for this, the gate, of which he had charge, would in all probability have been fired, and an equally spirited attack made on it as on the Herat gate, in which event I can not doubt for a moment that the city of Candahar would have fallen, and the enemy have become possessed of all our stores and ammunition, besides two 18-pounders."—NUTT'S Narrative, p. 244.

¹ Kaye, ii. 415-417; An. Reg. 1842, 258; Nott's Correspondence, i. 456, 457.

² Glorious defense of Candahar by Rawlinson and Lane.

¹ Lane's Dispatch, March 12, 1842; Nott's Correspondence, i. 456, 457; Kaye, ii. 416, 418.

77.

Reinforcements prepared in Scinde.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1842, 259; Nott's Correspondence, ii. 2, 12.

78.

Defeat of General England, March 26.

The British soon rallied, and prayed to be allowed to return to the charge, and Colonel Stacy volunteered with 100 men to storm the heights; but England despaired of success, and ordered a retreat, which was continued to Quettah. He seems to have lost all confidence in the native troops, and to have conceived an exaggerated opinion of the strength of the enemy.¹

It generally happens in the affairs of nations, as in those of individuals, that misfortunes do not come single. Simultaneously with the intelligence of England's repulse came also the stunning news of the fall of Ghuznee. This important fortress, commanding the roads from Candahar to Cabul, is situated 7500 feet above the sea, or about the height of the convent of the Great St. Bernard in Switzerland. It had been blockaded ever since the 28th January, when the insurrection broke out in Cabul. The garrison consisted entirely of sepoy, ill qualified to bear the rigors of winter in those elevated regions, and was so weak in numbers as to be barely adequate, even when in health, to man the walls. The consequence was that a conspiracy was successfully got up in the town to admit the enemy, which was done on the 7th December, by means of a mine secretly run under the walls. The British garrison were now compelled to take refuge in the citadel, which they held with great constancy during the long and dreary months of winter, when the thermometer was generally below zero. To add to their sufferings, fuel became so scarce that the portion allotted to each man was only two pounds a day, and the whole, including the officers, were, from the middle of January, put on half rations. Still they struggled on till the beginning of March, when the remnants, emaciated and frost-bitten, agreed to capitulate, on condition of being conducted to Peshawur with their arms, and fifty rounds of ammunition to each man. Want of water reduced them to this dire alternative; but it soon appeared that the Afghans had no intention from the first of observing the capitulation. Instead of being sent to Peshawur, the troops were shut up in a few houses in Ghuznee, where they were soon surrounded by a ferocious crowd, calling aloud for their blood if they did not at once surrender. The British officers, seeing escape impossible, laid down their arms, and were conducted to Cabul; but most of the

¹ Kaye, ii. 426, 437; Crawford's Narrative; Nott's Correspondence, ii. 45, 53.

More fortunate, or possibly more constant, the garrison of Khelat-i-Ghilzye still held out gallantly against the enemy. "Situated between Ghuznee and Candahar, about eighty miles from the latter city, this isolated city," says Kaye, "stands at the elevation of 6000 feet above the sea, on a barren eminence, exposed in winter to the biting winds, and in summer to the driving dust-storm, one of the dreariest and bleakest spots in the whole country of Afghanistan." Its strength, however, was such that it all but defied the whole efforts of the Emperor Baber.

The garrison consisted of a regiment of the Shah's, 250 sepoy, and 60 English artillerymen and sappers, under Captain Craigie, an officer worthy of the post. The chief enemy with whom, in the first instance, the garrison had to contend was the cold, which was extreme. There was abundance of wheat, but a great scarcity of fuel, and a great difficulty in grinding the grain; but at length they succeeded in constructing hand-mills. The blockade was kept up during the winter; in spring the besiegers' trenches were pushed up close to the walls, and on the 21st May the assault took place. It was made in three columns, each of 2000 men, and they advanced in the most resolute manner, each being provided with thirty scaling-ladders, up which the Afghans swarmed with the utmost impetuosity; while their marksmen, with their long jezails, kept up an incessant fire on the summit of the battlements. But the defense was not less determined. Craigie had infused a portion of his heroic spirit into every officer and man of his garrison; as fast as one was shot down another stepped into his place, and at length, after an obstinate conflict of nine hours' duration, the enemy drew off at all points, leaving the defenders in possession of the ramparts. They continued to hold it with not less constancy, and the British colors still waved on the fortress when it was relieved by a detachment sent under Wymer from Candahar a few days after, who brought away the garrison and blew up the works.¹

Lord Ellenborough has since said in his place in Parliament, during the terrible sepoy revolt of 1857, that when he arrived in India in March, 1842, he found the country divided into two parties, one of which strongly urged the necessity, at all hazards, of advancing to Cabul, and avenging the tarnished honor of our arms in the very place where the disasters had been incurred; while the second as strenuously maintained that to do so would be attended with the utmost possible hazard, and imperil our Indian empire, in the pursuit of the vain phantom of military glory. The Governor-General's own disposition and heroic turn of mind strongly inclined him to the first opinion, to which expression was given in the proclamation of 15th March, already noticed, issued from Calcutta shortly after his arrival. But when he went up the country in the succeeding month, and became more thoroughly acquainted with the perils of such an undertaking, he became more doubtful of the policy of pursuing such a course. The Government of the East India Company had from the beginning been strongly opposed to the expedition; and circumstances had occurred since he landed in India which had, in still more striking colors, revealed its dangers. The first repulse at the Khyber had been redeemed, it is true, by the subsequent triumph and the deliverance of Jellalabad; but Ghuznee had been lost; Khelat-i-Ghilzye was beleaguered and isolated; Candahar had narrowly escaped being taken as yet; and the great convoy and expedition, collected with so much difficulty in Scinde for the reinforcement of Nott, had been beat back from the entrance of the Kojuk

¹ Craigie's Report, May 21, 1842; Nott, ii. 43, 44, and App. ii. 381; Kaye, ii. 430, 431.

81. Lord Ellenborough abandons the idea of an advance to Cabul. April and May, 1842.

March 15.

Pass. Impressed with these facts, Lord Ellenborough deemed the risk of a farther advance into Afghanistan too great to be hazarded for all

its advantages, and formal orders were sent to Pollock and Nott to abandon Jellalabad, Khelat-i-Ghileze, and Candahar, and retire with their garrisons by the Khyber and Bolan passes to Peshawur and Scinde.^{1*}

The determination to abandon all thoughts of a second advance to Cabul was strengthened by a tragic event which occurred at that period in that capital. On the 4th April, as the king, Shah Soojah, was proceeding in a chair of state to review some troops in the neighborhood of Cabul, he was assassinated by a discharge of musketry from a body of jezailchees placed in ambush for the purpose. The author of the bloody deed was Soojah-ool-Dowlah, a son of the old Newab, who had ever been faithful to the British. After some delay, Futteh Jung, the second son of the late king, was proclaimed his successor, and for a brief space enjoyed the phantom of royalty. But it was the phantom only. The heart of the nation was neither with him nor with any of his family, but with Dost Mohammed, a prisoner in the hands of the British in India. This important event made an essential change, in a political point of view, in our relations with Afghanistan. The hated monarch, to place whom on the throne we had made such efforts and sustained such reverses, was no more; the unpopularity of his family was so evident that it was plain no security beyond the Indus could be gained by upholding them; and the British had

in their own hands the means of restoring amicable relations with Afghanistan by simply releasing Dost Mohammed, and permitting these wild tribes to resume their hereditary system of intestine war, treachery, and murder.²

But whatever weight was justly due to these considerations in a political point of view, they were as nothing to those brave men who, on the frontier of the British empire, were in the face of danger, and therefore prepared to meet its terrors. To their bold and chivalrous hearts every thing seemed preferable to sheathing the sword before the disasters which had been sustained were avenged, and the honor of the British arms restored. An immediate advance to Cabul, even if followed by

* "You will perceive from the substance of the letters I inclose that I adhere absolutely to my original intention of withdrawing the whole army from Afghanistan, and that I have in the most emphatic manner repeated the order formerly given for that withdrawal. I have, however, communicated to Major-General Nott the option of returning by Ghuznee and Cabul instead of Quetta. Some risk I deem it justifiable to incur for the recovery of the guns and the prisoners, and with the view of exhibiting the triumphant march of a British army over the ground on which it once suffered defeat; but I consider the preservation of the army in Afghanistan essential to the preservation of our army in India; and however the world might applaud or forgive me, I should never forgive myself if I exposed that army to any material and serious danger for the possible accomplishment of any object now to be attained in Afghanistan."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH to the Secret Committee, Allahabad, 16th August, 1842, No. 29; *Ann. Reg.*, 1842, p. 443.

a subsequent withdrawal from the country, was recommended by every consideration of sound policy, not less than military honor. They had no doubts of the result; for they had seen how incapable the Afghans were of resisting the British in the open field. Strongly moved by these considerations, Pollock, Nott, and OUTRAM made the most energetic remonstrances against a retreat before victory had been again chained to the British standards;* and the voice of the press, and the great majority of the British in India, strongly supported the same views. With such effect were these representations attended, that Lord Ellenborough first agreed to a prolonged stay of our troops in Jellalabad and Candahar, and at length gave his consent to an advance to Ghuznee and Cabul, if the military commanders were of opinion that such a measure might be hazarded with a reasonable prospect of success. He accompanied this permission, however, with the observation, that if they decided for the bolder course, and failed, they must recollect that there was no longer a reserve to fall back upon, and that defeat would be irreparable ruin to the British empire in the East. Warned of this danger, and charged with this responsibility, Pollock and Nott unhesitatingly and joyfully undertook the perilous mission; and to their moral courage, joined to that of the Governor-General, the triumphs which shed such lustre over the conclusion of the war, and re-es-

* "With regard to our withdrawal at the present moment, I fear it would have the very worst effect. It would be construed into a defeat, and our character as a powerful nation would be entirely lost in this part of the world. It is true the garrison of Jellalabad has been saved, which it would not have been had not a force been sent for its relief. But the relief of that garrison is only one object; there still remain others which we can not disregard: I allude to the release of the prisoners."—GENERAL POLLOCK to the Secretary to the Government, May 13, 1842; *KAYE*, ii. 57.

"As this is not a time to mince matters, no sooner did I see the orders of Government to General Pollock to withdraw the Jellalabad garrison and retire into India under any circumstances, except the Sikhs turning against us (which, by-the-by, that measure would have brought about, most probably), than I wrote in the most earnest manner I was capable of, pointing out that our bitterest foe could not have devised a more injurious measure, whether viewed politically or in a military light, but expressing my trust that Pollock would act on the responsibility vested in him to prevent so ruinous a step. My mind is now set at rest by General Pollock's determination, now gleaned from your letters. I honor the General, therefore; and should he be allowed to carry out his views, we shall have mainly to thank him, not only for retrieving our honor in Afghanistan, but for saving India to us, the loss of which would ultimately result from disgracefully succumbing to the Afghans. Nothing is easier than to retrieve our honor in Afghanistan previously to finally withdrawing, should the Government so determine; and I pray God Lord Ellenborough may at once see the damnable consequences of shirking the undertaking, and order accordingly; otherwise the disaster at Cabul will be but the commencement of our misfortunes."—MAJOR OUTRAM to SIR RICHMOND SHAKESPEARE, March 15, 1842; *KAYE*, ii. 432, note.

"Had not the Government bound me hand and foot, I should now have been in Cabul, without asking the aid of Pollock. The game was in our hands, and we would not play it. Pollock ought to have marched sharply upon Cabul; had he done so, not a shot would have been fired. Mark me, my children: had I been in his place, with that beautiful army, I would have struck such a blow that the whole world would have resounded with it. I am ordered to do nothing. Well, our nation is disgraced. How strange that Englishmen should be so paralyzed! I am ordered away; though, with my beautiful regiments, I could plant the British banner on the banks of the Caspian."—GENERAL NOTT to his Daughters, June 5, 1842. *Corresp.*, ii. 65.

established the British reputation in the East, are mainly to be ascribed.*

Before this bold resolution could be carried into effect, various circumstances had occurred which had materially changed for the better the position of both the British armies in Afghanistan. Pressed by reiterated

84.
Circumstances
which rendered
the advance
more feasible.

* "Nothing has induced me to change my first opinion, that the measure recommended by considerations of military and political prudence is to bring back the armies now in Afghanistan at the earliest period at which their retirement can be effected consistently with the health and efficiency of the troops, into positions where they may have easy and certain communications with India; and to this extent the instructions you have received remain unaltered. But the improved condition of your army, with sufficient means of carriage for so large a force as it is necessary to move in Afghanistan, induce me now to leave to your option the time by which you will withdraw your troops from that country. I must desire, however, that in forming a decision upon this most important question you will attend to the following considerations: In the direction of Quettah and Sukkur there is no enemy to oppose you. At such places occupied by detachments you will find provisions, and probably, as you descend the passes, you will have increased means of carriage. This operation is one admitting of no doubt as to its success. If you determine upon moving upon Ghuznee, Cabul, and Jellalabad, you will require for the transport of provisions a much larger amount of carriage, and you will be practically without communications from the time of your leaving Candahar, dependent entirely upon the courage of your army for the opening of a communication by an ultimate junction with General Pollock.

"Now, if every thing depended upon the courage of your army and your own ability in conducting it, should I have any doubt as to the success of the operation? But whether you would be able to procure provisions for your troops during the whole march, and forage for your animals, may be a matter of reasonable doubt. Yet upon this your success will turn. You must remember that it was not the superior courage of the Afghans, but want and the inclemency of the season, which led to the destruction of the army at Cabul; and you must feel, as I do, that the loss of another army, from whatever cause it might arise, might be fatal to our government in India.

"I do not undervalue the aid which our Government in India would receive from the successful execution of a march by your army through Ghuznee and Cabul over the scenes of our late disasters. I know all the effect which it would have upon the minds of our soldiers, of our allies, of enemies in Asia, of our countrymen, and of all foreign nations in Europe. It is an object of just ambition, which no one would rejoice more than myself to see effected. But I see that failure in the attempt is certain and irretrievable ruin; and I would endeavor to inspire you with the necessary caution, and make you feel that, great as are the objects to be attained by success, the risk is great also.

"If you should be enabled by a *coup-de-main* to get possession of Ghuznee and Cabul, you will act as you see fit, and leave decisive proofs of the power of the British army, without impeaching its humanity. You will bring away from the tomb of Mahmoud of Ghuznee his club, which hangs over it, and you will bring away the gates of his tomb, which are the gates of the temple of Somnath. These will be fresh trophies of your successful march."—LORD ELLENBOROUGH to GENERAL NOTT, July 4, 1842. *Corresp.*, ii. 82-84. (A copy of this letter was sent to General Pollock, and formed his instructions also.)

Nott replied: "Having well considered the subject of your Lordship's letter of the 4th instant, having looked at the difficulties in every point of view, and reflected on the advantages which would attend a successful accomplishment of such a move, and the moral influence it would have through Asia, I have come to the determination to retire a portion of the army under my command via Ghuznee and Cabul. I shall take with me a large but a compact and well-trying force, on which I can rely. Your Lordship may rest assured that all prudence and every military precaution shall be observed. There shall be no unnecessary risk; and, if expedient, I will mask Ghuznee, and even Cabul; but should an opportunity offer, I will endeavor to strike a decisive blow for the honor of our arms."—GENERAL NOTT to LORD ELLENBOROUGH, July 26, 1842. *Corresp.*, ii. 86.

requests from Nott, and reinforced, by the indefatigable zeal and activity of Major Outram, with an additional supply of animals of transport, General England had again set out from Quettah at the head of 4000 men, including the 40th Queen's, and a large convoy of provisions; and this time he met with better success than on the former occasion. Keeping his troops as much as possible together and well in hand, he approached the southern entrance of the Kojuk Pass on the 28th April. The Afghans, encouraged by their late success, were posted on the ground which had been the scene of their former victory, and, confident of success, calmly awaited the approach of the British troops. But they soon found that they had different adversaries to deal with from those whom they had last encountered. The British ascended the hill under a heavy fire; and when within a hundred yards, delivered a volley, and rushed forward with leveled bayonets. The enemy broke and fled, abandoning all their defenses, and scrambling in haste up the hills on the right and left. This was soon followed by a successful attack, by a brigade detached by Nott from Candahar, on the heights which crowned the northern extremity of the pass; and the road being open, the reinforcements and convoy moved forward and entered Candahar on the 10th May.¹

By this reinforcement the troops there were raised to 12,000 men, a force equal to that with which Pollock held Jellalabad. Each of these armies was adequate, taken separately, to defeat any force which the Afghans could oppose to them; and what was of still greater importance, they were at length, by the efforts of Mr. Clerk in the Punjab and Major Outram in Scinde, adequately provided with the requisite draught animals, indispensable to a march through these inhospitable regions. The spirit of both armies was exalted, the gloomy presentiments arising from the disasters of the preceding winter had been entirely dissipated by recent victories, and the whole troops, British as well as native, were burning with desire to avenge their comrades treacherously slaughtered in defiance of a capitulation, restore the tarnished honor of their arms, and deliver the captives. The health of the men had greatly improved; and the approach of the cool months presented the most favorable time for military operations. Every thing, therefore, favored an advance, by which the lustre of the British arms and the prestige of the British power might be restored; and happily both armies were composed of men, and headed by generals, worthy of undertaking the glorious task.²

Pollock turned to good account the delay necessarily incurred in getting up the supplies and baggage animals. An expedition was resolved on into the Shinwarree Valley, not far from Jellalabad, the inhabitants of which had been peculiarly active in their attacks on the British during their retreat, and still held in their possession one of the guns taken on that calamitous occasion. The command of the expedition was intrusted to Brigadier Monteith,

April 26.
April 28.
April 30.
¹ Kaye, ii. 444-450; Nott to Pollock, May 6, 1842; *Ibid.* 447.

85.
Improved condition of both Pollock's and Nott's armies.

² Nott, ii. 113-120; Kaye, ii. 555-560.

86.
Successful expedition into the Shinwarree Valley.

who had so much distinguished himself in the successful sortie from Jellalabad in the beginning of April. He set out on the 20th June, and moved upon Goolai, which, on restitution of the captured gun and treasure being refused, was burned to the ground. Proceeding in this manner up the valley for some days, the gun and part of the treasures were given up. But as the Shinwarries had always been a refractory set, and had taken an active part in the destruction of the force retreating from Cabul, it was thought necessary to let them feel what the power of Britain was, to punish even in that wild and sequestered district. Proceeding up the glen, Monteith set fire to all the hill-forts it contained, the seats of the licentious soldiery who had violated the capitulation. Some resistance

was attempted on the 26th July at Mazzeena, but was speedily overcome. Monteith returned to Jellalabad loaded with provisions and stores of all kinds, having completely accomplished the objects of the expedition, which were to punish the most guilty of the Afghanistan tribes, and spread a dread of British power in the farthest recesses of its secluded mountains. It is always a matter of regret when vengeance is taken on an entire district by military execution on its inhabitants, for it is scarce possible then to separate the innocent from the guilty. But in this instance the punishment fell on the really guilty and treacherous parties; and if their innocent families also suffered, that is no more than was proclaimed as the destiny of man three thousand years ago, amidst the thunders of Mount Sinai.¹

All things being at length in readiness, and the cool, healthy weather having set in, Pollock broke up from Jellalabad on the 20th August with 8000 men of all arms. This does not seem a large force to undertake the conquest of so difficult and warlike a country; but its composition rendered it efficient in the very highest degree. It embraced the 8d English Dragoons, the 31st Queen's, and several of the best native regiments, particularly the 33d, with the whole of Sale's and Tulloch's brigades, both European and native, with seventeen guns. The advancing columns first came in contact with the enemy on the 23d at the village of Mammo-khail, where they were strongly posted, crowning the heights on either side. They were speedily carried, Pollock, at the head of a wing of the 9th Queen's, himself forcing the village amidst the cheers of the whole army, which hailed with transport the auspicious commencement of their glorious march. The universal joy was wrought up to the highest pitch by the announcement, which had hitherto been kept a profound secret, that they were marching UPON CABUL, not any intermediate point. With such transport was this intelligence received, that the troops, officers, and men, European and native, offered to make any sacrifices to facilitate the advance of the army; while the satisfaction of the General was rendered complete soon after by intelligence that Nott had broken up from

Candahar, and was advancing toward Cabul by Ghuznee.² The troops remained at Gundamuck till the 7th September, enjoying rest in

a cool, delightful climate, and confident of success in the adventurous march on which they had entered.*

The march was resumed early on the morning of the 7th of September on the road to Cabul. No resistance was experienced till they came to the entrance of the Jugdulluck Pass, the theatre of such disaster in the retreat.¹ On approaching the hills which overhang that defile, it was perceived that they were occupied by large bodies of the enemy, in positions singularly strong and difficult of access, the fire from which commanded the road, while all approach to the enemy from whom it issued seemed impossible. The British artillery opened on them; but the Afghans stood their ground bravely, and their fire was so violent, that all progress through the pass was impossible till the heights were cleared. Upon this Pollock sent forward columns to the right and left, to crown the heights on either side. "Then was seen the decisive superiority of the European over the Asiatic troops, even when every natural advantage lay on the side of the latter. The sharp rattle of the musketry issuing from the rocks and thickets was drowned in the loud cheers of the British as they approached the enemy, and the enthusiastic shouts from below when they saw them break and fly in confusion, closely followed by the British bayonets, and their standards seized by the victors. But though driven from their first ground, the Ghilzyes were not entirely defeated. They took refuge on a rocky height, apparently inaccessible save by a narrow path in the rear. Thither they were, however, followed in hot haste by the assailants. Abbot's and Backhouse's guns kept up a powerful fire on the crowded heights, which did terrible execution, and under cover of it Broadfoot and Wilkinson again led their men to the assault." "Seldom," said Pollock, in his official dispatch, "have soldiers had a more arduous task to perform, and never was an undertaking of the kind surpassed in execution." The Afghans were panic-struck by the impetuosity of the assault, and fled in confusion, leaving their standards in the hands of the British.²

By this brilliant victory, which was achieved with very little loss, and mainly by the old Jellalabad garrison, the entrance of the pass was won. But the pass itself, in all its terrific proportions, remained behind, and it required to be surmounted before the troops could

* While lying at Gundamuck, a poor man, apparently of the meanest caste, presented himself at the outposts, and was recognized as Futteh Jung, second son of the late king, Shah Soojah, and who for a few weeks had been placed on the throne after the murder of his father. He had been placed there as a wretched puppet by Akbar Khan, the real ruler of the country, until he had extorted from him all his wealth, which proved to be considerable, and made him sign all papers necessary to transfer authority of every sort to the Wuzer. Finding himself a real prisoner, though nominally on the throne, the prince resolved to flee; but his design being suspected, he was seized and thrown into prison by Akbar Khan, in the Bala-Hissar, from whence he escaped by cutting a hole in the roof; and after wandering about some weeks in disguise and the utmost misery, and being often fired upon by the Afghans, he at length reached the British camp.—See KAYE, II. 571, 572.

88.

Victory of Pollock at Jugdulluck. Sept. 8.

¹ Vide ante, c. xl. § 123.² Pollock's Disp., Sept. 18, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 252; Greenwood's War in Afghanistan, 117-120; KAYE, II. 573-575.

89.

Description of the pass beyond Jugdulluck.

emerge into the valley of Cabul. It has thus been described by the eloquent pen of an eye-witness: "Rugged ascents and descents, water-courses, ravines, and narrow valleys, form the constant features of the country from Jagdul-luck to the end of the Coord Cabul Pass, a distance of forty miles. The defiles through which the road leads are so narrow and difficult that no words can convey an idea of them. The Duree Pass, which is three miles long, is extremely narrow, and turns repeatedly as the torrent which roars in its bottom meets impenetrable masses of rock at right angles. Its average width is *about forty yards*, but there are three places in which it is *less than ten feet, and one only six*; so that if an animal fell the road would be stopped till it could be removed.

¹ Greenwood's Afghan War, 124-127; Ann. Reg. 1842, 252. The almost perpendicular cliffs on either side appear as if threatening destruction, and they rise to the height of several thousand feet.¹

Akbar Khan, now awakened to a sense of the dangers of his situation, had resolved to make his last stand about six miles to the south of Cabul, at Begramee. Preparing for the worst, he sent the prisoners and women off to the Hindoo Coosh, and, by advice of his council of chiefs, dispatched messengers to the British head-quarters offering any terms of submission, so as they would not advance on the capital—a decisive proof of the wisdom of the move thus so long the subject of doubt in the British councils. Meanwhile Pollock had advanced seven miles up the pass without opposition, and reached the valley of Tezeen, a little oval space encircled by lofty and almost impassable mountains. Here the Afghan chief now resolved to make his stand, the opening of the valley enabling him to take advantage of his superiority of force. Every height and eminence was occupied by marksmen, and nothing had been omitted which could enhance the natural difficulties of the position. Akbar Khan, and his most renowned chiefs and

best troops, were there to the number of 16,000 men, rather more than double of the British. Nevertheless, the chief had no confidence in the result. "I know that I have every thing to lose; but it is too late to recede: the people would never hear of submission."²

To rest his men, Pollock halted the advanced guard at Tezeen. This delay was ascribed by the Afghans to fear, and they advanced to the encounter during the night, and on the morning of the 13th hemmed in the British camp on every side. But they had to deal with men whose courage, always great, had been wrought up to the highest point by the sight of the skeletons of their slaughtered comrades. Attracted by the hope of plunder, the Afghan horse entered the little plain; but they were speedily met by four squadrons of the 8d Dragoons, followed by some native horse and irregular cavalry, who hurled them back with great loss. The columns of foot now ascended the heights on either side; the light companies of the 13th leading on the right, those of the 9th and 31st, led by Captain Lushington, on the left. The Afghans, confident of victory, poured

on them a close and destructive fire, and even advanced with loud shouts to the attack. But without firing a shot the British pressed upward, and when they neared the foe, charged, with loud cheers, with the bayonet. The Afghans broke and fled before the terrible onset, and hurried to still higher and more rugged ground formed by the rocky ridges of the Huft-Kotul, when they rallied and prepared to make a last stand. Here, however, they were speedily attacked by the heroic British, supported by their gallant allies. Sale headed the advanced guard, which emulated its own former deeds; M'Caskill led on another column; Broadfoot, with his sappers, was again at the head of the stormers; Monteith followed with his brigade; and after a desperate contest, the summits of the Huft-Kotul were won, the Afghan guns and standards were taken, and, amidst cheers which made the very welkin ring, the British colors were planted on the highest pinnacles of the mountain.¹

After this signal defeat the Afghans offered no farther resistance to the march of the victorious army, which advanced without opposition through the entire length of the Coord Cabul Pass. But what a spectacle here met their

eyes at every step! how calculated to rouse, almost to madness, every feeling of the victorious soldiery! Literally strewn with the skeletons of the thousands who had perished in the massacre of the preceding winter, they could not tread but on the bones of their fallen comrades. Nothing can do justice to the scene but the far-famed and eloquent description by the immortal Roman annalist, of the discovery of the remains of Varus's legions by the army under the command of Germanicus Cæsar: "The desire seized Cæsar of rendering the last funeral-rites to the army and its general; the whole troops being moved with commiseration for their lost relations and friends, the fate of war, and the destiny of man. Having sent forward Cæcina that he might examine the recesses of the woods, and place bridges and mounds on the marshy places, he approached with his troops the places alike sad from the sight and the recollection. First the camp of Varus, of vast dimensions, showed the labors of the hands of three legions; then, in the humble ditch on the half-filled-up rampart, the remains of those who had fallen were discovered: in the middle of the plain, the whitening bones, here in heaps, there scattered, showed where they had fled, or made a last stand together. On all sides were seen the fragments of arms, the limbs of horses, human heads nailed to the trees; in the neighboring groves, the altars of the barbarians, before which they had sacrificed the tribunes and centurions of the first rank. Those who had survived the massacre, and escaped from their bonds, related that here the lieutenant had fallen, there the eagles had been seized; here Varus was struck by the first wound, there he fell by his own hand; in what assembly of the tribunes Arminius had ordered indignities and tortures to the captives, what insults to the standards and the eagles. Therefore the Roman army, which now approached in the sixth year after the slaughter, committed to the earth the remains

^{90.}
Position chosen by Akbar Khan. Sept. 12.

^{91.}
Pollock's Disp., Sept. 14, 1842; Ann. Reg. 1842, 478; Official Document; Kaye, II. 577, 578.

^{92.}
Glorious victory of Pollock. Sept. 13.

¹ Pollock's Disp., Sept. 14, 1842; Ann. Reg. 478, 479; Kaye, II. 577-581.

^{92.}
Spectacle of the bones of the former army.

of three legions, no one knowing whether he was interring the remains of a friend or a stranger, but all, being animated alike with wrath against the enemy, sad and unconscious, performed the

funeral obsequies as to a friend and a blood relation.¹ Thus sad as

the Roman legions after the lapse of eighteen centuries, but yet observing in their anger the strictest discipline, the British troops pursued their victorious and now unresisted march over the uninterred bones of their comrades to the capital. On the 15th September the army encamped on the Cabul race-course; and next day, ascending the Royal Hill in tri-

umph, they hoisted the British standard on the battlements of the Bala-Hissar amidst a royal salute, followed by "God save the Queen" from the bands of all the regiments, and three enthusiastic cheers from the whole troops.²

While Pollock was conducting to a glorious issue these important operations in the defiles leading from Jellalabad direct to Cabul, Nott was engaged in corresponding movements, ending in as triumphant a result, on the road converging to the same place from Candahar. Having made his election to retire from Candahar by Ghuznee and Cabul, he set about carrying his design into execution in the most regular and systematic manner. On the 7th of August the city was evacuated, Nott taking with him the British regiments and more than half the force; the remainder, composed entirely of natives under England, retiring toward Quettah by the Kojuk Pass. The latter was threatened with resistance when entering the jaws of that defile; but

England, by a rapid advance, after a night-march of twenty-four miles, succeeded in seizing the heights on either side before they were fully occupied by the enemy, and got his column, with its immense convoy of 10,000 beasts of burden, with all the guns and ammunition-wagons, safely through, from whence they proceeded on their march unmolested, and reached Quettah without any loss.³

Nott experienced no resistance till he left Mookoor, on 28th August, about half-way to Ghuznee, when the enemy was seen occupying the heights which commanded the road, and in the valley beneath horsemen were discerned.

Delamain, who commanded the advanced guard, attacked them with his troopers, and cut down twenty; but pursuing his advantage too far, he got surrounded by large bodies of cavalry, by whom, after a sanguinary fight, he was defeated, with considerable loss. Upon learning this disaster, Nott moved out his whole army, 7000 strong, but before they could reach the ground the enemy had retired. A terrible vengeance was taken on a village from which

shots had been fired on our troops: the women and children were spared, but a hundred men fell under the avenging sabres of the infuriated cavalry.⁴ This was an inauspicious beginning, and inspired

some apprehensions even in the intrepid breast of Rawlinson; but it was soon redeemed by a glorious victory. Rendered cautious by this check, Nott moved forward, with his men well in hand, on the succeeding day. The Governor of Ghuznee, Shumshodeen, with ten thousand men, moved parallel to him on the heights; and at three in the afternoon, seeing the opportunity favorable, he descended with all his men to the attack. Nott advanced to meet him with half his force, consisting of the 40th Queen's, two regiments of sepoy, and four guns. The enemy opened a fire from two guns, and that of the infantry was extremely well sustained; but when the British got near, they delivered a volley, and instantly charged, with loud cheers, with the bayonet. The enemy upon this broke and fled, closely pursued by Christie's dragoons, who sabred the gunners and captured the guns. The Governor fled toward Ghuznee, but his followers dispersed in utter confusion, leaving tents, magazines, and stores of every description, to the victors. After this success, Nott halted a day, and resuming his march on the one following, appeared before Ghuznee. The enemy had been strongly reinforced; the ramparts were crowded with armed men, the adjacent heights were strongly occupied by troops, and every thing betokened a vigorous struggle. But these appearances were fallacious. Before nightfall, Nott carried the heights occupied by the enemy in the most gallant style, and drove them headlong into the city. There no preparations for a defense had been made, and the hill-tribes began to depart when they saw preparations made for constructing batteries; and Shumshodeen, despairing of success, withdrew in the night. Next morning the troops entered without resistance, and soon the British flag was seen waving on the fortress.¹

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¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* l. i. § 61.

² Pollock to —, Sept. 23, 1842; Kaye, *Ann. Reg.* 1842, 481; Pollock to Lauder, Sept. 16, 1842.

³ Operations of Nott's troops against Ghuznee and Cabul. August 7.

⁴ England, Aug. 9.

⁵ England to Maddock, August 19, 1842; *Ann. Reg.* 1842, 468.

⁶ Check of Nott's advanced guard. Aug. 28.

⁷ Rawlinson's *Journal*, MS; Rawlinson to Outram, Sept. 7, 1842; Kaye, *Ann.* 596-601.

95.

Nott's victory at Ghoaine. August 30.

⁸ Nott to Maddock, Aug. 30, and Sept. 6, 1842; *Ann. Reg.* 1842, 469-471; Nott's *Corr.* ii. 121-123; Kaye, *Ann.* 600-605.

96.

Removal of the gates of Somnauth.

⁹ Rawlinson's MS; Kaye, *Ann.* 605, 606; Nott, *Ann.* 131, 132.

disasters. On the 12th he passed Sydeabad, the scene of Woodburn's betrayal and death: on the 14th he attacked the enemy, 1200 in number, who were strongly posted on heights near Mydan, barring the approach to the capital, and, after a sharp action, the heights in front were carried; but they were subsequently abandoned, as the fatigue of the beasts of burden disabled them from following the troops any farther. Preparations were made for renewing the attack on the following day, but in the night the enemy decamped, and took post at Urghundeh, half a day's march nearer the capital. There they were defeated at all points, and fled in confusion toward Cabul, abandoning their guns and baggage. The Mydanees upon this tendered their submission; but they had taken an

active part in the insurrection and subsequent massacre, and the British set fire to all their forts. Next day Nott hurried on, without further resistance, to Cabul, only, however, to find it already in the hands of Pollock, who arrived the day before.¹

Thus did the two British divisions unite in the heart of Afghanistan, and avenge, on the theatre on which they had been incurred, their former disasters. Fifteen thousand troops in the English uniform were now assembled at Cabul—a force amply sufficient to subdue and retain in subjection the whole of Afghanistan, if it had been deemed an object by the British Government to retain the country. The most perfect discipline had hitherto been observed by the troops; not a man was wounded, not a woman insulted, not a house broken into or fired by the victors. But a terrible retribution was preparing by the generals, which should sink deep in the minds of the Orientals, and leave in the heart of Asia indelible traces of the British conquest and power. The Bazar was the most celebrated building in Central Asia. Its halls had long been the resort of merchants from every quarter, and its beauty had rendered it the great object of pride to the whole inhabitants of Afghanistan. It was here that Sir William Macnaghten's body had been exposed to the insults of a fanatical Mussulman rabble; and it was here that a lasting retribution was to be inflicted, and a durable monument of British justice, and yet mercy, to be exhibited. The great Bazar was to be destroyed, and the preparations to level it were begun on the 9th October. So massive, however, was the structure, that it defied all ordinary methods of demolition, and it was found necessary to employ mining and gunpowder to bring it down. By their aid the work of ruin was accomplished; and Afghanistan, like France, was taught, in Wellington's words, "a great moral lesson" by being deprived of its chief ornament and just object of national pride. The explosions were so managed by the skillful engineers employed, that no mischief was done to other buildings; but all the efforts of Colonel Richmond, who was intrusted with the guard of the gates of the city, were unable to arrest an unruly mob of camp-followers and soldiers, who, to the number of several thousands, broke in, and began plundering and committing every species of excess. It is to be regretted that such

scenes should have accompanied the last sojourn of the British legions on the theatre of their victories; but when the enormous provocation they had received from the Afghans is considered, it can hardly excite surprise that some such outrage should have occurred.¹

One other warlike movement, which proved entirely successful, took place before the British finally withdrew from Afghanistan. M'Caskill, who, as already mentioned, commanded a brigade in Pollock's army, was dispatched by that officer in the end of September to disperse a hostile assemblage which was forming in the Kohistan, under their khan, Ameen Oollah. The expedition proved entirely successful. By a rapid march M'Caskill reached Istaliff, the chief place of the district, where the Afghans had deposited their baggage, treasures, and women, before the enemy were aware of his approach. As the troops entered the town the jezails of the enemy opened a desultory fire; but the light company of the 9th and Broadfoot's Sappers soon cooled their ardor, and ere long nothing was seen of the enemy but a confused stream of men, women, children, and beasts of burden, which rushed up the hill above the town to avoid destruction. Pursuit was humanely forbidden, to give the women and children an opportunity of escaping, but the booty in the town, with two guns, was taken; and after this victory the troops went on and fired Charekar, where the gallant Ghoorka regiment had been treacherously destroyed in the former campaign.² They then faced about, and reached Cabul on the 7th October, having spread terror far and wide in the northern regions of Afghanistan.³

The Afghans were now thoroughly subdued, their armies defeated, their chiefs disunited, their arrogance tamed, their *Io paens* turned into lamentation. Every where they had encountered disaster; every where the traces of British power and invincibility had been left. They had avenged their defeats on the very scenes where these had been incurred, and left in the capital of the enemy indelible traces at once of their power and their moderation. The Afghans—prone, like all Asiatics, to sudden impressions—were strongly affected with this long train of disasters, and evinced it in the entire change of their policy and measures. Bending to the victories of the Feringhees as to the stroke of fate, they hastened to make their submission as rapidly as they had formerly crowded to their rallying-points to take up arms. On all sides the hostile chiefs made overtures for accommodation. Ameen Oollah Khan, who had been the last to suffer under their arms, secretly sent in proposals, saying he had acted against the British under compulsion, and had all along been their friend. Akbar Khan himself sent in one of his last remaining prisoners, Captain Bygrave, with a letter to Pollock, expressing his anxious desire to enter into amicable relations with the Governor-General. So general was the submission of the hostile chiefs, that for a brief period it was thought that Futtah Jung, the second son of the late king, might resume the reins of

¹ Kays, ii. 639, 640; Nott, ii. 147, 161; Ann. Reg. 1842, 844.

² Ante, c. xl. § 114.

³ M'Caskill to Pollock, Sept. 30, 1842; Nott, ii. 154; Kays, ii. 634, 635.

^{100.} General submission of Afghanistan.

power; and for a few days he actually held them in impotent sovereignty at the Bala-Hissar. But they soon slipped from his feeble grasp; and the British generals, having no intention of imposing a king upon the Afghans, made preparations for their departure from the scene of their conquest, their disasters, and their triumphs.¹

But another task awaited the British general, in the highest degree interesting to all India, and indeed to the whole civilized world. The prisoners were still in the hands of the Afghans; and their fate, especially that of Lady Sale and the other heroic ladies who shared her captivity, excited the warmest feelings of interest and commiseration. It was universally felt that our triumph would be incomplete if they were not restored to their relations and their country. The fate of these prisoners forms an interesting episode in the Afghan war, and their release a fitting termination to that tale of mingled horror and glory. Separated from the army, as already mentioned,² during the retreat

through the Coord Cabul Pass, they had been sent toward the inhospitable regions of the Bamian Pass in the depth of winter, under an escort of Afghan horse. During the weary months of their captivity the time passed more pleasantly than could have been expected; nay, they were sometimes happy. A few packs of cards, which had found their way into that frozen wilderness, were a great resource. They had a prayer-book, from which they daily read the morning and evening service; and in the winter nights they were far from despising a game at blindman's-buff with the children. And although they experienced great suffering during their removals, and were often lodged in noisome damp apartments, they experienced no bad usage of any kind, and often received the most touching proofs of kindness and sympathy from the inhabitants of the villages through which they passed. As summer came on they perceived, from unmistakable symptoms, that their guards were uneasy; and in the end of August they received intimation that they must

prepare for being sent off to Bamian, accompanied by not obscure hints that their ultimate destination was Turkestan, where they would be sold as slaves.³

From this terrible misfortune they were delivered, partly by the skill and address of Captain Johnson, who shared their captivity, partly by the vigor and activity of the detachment which Pollock sent forward to effect their liberation. This party consisted of 700 Kuzilbash horse, under the command of an officer, who had already earned his spurs in this desperate war, and had evinced equal courage and capacity in every duty—many of which had been most arduous—committed to his charge. This party of hardy and experienced horsemen set out on the 12th September for the Hindoo Coosh, and such was the spirit with which they were animated that they marched ninety miles the first day. To support them, Pollock, four days after, dispatched a strong force under Sir R. Sale to oc-

cupy the Urghundeh Pass, by which they would have to return. Meanwhile, Johnson and Eldred Pottinger, the hero of Herat, made good use of the reports which had reached them of the successes of Pollock and Sale; and to their representations Saleh Mohammed, who had charge of the party, with the usual disposition of the Asiatics to yield at once to victory, at length came to lend a willing ear. Deeming the authority of the Afghans approaching its fall, he agreed, on condition of receiving 20,000 rupees down, and a pension of 1000 rupees per month for life, to conduct the captives, not to Turkestan, but to the British camp in the pass of Urghundeh. This change was announced to the captives on the 11th September, and the whole officers present, with the exception of two, who conceived themselves bound in honor to Akbar Khan, agreed to the proposal, and volunteered, if necessary, to master the guard, and hold the fort in which they were till succor arrived, and the agreement could be carried into effect. But there was no occasion to resort to so desperate an alternative: Saleh Mohammed proved faithful to his engagement, which was subscribed by Pottinger, Johnson, Mackenzie, and Lawrence, as well as Lady Sale and the other ladies. Both parties immediately set about carrying the design into execution. Trusting to the reports circulating of the victories of the British, Pottinger, though still a prisoner, issued proclamations from the fort in which they were detained, promising forgiveness and remission of revenue to the chiefs in insurrection around them, and some of them actually came in in consequence, and made their salam. The garrison of the fort, 250 strong, agreed, for a gratuity of four months' pay on reaching Cabul, to defend the prisoners on the way thither. Matters were in this state when intelligence arrived of Pollock's victory in the valley of Te-
Sept. 11.
Sept. 15.
Johnson's Narrative; Kaye, ii. 623, 624; Thornton, vi. 386-388.

While this was passing with the captives, the detachment of Kuzilbashes, with Sir Richard Shakespear at their head, were toiling indefatigably up the steep passes on their noble mission. The scanty intelligence they received on the day of the departure of the captives for the Bamian Pass and Turkestan only roused them to increased efforts to effect their deliverance before the fatal barrier of the Hindoo Coosh was passed, and they were delivered over to hopeless captivity. As they were advancing in this manner, and had just surmounted a high ridge which commanded a view of an extensive valley stretching up the mountains, at their feet they beheld with surprise a lofty pillar, an unexpected sight in that deep solitude. It proved to be a monument erected in honor of Alexander the Great, in commemoration of his having, first of the Europeans, surmounted the great Caucasian range, and bent his way toward the plains of India!

At daybreak on the 17th the captives were awakened by a messenger who brought the joyful intelligence from Sir R. Shakespear that he was approaching with a body of Kuzilbash horse.

¹ Pollock to Lord Ellenborough, Oct. 7, 1842; Kaye, ii. 685, 686.

² Ante, c. xl. § 131.

³ Lady Sale's Journal, 364; Johnson's Narrative; Thornton, vi. 386-388; Kaye.

^{103.} Shakespear passes Alexander's column. Sept. 16.

They instantly set out, and with increased rapidity pursued their way to the southward. They saw or heard nothing till three in the afternoon, when horsemen were seen descending a mountain pass before them. No English uniforms were visible among them—they might be enemies! Every preparation was made to meet the expected attack. The hearts of the captives sank within them with anxiety; they had been discovered, and these were the cavalry whom Akbar Khan had dispatched to reconduct them over the Bamian into Turkestan. Joy! joy!—an English officer emerges from the ranks and gallops forward,

104. Deliverance of Lady Sale and the captives. Sept. 17. Johnson's Narrative, MS.; Lady Sale, 432, 435; Kaye, II. 634, 625; Thornton, VI. 387, 359. waving a white handkerchief. It was Sir R. Shakespear, at the head of his faithful Kuzilbashes, who were soon in the midst of them, announcing deliverance, safety, and a speedy return to their relations and country.¹

Wearied with their long journey, but no longer anxious, Lady Sale and the prisoners remained at rest that day, devouring the intelligence which Shakespear gave in answer to their reiterated questions. On the 18th and 19th they pursued their journey; and on the 20th, when they were approaching Urghundeh, they were met by the column under Sale, which Pollock had sent out to support Shakespear. In a few minutes Sale, amidst the cheers and tears of his men, embraced his wife and daughter. The meeting of the delivered captives with Sale's veterans must be given in Lady Sale's words: "It is impossible to express our feelings on Sale's approach. To my daughter and myself, happiness, so long delayed as to be almost unexpected, was actually painful, and accompanied by a choking sensation, which could not obtain the relief of tears. When we arrived where the infantry were posted, they cheered all the captives as they passed them; and the men of the 13th, Sir R. Sale's own regiment, pressed forward to welcome us individually. Most of the men had a few words of hearty congratulation to offer, each in his own style, on the restoration of their colonel's wife and daughter; and then my highly-wrought feelings found the desired relief, and I could actually speak to thank the soldiers for their sympathy, while the long-withheld tears now found their course. On arriving at the camp, Captain Backhouse fired a royal salute from his mountain-train guns; and not only our own friends, but all the officers in the party, came to offer congratulations, and welcome us on our release from captivity."²

106. Final retirement of the British from Afghanistan. All was now accomplished. The honor of the British arms had been avenged, the captives delivered, and the treachery of the enemy punished in a signal and enduring manner. Nothing more remained to be done: there was no longer any cause of discord or hostility with the Afghans. The king whom, in an evil hour, and misled by a false opinion of his popularity, we had put on the throne, had been murdered by his subjects; his son, a boy of eighteen, was invested with only the shadow of royalty, and Russian ambition had been turned into an-

other channel; the catastrophe of Khiva had chilled their ardor for conquests in Central Asia. It was resolved, therefore, to retire within the Indus while it could yet be done with credit and safety; and on the 1st October a proclamation to this effect was issued by the Governor-General from Simla. On the 11th of the same month the family of Shah Soojah found refuge in Pollock's quarters; the British colors were lowered on the Bala-Hissar, and the British troops began their departure from the theatre of their unjust conquests, their terrible punishment, their restored glory.¹

The army retired by Gundamuck, Jellalabad, and the Khyber, without any other molestation than a few desultory attacks from the predatory tribes which hung on the sides of the defiles through which they passed, and reached Peshawur in the beginning of November. The fortifications of Ghuznee and Jellalabad were blown up; those far-famed fortresses were left "as the abode only of owls and jackals." Never was joy more sincere than was now felt in every European breast in India. "There was," says the eloquent annalist of this memorable war, "one general shout of triumphant congratulation, caught up from station to station along the whole line of country from Sirhind to Tinnevely. Suspense and anxiety now died away in the European breast; and in the words of one of the ablest Indian statesmen, 'it was a comfort again to be able to look a native in the face.'" By an extraordinary coincidence the same *Delhi Gazette* which announced the second capture of Cabul contained the glorious treaty of peace with the Chinese, dictated by the British under the walls of Nankin. Immense was the effect of this double victory upon the public mind through the whole of Hindostan. The movement which had begun so strongly to stir the minds of the natives throughout the whole peninsula was stayed; and the Asiatics, according to their usual custom, resigned themselves to victory as the stroke of fate, and ceased to entertain thoughts of further resisting a power which had shown itself capable at the same time of conquering the bravest warriors of Central, and the most powerful empire of Eastern, Asia.²

Having vindicated our military honor and retired from Afghanistan, there was no longer either a motive or a pretext for detaining Dost Mohammed in captivity, or withholding from the Afghans the sovereign of their choice—the chief who had offered, if we would support him, to put the whole resources of the country at our disposal as a barrier against Russia. He was accordingly liberated, and his enlargement announced as an earnest of the altered policy of the British Government. Dost Mohammed accordingly set out from Loodianah, and after being detained some time by the ostentatious and somewhat suspicious hospitality of the Rajah of Lahore, he reached the Khyber, and regained the land of his fathers, where ere long he was, by the great majority of the people, placed on the throne.³ And the arms of England, after having undergone an unparalleled disaster, and all but lost India in the attempt to displace him,

¹ Kaye, II. 640, 641; Thornton, VI. 389.

107. Universal joy in India on these successes.

² Kaye, II. 644, 645; Thornton, VI. 389, 390.

108. Liberation of Dost Mohammed and conclusion of the war.

³ Thornton, VI. 389, 390.

finally left Afghanistan to the sovereign of its choice, to its solitude, its passions, and its divisions.*

No man in India was so sincerely rejoiced at the glorious victories in China and Afghanistan as Lord Ellenborough. His ardent mind, passionately enamored of martial renown, and eagerly susceptible of strong impressions, had been roused to the uttermost by the ever-memorable events which had taken place under his direction, which had raised the British empire in the East from the verge of ruin to an unexampled pitch of prosperity and glory. But still he had great cause for secret anxiety. Sought as it had been to veil the withdrawal from Afghanistan under the guise of a triumph, it was still a retreat; the fact could not be concealed that the British standards had retired. To diminish the effect of this obvious retrograde movement on the native mind, and also to overawe the powers through whose territories the retreat was to be made, it was resolved to keep the army together, and also to greet its approach with all the pomp and magnificence which is ever so grateful to the Eastern mind. Magnificent pageants, rivaling those by which, four years be-

fore, the march of the British army through the Punjaub had been celebrated, were now enacted on their return: the troops of all arms were turned out to salute them as they passed. The gates of Somnauth, the proud trophy of Mohammedan conquest, were conducted with great pomp, attended by a long array of captured guns, across the whole of India; and honors, medals, and military distinctions of every sort were awarded to the brave officers and soldiers by whom the triumphs had been won.

No act of Lord Ellenborough has been the subject of so much criticism and discussion as this restoration of the gates of Somnauth. Not only was it objected to in England as a vainglorious act, savoring more of the boastful style of Napoleon's bulletins than the modest record of British achievement, but it was the subject of more serious blame by a large and respectable party in Great Britain, which, sincerely desirous of making the British empire in the East the means of converting its inhabitants to the Christian faith, were seized with perfect horror at seeing the triumph of the Christian arms terminating in homage to a heathen temple. Yet is it now evident that both objections were founded on mistake, and on that disposition to judge of the feelings of other nations by our own, which is the most prolific cause of error in forming an opinion of human affairs. Viewed with European eyes, and regarded as addressed to civilized and well-informed nations, the triumphal procession of the gates of Somnauth will no doubt appear suitable rather to French grandiloquence than British simplicity; viewed as addressed to the Asiatics, who expect such effusions after victory, and consider them as the evidence of its reality, it must be regarded in a very different light, and as important, as conveying to the ignorant and credulous Asiatic mind proof of the glory of conquest. In truth, much more was made of this act than its real importance, either in a religious or political point of view, deserved; for such is the ignorance which prevails in India, that the memory of even the most important events is much more quickly lost than in the European world. The loss of the gates of Somnauth was bitterly lamented by the priests of Ghuznee, to whom they were a source of profit; but not one in a thousand in Hindostan had ever heard of them; and their restoration excited even less sensation, in a religious point of view, than the recovery of the wood of the true cross, taken at the battle of Tiberias by Saladin, would occasion to good

* "The Government of India directed its army to pass the Indus, in order to expel from Afghanistan a chief believed to be hostile to British interests, and to replace upon his throne a sovereign believed to be friendly to those interests, and popular with his former subjects. The chief believed to be hostile became a prisoner, and the sovereign believed to be popular was replaced upon the throne; but after events which brought into question his fidelity to the Government by which he was restored, he lost by the hands of an assassin the throne he had only held amidst insurrection, and his death was preceded and followed by still existing anarchy.

"Disasters unparalleled in their extent, unless by the errors in which they originated, and the treachery by which they were completed have, in one short campaign, been revenged upon every scene of past misfortune; and repeated victories in the field, and the capture of the citadels and cities of Ghuznee and Cabul, have again attached the opinion of invincibility to the British arms.

"The British army in possession of Afghanistan will now be withdrawn to the Sutlej. The Governor-General will leave it to the Afghans themselves to create a government amidst the anarchy which is the consequence of their crimes. To force a sovereign upon a reluctant people would be as inconsistent with the policy as it is with the principles of the British Government, tending to place the arms and resources of that people at the disposal of the first invader, and to impose the burden of supporting a sovereign without the prospect of benefit from his alliance. The Governor-General will willingly recognize any government approved by the Afghans themselves which shall appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighboring states.

"The rivers of the Punjaub and Indus, and the mountainous passes and the barbarous tribes of Afghanistan, will be placed between the British army and an enemy approaching from the west, if, indeed, such an enemy there can be, and no longer between the army and its supplies.

"The combined army of England and India, superior in equipment, in discipline, in valor, and in the officers by whom it is commanded, to any which can be opposed to it in Asia, will stand in unassailable strength upon its own soil, and forever, under the blessing of Providence, preserve the glorious empire it has won in security and honor. The Governor-General can not fear the misconception of his motives in thus frankly announcing to the surrounding states the pacific and conservative policy of his Government. Afghanistan and China have at once seen the forces at his disposal, and the effect with which they can be applied. Sincerely attached to peace for the sake of the benefits it confers upon the people, the Governor-General is resolved that peace shall be observed, and will put forth the whole powers of the British Government to coerce the state by which it shall be infringed."—*Proclamation of Governor-General, Simla, 1st Oct., 1842.*

"Our victorious army bears the gates of the Temple of Somnauth in triumph from Afghanistan, and the despoiled tomb of Sultan Mahmood looks upon the ruins of Ghuznee. The insult of eight hundred years is at last avenged. The gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your humiliation, are become the proudest record of your national glory, the proof of your superiority in arms over the nations beyond the Indus. To you, princes and chiefs of Sirhind, of Rajwarra, of Malwa, and of Guzerat, I commit the glorious trophy of successful war. I have ever relied with confidence upon your attachment to the British Government. You see how worthy it proves itself of your love, when, regarding your honor as its own, it exerts the power of its arms to restore to you the gates of the Temple of Somnauth, so long the memorial of your subjection to the Afghans."—*LORD ELLENBOROUGH to the PRINCES and PEOPLE of INDIA, 16th November, 1842; KAYE, II. 650.*

109.
Restoration
of the gates
of Som-
nauth, and
its object.

Nov. 16.

1 Thornton,
vi. 393-395;
Kaye, II.
650-654.

110.
Reflections
on this step
of Lord El-
lenborough.

Catholics, or that of some relics of our Saxon kings from the successors of Canute would to the English people.

The Afghanistan expedition, conceived in injustice, undertaken in ignorance, executed by incapacity, affords a memorable example at once of the weakness and strength of democratic societies. Like all the contests

in which Great Britain has been engaged during the last century and a half, it was commenced without any adequate preparation for its dangers, or any knowledge even of what they were.

¹ Sidney Herbert's Return, by Great Britain had been reduced Jan. 5, 1857. to 81,000 men,¹ and the European

troops in India were only 81,500, we commenced at the same time two distant and costly wars with China and Afghanistan, and sent an army of 9500 men, with one European regiment in its ranks, to achieve the conquest of a warlike people, inhabiting a remote and mountainous country. Never was a more striking instance of the

combined arrogance in diplomatic demand with the determined resistance to military preparations, which are the invariable characteristics in the outset of multitudinous rule, when it is really, and not in name merely, established. Disasters great and unexampled followed, and punished the extravagant and ill-judged undertaking. But mark the end of these things, and see how popular vigor and energy, when danger is present, at length surmount all difficulties. The nation, instead of being deterred, was roused by its misfortunes. Sir R. Peel nobly took the lead, the House of Commons evinced similar constancy, the British army was raised to 101,000 men, that in India to 42,000; the officers and soldiers engaged in the contest displayed all the fortitude, courage, and energy of their race; and at length the disasters which had been sustained were avenged, both wars were brought to a successful termination, and the British empire in the East, so recently threatened with dissolution, was raised to an unprecedented pitch of power, influence, and glory.

CHAPTER XLIX.

INDIA FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE AFGHANISTAN WAR IN 1842 TO THE END OF LORD DALHOUSIE'S GOVERNMENT IN 1856.

Rising in Little Thibet at the foot of Mount

1. Kailas, the INDUS, in its downward course, makes its way through the gigantic barrier of the Himalaya, and, swollen by the streams which descend from its snowy summits, descends, after it leaves the mountains, nearly in a straight line running southwest during a course of seventeen hundred miles to the Indian Ocean. Its chief tributaries, the Cabul, and the five streams which traverse the Punjaub, render it, before it reaches the sea, a mighty river. Like the Nile, it flows through sandy deserts on either side, and the rich lands which adjoin its banks are mainly formed by the aid of its fertilizing waters. Like the Nile, it reaches the sea by several mouths, and between the branches which find their passage by them, is situated a delta of considerable extent and great richness. The strip of rich land formed by the River Indus is the country of SCINDE, a territory unsurpassed by any in the East in fertility and natural advantages. It lies between the 23d and 29th degrees of north latitude, and the 67th and 70th degrees of east longitude, and is bounded on the north by the mountains of Afghanistan, on the south and

1 Malte-Brun, iv. 508, 554; Ann. Reg. 1843, 345; Report on Indian Territories, June, 1852; Pottlinger's Scinde, 12-15.

2. Like all the other people of India, the inhabitants of this eastern Egypt have long been subject to foreign government. The Ameers of Scinde. The ruling power at this period were the Ameers, a body of nobles who had acquired the sovereignty of the country by conquest, and held it with an iron grasp. Those to the north had formerly paid tribute to the Afghan monarchs; but during the troubles which ended in the dethronement of Shah Soojah in 1809, they had not only combined to shake off that burden, but had succeeded in considerably extending their dominions. The Indus, which flows through the whole extent of their country, affords at once the means of nourishing a splendid agriculture, and opens the way to a vast and profitable commerce. But all these natural advantages had been neglected, or rendered nugatory, by the Ameers. Passionately fond of hunting, they knew no enjoyments but fighting, and carousing, and the chase, and valued the rich fields on the borders of the river, not on account of their agricultural capabilities, but for their "shikargahs," or thick jungles, overhanging the water's edge, which afforded a shelter to wild beasts and game. The Belooches, who were the original inhabitants of the country,

were cruelly oppressed by these task-masters, who, idle themselves, lived only by squeezing the fruits of their toil out of the unhappy peasants who cultivated the soil. But their complaints were stifled and obedience insured by a powerful army of mercenaries, detachments of which were stationed in Hyderabad, Tattah, and Khyrpore, the principal towns of the country, the largest of which did not contain twenty thousand inhabitants, so entirely had military despotism exhausted the resources of the country.¹

1 Burnes, 147; Ann. Reg. 1842, 346; Malte-Brun, iv. 554.

Sensible of the importance of the Indus, it had long been an object of ambition to the British Government to enter into pacific commercial relations with the rulers of this important territory. But the Ameers had a superstitious dread of the approach of the white man; they had heard of his encroachments on the Ganges, and they desired only to keep him off from the Indus, and for long they succeeded in repelling his advances. At length, in 1832, Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General, by the offer to recognize the children of Meer Moorad Ali, the chief Ameer of Scinde, as his successors in the government of the country, succeeded in concluding a treaty, by which British merchants were secured a free passage, for moderate duties, up the Indus, and through the other rivers and roads of the country, upon the express condition that no military stores were to be introduced by those rivers or roads; that no armed vessels should come up the Indus; and that no English merchants should on any pretext settle in the country. The first article of the treaty bore, "The two contracting powers bind themselves never to look with an eye of covetousness on the possessions of each other." But although the government of Scinde, influenced by the aggrandizing views of Meer Moorad Ali, entered into this treaty, the more far-seeing of the nobles viewed it with the deepest regret; and when the first English vessel entered the Indus in consequence of its provisions, they said, "Alas! Scinde is gone; the English have seen the river."²

2. British interest course with Scinde.

April 20, 1832.

2 See the Treaty in Ann. Reg. 1843, 347; Thornton, ix. 397, 398.

By this treaty it was further provided, that in the event of the duties on the transit of goods appearing to be too high, the government of Hyderabad, on a representation to that effect, was to lower them. This was accordingly done, by a supplementary treaty concluded in 1834, and permission was given to a British agent to reside at Kurrachee, at the mouth of the river. In 1836 the Ameers were threatened by Runjeet Singh, and this was deemed a favorable opportunity by the British Government for

4. Farther treaties with the Ameers in 1834 and 1838.

drawing closer their relations with Scinde, and establishing a preponderating influence in that country. With this view they offered protection against the Sikhs, provided the Ameers would consent to a body of British troops, at their expense, being stationed in their capital. To this the Ameers would not consent; but after some difficulty they agreed, in 1838, to admit of the residence of a British agent at Hyderabad, on condition of the British mediating between them and Runjeet Singh. But matters were soon after much complicated by the conclusion of the tripartite treaty between the British, Runjeet Singh, and Shah Soojah, which preceded the first invasion of Afghanistan. By this treaty Shah Soojah renounced all ulterior claims upon Scinde, provided the arrears claimed by him were discharged; and the British Government was to determine what sum was to be paid in name of these arrears. The Ameers had been no party to this agreement, and had never been consulted regarding it; and when Shah Soojah preferred his claim they at once produced a release from him for the whole sum. The British

Government, however, declined to pay any regard to that release, and insisted that their envoy at the court of Scinde should proceed to arbitrate on the sum to be awarded to the Afghan monarch; a demand which was not very likely to improve the relations between the two powers.¹

Serious as this cause of difference between the British Government and the rulers of Scinde was, it was soon thrown into the shade by more important and pressing demands. As already mentioned, the main body of the British forces for Afghanistan was to pass through Scinde toward the Bolan Pass; and Sir John Keane, with ten thousand men, actually took this route. The Ameers evinced, as well they might, the greatest aversion to the passage of any troops through their territories, either by land or water. As to the idea of a British force being ever permanently stationed in them, the thing never entered into their contemplation; and both were so completely contrary to the provisions of the treaty of 1832, that it was no easy matter to see how their objections could be evaded. But necessity has no law; the

Afghanistan expedition had been resolved on; it was deemed expedient to lead the greater part of the force through Scinde; and partly by force, partly by the obvious inability to resist, the opposition of the Ameers was overcome, and the passage of the troops was agreed to.²

But the mere passage of the army did not satisfy the British Government. Having now got irresistible force on their side, they resolved to carry things with a high hand, and to force upon the Ameers, not merely the required liberty of transit, but also such a stipulation in regard to the permanent stationing of a British force as might secure the rear and communications of the army, and insure the lasting influence of the British Government over the country. In pursuance of these views a treaty was

presented to the Ameers for signature, which provided that a cantonment and military force were to be stationed at Tattah, the strength of which was to be fixed by the Governor-General; while the Ameers were to contribute a sum yearly toward the maintenance of the force, "in consideration of the advantages they would derive from it." When the draft of the treaty was laid before them, Noor Mohammed, one of the Ameers, taking the former treaties out of a box, said, "What is to become of all these? Since the day that Scinde has been covenanted with the English there has always been something new: your Government is never satisfied. We are anxious for your friendship, but we can not be continually persecuted. We have given you and your troops a passage through our territories, and now you wish to remain." But resistance was in vain. Sir John Keane was rapidly marching on Hyderabad, Kurrachee was already in the hands of the reserve, and the Ameer of Khyrpore had concluded a treaty ceding possession of that place, to which Sir Willoughby Cotton was marching. Thus the Ameers had no alternative but, in their own language, to become "our humblest slaves," and the treaty was accepted. Before it was ratified by the Governor-General its conditions were rendered still more humiliating; for, instead of the station for the subsidiary force being fixed at Tattah, it was stipulated that it might be located any where west of the Indus the Governor-General might select; and the annual payment of the Ameers toward its maintenance was fixed at three lacs of rupees.³

While the occupation of Afghanistan lasted this treaty continued to regulate the relations of the two powers; and Major Outram, who had succeeded Pottinger as political agent at the court of Hyderabad, succeeded in extracting considerable resources from them, as already seen, for the use of Nott's army at Candahar. During this period Outram was so far imposed upon by the deep dissimulation which forms so remarkable a feature in the Asiatic character, that he reported to Government that "such changeable, puerile, and divided chieftains were not likely to enter into any deep and consequently dangerous conspiracy, and that nothing of the sort would be persevered in so long as no further disaster befell our arms in Afghanistan." But after the termination of the second Afghanistan campaign, Lord Ellenborough determined to take advantage of the first opportunity to reduce Scinde into the condition of a regular province of the British empire. With this view he withdrew the political administration of the country from Major Outram, and vested it, as well as the military command, in SIR CHARLES NAPIER, an officer already signalized in the Peninsular War, and whose bold and fearless disposition, as well as ardent mind, peculiarly qualified him for the duties with which he was intrusted.⁴ His instructions were, to collect and communicate to the Governor-General all that Major Outram or the other political agents had to allege against any of the Ameers, taking care the

¹ Treaty in Thornton, vi. 410, 411; Ann. Reg. 1842, 849.

² Lord Ellenborough's views as to Scinde.

³ Lord Ellenborough to Major Outram, April 10, 1842, and to Sir Charles Napier, Sept. 28, 1842; Thornton, vi. 411-414; Ann. Reg. 1842, 848-850.

⁵ Passage of Keane's army through Scinde. Dec. 1838.

⁶ Pottinger to Government, Dec. 15, 1838; Scinde Papers, 133; Thornton, vi. 400, 410; Anta, c. xl. § 61.

⁷ Treaty of 1838 forced upon the Ameers.

information was to be depended on, as, if it revealed hostile intentions or acts, it was the determination of Government to inflict such punishment as should effectually deter others from engaging in similar designs.*

When governments issue instructions to their officers to make inquiries with a view to establish certain desired points, it is seldom that such evidence is wanting. In this instance, however, there could be no difficulty about the matter. Sir Charles Napier reported, with truth, that the rulers of Scinde had levied tolls on the Indus contrary to the treaty; and certain letters were transmitted, purporting to be from Meer Nussur Khan, Ameer of Hyderabad, and Meer Roostam Khan of Khyrpore, inviting the other chiefs to join in common measures of defense. The authenticity of these letters was never fully established; and considering how easy it is every where, and especially in India, to fabricate such evidence to suit a purpose, nothing can be more dangerous than to proceed on such proof without the corroboration of overt acts. The British Government, however, were determined to make out a case against the Ameers, and they took the most effectual means to do so. On the 6th December a new treaty was tendered to them for signature, containing clauses of the most humiliating description. By it certain places in the territory of Scinde were to be fixed as centres, round which a portion of territory was to be assigned to the British Government; another portion was to be assigned to the Khan of Bhawlpore, as a reward for his fidelity; the Ameers were to provide fuel to the steamers navigating the Indus, and in default of their doing so, the servants of the British Government were to be at liberty to fell wood within a hundred yards of the banks of the river within the territory of the Ameers; finally, the right of coining money—the well-known badge of independent sovereignty—was to be given up by the Ameers; the British Government was to coin for them, and on one side of the coin was to be the effigy of the *Sovereign of England*.¹

¹ See proposed treaty, Thornton, vol. 416.

When terms such as these were proposed to sovereigns to whom the shadow of independence had hitherto been allowed, it was evident that it was merely a question of time when hostilities were to commence, and immaterial which party was in form the aggressor. The Ameers evinced the utmost reluctance to

* "Your first political duty will be, to hear what Major Outram and the other political agents may have to allege against the Ameers of Hyderabad and Khyrpore tending to prove hostile designs against the British Government, or to act hostilely against the British army. That they may have had such hostile feelings there can be no doubt. It would be impossible to suppose that they could entertain friendly feelings; but we should not be justified in inflicting punishment upon these thoughts. Should any Ameer or chief with whom we have a treaty of friendship and alliance have evinced hostile designs against us during the late events, which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally or friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct. But the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most ample and convincing evidence of the guilt of the person accused."—*LORD ELLENBOROUGH to SIR CHARLES NAPIER, Simla, 23th Sept., 1842; Ann. Reg., 1840, 250.*

affix their signatures to an instrument which deprived them of the last vestige of independent sovereignty; but at last, partly by terror, partly by persuasion, they were brought to yield, and on the 12th February they affixed their names to the hated treaty. But long before they had done so, the initiative of hostilities had been taken by Sir Charles Napier. On the 18th December he issued a proclamation, stating, "The Governor-General of India has ordered me to take possession of the districts of Sedzeel Kote and of Bhang-bara, and to reannex the said districts to the territories of his Highness the Nawab of Bhawlpore, to whom they will immediately be made over;" and intimating that, "if the Ameers levied any revenue in advance after the 1st January, 1843, they should be amerced in the like sum in arranging the new treaty." The territories proposed to be exacted of the Ameers were taken possession of before the treaty itself had been agreed to, and Napier's troops continued to advance toward Khyrpore, the capital of Meer Roostum, the chief of the refractory Ameers, though well aware that such an invasion was equivalent to a declaration of war. His determination can not be so well given as in his own words: "I had discovered long ago that the Ameers put implicit faith in their deserts, and feel confident we can never reach them there. Therefore, when negotiations, and delays, and lying, and intrigues of all kinds fail, they can at last declare their entire obedience, innocence, and humility, and retire beyond our reach to their deserts, and from thence launch their wild hands against us, so as to cut off all our communications, and render Scinde more hot than nature has already done. So circumstanced, and after drawing all I could from Ali Moorad, whom I saw last night at Khyrpore, I made up my mind that, although war was not declared, nor is it necessary to declare it, I would at once march upon Emaun-Ghur, and prove to the whole Talpoor family, both of Khyrpore and Hyderabad, that neither their deserts nor their negotiations could protect them from the British troops. While they imagine they can fly with security, they never will be quiet."

Having determined to commence hostilities by an expedition against Emaun-Ghur, Sir Charles Napier's measures were taken with equal boldness and skill. This singular strong-hold, which no European eye had yet beheld, is situated fully eight days' journey in the desert of Beloochistan. The wells on the way to it were all dried up, and water for the troops required to be carried on camels' backs. To this strong-hold in this dry and untrodden solitude the Beloochee forces were reported by the scouts to have retired, to the number of 20,000 men, and there, surrounded by the desert, and protected by its hardships, to be prepared to make their stand. Napier, however, was not to be deterred, either by the magnitude of the enemy's force, or the all but insuperable difficulties of approach by which they were environed. His first design was to march against Emaun-Ghur with his whole disposable force, 8000 strong, and fight a decisive battle with the

Feb. 12, 1842.
Sir Charles Napier's Proclamation, Dec. 18, 1842; An. Reg. 1843, 473; Napier's Conquest of Scinde, ii. 229; Sir C. Napier to Lord Ellenborough, Dec. 27, 1842.

10. Expedition against Emaun-Ghur. December 5. Jan. 1843.

forces of the enemy, seven times as numerous, at its gates. On a nearer approach, however, he received intelligence which induced him to alter this design. It turned out that, though the Ameers had retired from Dingee toward Emaun-Ghur, the greater part of their troops had mutinied and turned back upon reaching the wilderness; and that such was the want of water in the desert, that it was utterly impossible to approach it with a large army. Modifying his original design according to this change of circumstances, the British General mounted 360 of

¹ Napier's
Conquest of
Scinde, ii.
234, 237; Na-
pier's Mem.
ii. 281-283.

the 22d Queen's regiment on camels, selected 200 of the best-mounted and hardy of the irregular cavalry, loaded ten camels with provisions, eighty with water, and set out on his perilous and extraordinary enterprise.¹

The march began on the evening of the 5th January; and the dangers and difficulties with which it was beset were such as would have deterred a less resolute commander, and stopped a less enduring army. The Ameers, under Roostum, the most determined of their opponents, hung on their flank with six thousand men. After the first two days, water was not to be found; and the troops plunged into a desert, untrod even by the wildest animals of nature. The camels became weak under their unparalleled hardships, and could no longer draw the howitzers. Their place was supplied, or their sinking strength aided, by the indefatigable Irish soldiers, who, with surpassing fortitude and unshrinking constancy, held on their weary and dangerous way. Such fortitude at length met with its reward. The arid and steep sand hills were all passed; and at length, on the evening of the 14th, the square tower of Emaun-Ghur was discerned, rising on the distant horizon in solitary grandeur in that profound solitude. The troops, of whom fifty only were on horseback, the remainder of the cavalry having been constrained to return, were soon at its gates; but it was found to be deserted. Mohammed Khan, the governor, though at the head of a force five times that which now approached him, had evacuated the fortress with his treasure the night before, leaving all his powder and grain behind him. It was resolved to blow it up, and this was effected with a daring and intrepidity forming a fit termination to this tale of heroism. Four-and-twenty mines were run under different parts of the fortress, and charged with ten thousand pounds of powder—so vast were the stores of ammunition which the Ameers had provided in this distant strong-hold. The other mines were all fired, when the chief engineer, Major Waddington, was seen bending over the train of one which he was to fire himself. The assistant called out, "The other mines are going to burst." "That may be," replied Waddington, "but mine must burst also;" and, with

² Napier, ii.
241, 243;
Sir C. Na-
pier's Mem.
ii. 283, 290.

these words, set fire to the fusee with his own hands, and then walked calmly away. The fort was blown to atoms, but, as if by a miracle, the heroic Waddington escaped unhurt.²

^{*} Napier wrote next day in his journal: "I had permission from the Governor-General to assemble an immense force to impose his final treaty. I told him it could be done with the troops under my command, with-

The destruction of Emaun-Ghur having been effected, it was not deemed safe to attempt that of Shah-Ghur, a similar fortress of the Beloochees in the desert, situated at a great distance, till the forces which were assembling at Hyderabad, in the centre of their power, had been either overawed or disposed of. Thither, accordingly, Napier returned on the 16th by a different route, but encountering the same hardships—the infantry drawing the guns, and the troops of all arms living on the scantiest fare, and having, on the evening of the third day, nearly exhausted their supplies of water. At length, on the fourth day, water and forage were found; and on the 23d January, after having been eighteen days in the desert, he rejoined his main army at Peor-Abu-Bekr, near Hyderabad. He found the Ameers there overawed and undecided, insomuch that he has recorded in his journal his apprehension that the blowing up of Emaun-Ghur would hinder him from gratifying Lord Ellenborough's wish "for a fight with the Ameers." In this apprehension, however, he was destined to be disappointed. After the return of Napier to the neighborhood of Hyderabad, Outram was so far blinded by the profound dissimulation which the Asiatics know so well how to employ when they have an object to gain by it, that he persisted in the belief that the Ameers were inclined to make peace, and that no hostile measures were to be apprehended from them. On the other hand, the old General, judging more correctly of their real dispositions, and estimating them by what all brave men would do when the independence of their country was threatened, as strenuously maintained that they were unchangeably bent on war, and that their pacific professions were only so many artifices to gain time to complete their preparations. Meanwhile, as the hot season was approaching, Napier put his troops in motion, and approached slowly toward the south, where the strength of the Ameers lay. Outram continued to transmit reports of the pacific intentions of the Ameers; and appearances were certainly in his favor, for, after having exhausted every artifice to procure delay, they at length, with the exception of the Ameer of Khyr-

12. Napier returns to the Indus, and fresh negotiations.

Feb. 12. pore, actually signed the final and hated treaty. Napier, however, was not deceived: he knew well they were endeavoring only to protract the conferences till the hot season rendered military operations impossible. He continued to advance, accordingly, declaring to the Ameers, both of Upper and Lower Scinde, that they could only stop his march by dispersing their armed bands. Instead of doing this, the Ameers collected a large force, exceeding 20,000 men, at Hyderabad; and while they amused Outram by the artifice of signing the treaty, they were boasting "that every man, woman, and child belonging to the British army in Scinde should be collected on the field of battle, and have their throats cut, except the General, that they might put a ring in his nose and lead him with a chain in triumph to their Dhurbar."¹

Napier, however, was neither intimidated by out bloodshed. It seems to me I have done so, and proved my head sufficient for command in Scinde."—NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, ii. 290.

their numbers, nor deceived by their feigned submission. He continued steadily to advance until the light companies were in the close vicinity of Hyderabad. Outram still continued to give assurances of their pacific disposition, when, on the very day after the treaty had been signed, he was awakened from his dream of security in a violent manner. Shouts expressive of detestation of the British had already been heard in the streets of Hyderabad. Still Outram continued to trust them, though the officers of his suite clearly foresaw the approaching storm; and he even carried his reliance on their good faith the length of recommending Napier to come alone to Hyderabad, and send his army to Meer-

February 18. **Attack on Outram in the Residency. February 18.** poor! But Napier judged otherwise, and continued to advance, and meanwhile six thousand Beloochees were collecting round the Residency preparing to attack. Outram had a garrison of only a hundred foot-soldiers, with forty rounds of ammunition each, so that a prolonged resistance was impossible; there were, however, two armed steamers in the river, which promised the means of retreat. But Indian warfare, more than any other, shows what may be effected by even a small body of resolute men, ably led, against apparently overwhelming odds. The Ameers had eight thousand men and six guns; and with this armed multitude they soon closed in on three sides of the Residency, and commenced a heavy fire, the fourth being open to the river. But Outram disposed his men under the wall of the Residency garden, which was only five feet high, under officers as determined as himself; and they kept up so well-directed and sustained a fire as effectually repelled the enemy, as long as their ammunition lasted. When it was exhausted they slowly retreated, turning and facing the assailants every twenty yards, toward the steamers; and so skillfully was the fire of those vessels directed by Captain Brown, of the Bengal engineers, who was on board, that it effectually swept their flanks; and the retreating column itself causing its rear to be respected, they got safe on board, with the loss only of three killed and two wounded.¹

February 11, 1848. **Feb. 11, 1848.** Nothing but the sword could now terminate the quarrel between the British and the Ameers. Outram having reached Napier's camp in safety, the latter wisely resolved to march forth with to attack the enemy, despite the formidable odds which stood against him even then; for he was well aware that these odds would in a few days be augmented by 20,000 more, who were collecting on his flanks and rear. He moved forward, accordingly, with his little army to attack the Ameers, who were posted at MEANEE. Napier had only 400 Europeans of the 22d, and 2200 sepoy and Beloochees, whose valor and fidelity were abundantly proved in the battle which ensued. The enemy were strongly posted behind the bed of the River Fulailee, chiefly dry, but interspersed in some places by deep stagnant pools. They were fully 22,000 men, of whom 5000 were horse, with fifteen guns. These were placed on the top of the slope, rising upward from the bed of the river, and behind them the main body of the

enemy was posted in dense masses, extending about twelve hundred yards in front, and a long way to the rear. On either flank of this plateau were thick jungles, intersected by deep water-courses, which were in most places scarped so as to render them wholly impassable for artillery, and very difficult of passage even to the best horsemen. Notwithstanding these desperate odds, and strong position of the enemy, Napier resolved to attack them. "It is," said he in his journal, "my first battle as a commander: it may be my last. At sixty that makes little difference; but my feelings are, it shall be *do or die*. To fall will be to leave many I love best, to go to many loved, and my home—and that, in any case, must be soon."¹

Napier's little army was still further reduced by a detachment of 200 sepoy, whom, at Outram's request, he detached under that officer to occupy the shikargahs near the Indus, in order to deprive the Ameers, in case of defeat, of the cover these might afford for their troops. Before attacking, he made the best dispositions that circumstances would admit for defending his baggage, arranging it, after the manner of the ancient Germans, in a circle, surrounded by the camels laid down with their heads turned inward, and the bales between them, over which the defenders might fire. On the right were twelve guns under Major Lloyd, flanked by fifty sappers and miners under Captain Henderson; next them stood the brave 22d, led by their worthy commander, Colonel Pennefather;* next to them were the 25th Sepoy under Colonel Teesdale, yet a little behind, so as to make the attack in echelon, the right leading. Then, also in echelon, came the 12th Native Infantry, under Colonel Reid; and next to them the Bengal Engineers, under Major Clibborne. The extreme left was formed by the 9th Bengal Horse, under Colonel Pattle. The Poonah Horse, 250 strong, under Captain Tait, with 400 sepoy infantry, formed a guard for the General and disposable reserve, ready to be thrown in wherever the fortune of the day might call for their support. The plain between the two armies was about a thousand yards broad, interspersed with low jungle bushes, which for some way impeded the march of the troops, but the last seven hundred yards it had been cleared away by the Beloochees, to render the plain like a great glacis open for their fire.²

The distance between the two armies was rapidly passed over, the General himself with his staff leading. The Beloochees themselves were concealed by the front of the eminence; but the discharges of guns and the rapid fire of musketry, when they got within range, showed where they stood. The jungle on their left was covered by a wall ten feet high, not loopholed, and with a single opening. Into that opening Napier immediately led the grenadiers of the 22d, under Captain Ford, bidding him maintain his post to death, if necessary. Ford obeyed

¹Ann. Reg. 1848, 351; Napier, II. 294-299; Napier's Memoirs, II. 320, 321; Thornton, VI. 428-436.

¹⁴Preparations for an attack on the enemy, and force on both sides.

²Napier's Dispatch, Feb. 18, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 352; Napier, II. 308, 309.

* Since so distinguished as a general of division at Inkermann and in the Crimean war.

his orders, for he died at his post; but he held the opening, and by so doing paralyzed six thousand men, who were behind the wall, by eighty. Meanwhile the other troops advanced to the attack, the 22d first, and the guns took position and began to play on the dense masses of the enemy. When they reached the river they crossed its bed, and with a shout ran up the slope, the steepness of which caused the Beloochee shots for the most part to go over their heads. But when they reached the summit, what met their eyes might have appalled the stoutest hearts. "Thick," says Napier, "as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of flowers, stood the Beloochees in their many-colored garments and dresses: they clustered on the bank of the Fulailec, they covered the plains beyond. Guarding their heads with their large dark shields, they shook their sharp swords beaming in the sun; their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as with frantic gestures they, with demoniac strength and ferocity, dashed against the front of the 22d. But with shouts as loud, and shrieks as wild and fierce as theirs, and hearts as big and arms as strong, the Irish soldiers met them with that queen of weapons, the bayonet, and sent their foremost masses rolling back in blood." Meanwhile the native infantry came

successively up and engaged, and the artillery, from the commanding position they had taken, sent a storm of round-shot and canister among the enemy's masses, occasioning a terrible carnage.¹

The Beloochees stood their ground manfully on the top of the bank, and even rushed half-way down at times, to meet and close with their antagonists. But the British and sepoy were not less resolute to force their way upward; and the combat which ensued between their front rank and the "thin red line" of English and their auxiliaries resembled rather the conflicts immortalized in the *Iliad* than those which ensue when the disciplined battalions of Europe meet each other. The boldest on each side here singled out his antagonist; and for three mortal hours these dauntless foes stood as on the deadly breach, the European unable to force on, the Asiatic resolute not to recede. In vain Lloyd's guns, from their position on the right, raked the living mass, and with every discharge cut huge gaps in the stern array; others closed in as their comrades fell, and filled every chasm made by the cannon and the bayonet. So vehement was the resistance, so strong the pressure, that for some time the British front rank was by sheer weight of numbers forced back, and Napier even was doubtful of the result. Pennefather, desperately wounded, fell at the top of the bank; Teesdale gloriously died while riding over the ridge at the head of his men; Jackson, when leading the 12th Native Infantry, was struck down on the slope, not before several of the Beloochees had fallen under his stroke; M'Murdo was down; nearly all the European officers were killed or wounded. The General-in-Chief himself was for some time enveloped by enemies, and extricated himself as if by a miracle. But at this critical moment his experienced eye told him where the decisive blow was to be struck. He sent orders to Colonel Pattle, the second in com-

mand, to charge instantly with the 9th Bengal Cavalry and Scinde Irregular Horse. On went these horsemen at the gallop, right through the jungle which covered the enemy's right. Fifty of the troopers were thrown in leaping the nullahs; but those who kept their seats dashed on, swept through the Beloochee guns on the top of the ridge, fell with irresistible fury on the masses of infantry, and, scattering them, never drew bridle till they had gained and traversed the enemy's camp. Then the front line of the Beloochees on the Fulailec began to shake; the 22d and sepoy raised the shout of victory, and, pressing on, drove them over the ridge, and the battle was gained. Though their whole guns, ammunition-wagons, and baggage fell into the hands of the victors, the infantry retired in good order, leaving their track marked by a long line of killed and wounded, who fell under the deadly volleys of the British.¹

Such was the battle of Meance, one of the most glorious in the British annals, and which at once stamped Napier a great general; for, despite all the valor of his men, the day would have been lost but for his courage and decision. The loss of the Beloochees was estimated at 5000: 1000 dead bodies were gathered in the bed of the Fulailec alone, and the field of battle was strewn with corpses; while the loss of the victors was only 6 officers and 54 privates killed, and 14 officers and 190 privates wounded! It appears almost inconceivable how so desperate a fight could have gone on so long, with so little loss to the victors; but the same thing is frequently to be met with in the annals of antiquity. The Ameers committed a capital mistake, which mainly led to their defeat, in fighting with a narrow front, and their army drawn up in close column behind. Such masses present a mark for cannon and musketry, on which every shot takes effect; while the only part of the array that can make any resistance is the first and second rank, which do not exceed in number those opposed to them. Solid columns are very good to resist cavalry, and, when in motion, they are formidable in a charge; but standing still, and assailed by fire, they are little better than an armed mob, and all the advantages of numbers are thrown away.²

Early on the day following, Napier sent a message into Hyderabad that he would immediately storm the city if it did not surrender. Upon this the Ameers came out to the number of six, and laid their swords at the English General's feet. They were highly ornamented weapons, worth several thousand pounds, and a prize, as his eloquent biographer justly remarks, which any English gentleman might be proud to possess; but in a magnanimous spirit he returned them, saying, "Their misfortunes are of their own creation; but as they were great, I give them back their swords." On the 19th the army took possession of Hyderabad; and the greater part of the Beloochees, ashamed of the surrender, went off and joined Shere Mohammed, who in the north still maintained the standard of independence. The walls of the

¹ Napier's Dispatch, Feb. 18, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 352; Nap. II. 311-319; Nap. Mem. II. 326, 327.

² Napier's Dispatch, Feb. 18, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 353.

city were found to be of great strength, so that Napier had good reason to congratulate himself on his easy conquest. Though the Ameers had

¹ Nap. II. 321-327; Nap. Mem. II. 333-335. surrendered at discretion, their palaces and property were untouched, and the sanctity of the harems was religiously observed.¹

Had the English General possessed double the force which he had at his command, he might, by marching on Shere Mohammed immediately after the battle of Meanee, have perhaps terminated

the war without any further struggle. But the small force at his disposal forbade any such attempt, the more especially as the hot season was approaching. The troops under his command were less than 2000 effective men, and with these he had to guard a large hostile city, and maintain an intrenched camp outside, in presence of 20,000 Beloochees, under Shere Mohammed. In these circumstances, necessity prescribed a cautious policy until the requisite reinforcements for active operations had been obtained. These had been already prepared by Lord Ellenborough, who instantly, on hearing of the battle of Meanee, ordered three regiments of native infantry, 850 irregular horse, and a camel battery, to be marched down from the Sutlej to Scinde; and to these were afterward added Leslie's and Blood's batteries of horse-artillery, and the 3d Bombay Cavalry, under Major Stark. Meanwhile Napier, with not less judgment, strengthened his intrenched camp on the banks of the Indus below Hyderabad, both to cover the navigation up to that place, and to serve as a place of security for his hospitals and stores. Thither, accordingly, they were all conveyed, and placed in safety; while Napier awaited behind his intrenchments the reinforcements dispatched by Lord Ellenborough. As the Beloochee army lay between Napier and the reinforcements coming down the Indus, it was no easy matter to get them in safety to the British camp; but this was at length happily effected; and the succors dispatched by water also arrived in safety. Napier now found himself at the head of 5000 good troops, most of them hardy veterans; and deeming it no longer necessary to delay fighting, he sent the captive Ameers, who were intriguing against him in Hyderabad, on board ship, and marched out to attack Shere Mohammed, who, confident of victory, had come to within five miles of the British camp.²

Meantime the Governor-General was taking the most decisive measures to follow up his aggressive policy toward Scinde, and turn to the best account the glorious victory of his lieutenant. Skillfully availing himself of the enormous error in policy, as well as crime in faith, on the part of the Ameers, in attacking the British Residency the very day after they had signed the treaty, he represented the war as entirely one of aggression on their part, and the punishment which was to follow upon it as the deserved consequence of their perfidy. In announcing Napier's victory by proclamation, dated Agra, March 5, 1843, he formally intimated the annexation of Scinde to the British dominions, with the exception of such portions of it as belonged

to princes who had remained faithful to the British alliance.* Thus did the Ameers of Scinde, who really were combating in a good cause—for it was that of their national independence, violently assailed by the encroachments of the British power—entirely throw away their advantages, and allow that cause to be stigmatized in the eyes of the world as that of perfidy and aggression, by yielding to that propensity to double-dealing and treachery which seems to be an inherent and ineradicable feature in the Asiatic character.

The reinforcements had just completed their arrival at the British camp on the evening of the 28d, and were drawn up in line to be inspected, when heralds from Shere Mohammed made their appearance, nominally with a summons to surrender, really to spy out and report the British forces when all assembled. Napier led them along the whole front, and at midnight dismissed them with the following letter to the Scinde chief: "If the Ameer Shere Mohammed chooses to meet me to-morrow as I march to attack him at the head of my army, and will surrender himself a prisoner, with no other condition than that his life shall be safe, I will receive him. If the Beloochee chiefs choose to accompany him, I will receive them, on condition that they swear obedience to the Governor-General, and then they may return to their villages with their followers, and all their rights and possessions shall be secured to them." Five thousand men, of whom eleven hundred were cavalry, with nineteen guns, of which five were horse-artillery, stood in front of the camp—a splendid body of troops, animated with the best spirit, and containing that intermixture of veteran with new troops which is so effective in war. But it contained only one British regiment, the 22d, already seriously weakened by its glorious victory; and it was not a fourth part of the enemy's force, which was fully twenty thousand strong.¹

In marching out to attack the enemy, letters arrived from the Governor-General, thanking the troops in the warmest terms for their conduct at Meanee. These Sir Charles Napier immediately caused to be read to the troops, who received the communication with a shout which already presaged victory. At the distance of ten miles from the camp the Beloochee army was first discovered,

* "The Ameers having signed the new treaty proposed to them on the 14th February, attacked on the following day, with a large force, the residence of the British Commissioner. In this treacherous attack they were repulsed. On the 17th, Major-General Sir Charles Napier gained a decisive victory over their whole army, and on the 20th the British army occupied Hyderabad. Six of the Ameers delivered their swords to the British General on the field of battle; all their guns, ammunition, and treasure were taken, together with their camp. Thus has victory placed at the disposal of the British Government the country on both banks of the Indus from Sukkur to the sea, with the exception of such portions thereof as may belong to Meer Ali Moorad of Khyrpore, and to any other of the Ameers who may have remained faithful to his engagement.

"The Governor-General can not forgive a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government, nor can he forgive hostile aggression by those who were in the act of signing a treaty. It will be the first object of the Governor-General to use the power victory has

² Nap. II. 343-359; Nap. Mem. II. 341-349. Annexation of Scinde to the British dominions. March 12.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1843, 353; Nap. II. 373-375; Nap. Mem. II. 343-353.

²³ Position of the Ameers.

fully 20,000 strong, with fifteen guns, occupying a strong position, with its right resting on the bed of the Fulailee, at that point forming a large and deep pool impassable for troops; and their whole front covered by a nullah, twenty feet wide and eight deep, but dry, with its front scarped. The left of the position rested on a thick wood, which could scarcely be passed by horsemen; the infantry were drawn up in two lines about two miles long. The right was further strengthened by the village of Dubba, the houses of which were loopholed, and by a nullah at right angles to the former, forty feet wide and seventeen deep, with its sides scarped. The bulk of the enemy's cavalry was massed behind the left, where an attack was chiefly apprehended; but the plain in front swarmed with light-horse and matchlock-men, to impede the British advance. The great bulk of the troops were armed either with a sword and shield or a matchlock; but though the former were very formidable, the latter were no match for the European musket. From this it appears that the Beloochee army was arranged with considerable skill; their chief had taken a good position, and availed himself of every advantage which the ground afforded, and he had avoided the deep formation which had proved so fatal at Meanee.¹

When the British army approached the enemy, they had at first considerable difficulty in discovering where they were, from the thick jungles and deep nullahs on the ground. The troops marched in echelon, the left in front, which brought the leading column first in contact with the right of the enemy. The line was immediately drawn up in the same oblique order, the artillery in the intervals between the regiments. Napier pressed rapidly forward, himself in front of the line, exposed to the artillery and matchlock fire of the enemy, a shot from which grazed his face as he rode forward waving the men on. Dreading a sudden rush from the wood on the enemy's left, he stationed Major Stark, with the Scinde Irregular Horse and the 3d Bombay Cavalry, opposite to it, with orders to charge instantly any body of men which might issue from it, designing, with the 22d Queen's, horse-artillery, and cavalry of the left, to make the real attack on their right. In pursuance of this plan, Leslie's horse-artillery was pushed to the front on the British right, and, rapidly firing as it moved forward, soon turned the enemy's left, led by the brave Lieutenant Smith, who fell while exploring a nullah for his artillery to cross. The fire was already producing unsteadiness in the enemy's right, when the 22d, supported by the Poonah horse under Tait, and the Bengal cavalry, led by the General in person, were upon them. Unable to bear the cross-fire of the advancing British batteries, the Beloochees fell back, but still in good order, and keeping their formation in line so as now to present an

placed in his hands, in the manner most conducive to the freedom of trade and to the prosperity of the people of Scinde, so long misgoverned. To reward the fidelity of allies with signal marks of favor, and to punish the crime of treachery in such a manner as to deter all others from its commission, are further objects which the Governor-General will not fail to effect."—Proclamation, Agra, 5th March, 1843; *Ann. Reg.*, 1843, p. 357.

oblique front to the assailants. The 22d Queen's suffered severely as they neared the line, but the brave men still pressed forward; and the retrograde movement producing disorder in the rear, the whole of the enemy's centre appeared to be giving way.¹

Seeing this, Stark, in command of the horse on the right, judged the opportunity favorable for an attack in flank to complete the defeat of the centre, and he bore down accordingly with his whole force on the retreating columns. The movement was a hazardous one, for it left the British right uncovered, and altered the Commander-in-Chief's entire plan of attack. The charge, however, was a most brilliant one, and attended with the most decisive success; the victorious horse, sweeping every thing before them, pursued the fugitives for several miles, carrying confusion and dismay into the rear of the enemy's centre. Skillfully availing himself of this gallant onset, though he had not ordered it, Napier instantly put himself at the head of the 22d Queen's, and led them to the storm of the first nullah in the centre. The fire of the enemy was heavy, the resistance stout; but at length the scarp was mounted, the summit won—Lieutenant Coote being the first who fell, severely wounded, as he seized a Beloochee standard and waved it in triumph on the edge of the slope. The second nullah still remained, into which the battle rolled with desperate din and effort, the 22d, with the 25th Sepoys, struggling up the bank, the Beloochee swordsmen with desperate resolution defending it. At length it too was stormed, and the enemy forced back into the village of Dubba, which, after a vigorous resistance, was also carried with great slaughter. At this time the second brigade, under Major Woodburn, came up into action; while Henderson's sappers gained a position from which they sent a terrific fire into the retreating masses of the enemy. The battle was gained; and the victory was completed by the Bengal Horse under Major Storey, and the Poonah Irregulars under Captain Tait, which turned the enemy's right flank, and pursued the fugitives across the plain to the distance of several miles from the field of battle.²

Such was the battle of Hyderabad, in which 5000 men defeated 20,000, strongly posted, and directed by remarkable military capacity. The loss of the victors was only 270, of whom no less than 147 belonged to the 22d Queen's—a clear proof upon whom the weight of the contest had fallen, and with whom its principal glory should rest: that of the enemy was computed at 5000. Two thousand archers were on their march to join Shere Mohammed when the action took place, and dispersed when they heard of his defeat. As at Meanee, several personal encounters took place between British officers and Beloochee chiefs: seventeen standards were wrested from the enemy in fair fight, and fifteen guns, being all they had, added to the trophies of the combat.³

The comparatively large force which Napier had at his disposal after this victory enabled him

¹ Napier, ii. 382-385; Nap. Disp., March 24, 1843; *Ann. Reg.* 1843, 354.

² Napier's victory.

³ Napier's Disp., March 24, 1843; *Ann. Reg.* 1843, 354; Nap. ii. 386-390; Napier, Mem. ii. 351, 352.

to render it more decisive than that of Meanee had been. He followed it up with the utmost vigor. Having dispatched the wounded to Hyderabad in his rear, he rapidly advanced, though the heat was so great that the thermometer stood at 110° in the shade; and by the evening of the next day the Poonah Horse were before Meerpoor, the capital of Shere Mohammed, and distant *forty miles* from the field of battle. The chief fled to Omercote, on the borders of the desert, and his capital, strongly fortified, with vast stores of all kinds, fell into the hands of the victors. The indefatigable Scinde horsemen, under Jacob, with the camel battery, continued their pursuit of the Ameer, while Napier took possession of his capital. The rapid rise of the Indus, however, at this period of the year, owing to the melting of the snows in the mountains in which it took its rise, rendered the advance to Omercote very hazardous; and the accounts the General received of the inundations were so alarming, that he sent orders to his advanced guard to halt, and not attempt to reach Omercote. This order reached Captain Whitlie, who commanded the light-horse in front, when he was only twenty miles from the place, and when intelligence had just arrived that it had been abandoned. Uncertain what to do between a positive order on the one hand, and an important advantage almost within his grasp on the other, he dispatched Lieutenant Brown, with a message to Napier, requesting farther instructions. The extraordinary endurance of that officer extricated him from his difficulty. He rode back to Meerpoor, a distance of forty miles, without stopping, and having got his orders, returned on the same horse after an hour's rest, the thermometer standing at 130° in the shade. As he passed the sepoy's coming up in support, but which had all halted, he gave them orders to advance. The whole army moved forward. The Ameer fled with a few horsemen into the desert, and a few rounds of artillery caused the guards who were left to lower their colors, and on the 4th April the British standard waved on the towers of Omercote.^{1*}

27. Capture of Meerpoor and Omercote. March 25.

April 4.

¹ Nap. II. 395-397; Ann. Reg. 1843, 356.

* An incident occurred at this time of the most touching kind, and which the atrocious crimes of the sepoy's in 1857 should not make us forget. It is thus recorded by Napier: "On one of those long marches, which were almost continual, the 25th Sepoy's, being nearly maddened by thirst and heat, saw one of their water-carriers approaching with full skins of water. They rushed toward him in crowds, tearing away the skins, with loud cries of 'Water, water!' At that moment some half dozen straggling soldiers of the 22d came up, apparently exhausted, and asked for some. At once the generous Indians withdrew their own hands from the skins, forgot their own sufferings, and gave the fainting Europeans to drink. Then they all moved on, the sepoy's carrying the 22d's muskets for them, patting them on the shoulders, and encouraging them to hold out. It was in vain: they did so for a short time, but soon fell. It was then discovered that these noble fellows were all wounded, some deeply; but thinking there was to be another fight, they had concealed their hurts, and forced nature to sustain the loss of blood, the pain of wounds, the burning sun, the long marches, and the sandy desert, that their last moments might be given to their country on another field of battle. Their names have been recorded by their grateful General."—NAPIER, II. 398. They shall not be here forgotten: they were, "John Drew, John Maldowney, Robert Young, Henry Sims, Patrick Gill, James Andrews—slightly; Sergeant Honey, Thomas Middleton, James Malony, Silvester Day—severely wounded in the legs; the last a ball in the foot."—NAPIER'S Dispatches.

In his dispatch announcing these successes to the Governor-General, Napier said, 28. "I think I may venture to say that Final defeat Scinde is now subdued. The Scindian population everywhere expresses their satisfaction at the change of masters." Sir Charles Napier was perfectly correct in the latter part of this statement. The joy of the native Scinde peasantry at being liberated from the tyrannical strangers by whom they had so long been oppressed, was universal and loudly expressed. But in indulging the hope that the war was at an end, the British General was premature, and did not sufficiently take into account the indomitable character and energy of the Beloochee horsemen. Before many months had elapsed, Shere Mohammed emerged from the desert at the head of some thousand intrepid followers, and their numbers gradually swelled to ten thousand men. What rendered this apparition the more formidable was, that it occurred at the very height of the hot season, when it was in the highest degree dangerous for all but the natives of the country to attempt to face the heat. Sir Charles Napier divided his army into several columns, in the hope that some of them might meet with the enemy; but for a considerable time he escaped pursuit. But Napier's vigilance and combinations at length proved victorious. Forming a circle of troops—beginning at Sukkur, Omercote, Shah-Ghur, and Dussa—he gradually narrowed it, till at length the intrepid Ameer had no longer the means of escape. After searching in vain for him during several weeks, Captain Roberts, with 1500 men, June 13. approached his camp, and defeated and made prisoner Shere Mohammed's brother, who had collected 2000 men. Soon after, Jacobs, with a similar force, approached the Ameer himself. The latter resolved to strike a last blow for independence, and attacked Jacobs suddenly at daybreak on the following morning; but Jacobs had notice of his approach, and was on his guard. The Beloochee infantry, intimidated by former defeats, dispersed at the first fire; the cavalry made a single charge, and disappeared. The victory was complete, with a loss to the British of only sixty men, most of whom died of sun-stroke, not the sword of the enemy.¹

¹ Nap. II. 421-438; Napier. Mem. II. 388-390; Ann. Reg. 1843, 356.

Lord Ellenborough was highly gratified, as well he might, with these victories, 29. which completed the subjugation of Scinde. Honors and military decorations were showered upon the troops of all grades, from the General downward. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were, after a short delay arising from factious misrepresentation, voted to Sir Charles Napier and the brave troops under his command; and on this occasion the Duke of Wellington spoke in the highest terms of that General's vigor and capacity.* In a proclama-

28th March, 1843; NAPIER, II. 520. What a picture of heroism on both sides! Here is self-denial rivaling that of Alexander on the same deserts two thousand years before, and heroism equal to any recorded of the Spartan youths, occurring in a lonely desert of Scinde, on the part of common sepoy and Irish soldiers!

* He manifested at all times entire discretion and prudence in the formation of his plans, great activity in the preparations which were necessary to insure their

tion which announced the annexation of Scinde, the Governor-General spoke of the exploits of the General and his army in terms which, if they savored a little of the grandiloquent style of Napoleon's bulletins, might well be forgiven, for they recorded deeds of equal lustre.

April 11, 1843. "The army of Scinde," said he, "has

twice beaten the bravest enemy in Asia, under circumstances which would equally have obtained for it the victory over the best troops in Europe. The Governor-General regards with delight the new proofs which the army has given of its prominent qualities in the field, and of its desire to mitigate the necessary calamities of war by mercy to the vanquished. The ordinary expressions of thanks would ill convey the extent of the debt of gratitude which the Governor-General feels to be due to his Excellency Major-General Sir Charles Napier on the part of the Government, the army, and the people of Hindostan. To have punished the treachery of protected princes; to have liberated a nation from its oppressors; to have added a province fertile as Egypt to the British empire; and to have effected these objects by actions in war unsurpassed in brilliancy, whereof a grateful army assigns the success to the ability and valor of its

General, are deeds to which the ordinary language of praise can not convey their deserved reward."

That the conquest and annexation of Scinde was an act of aggression on the part of the British Government is sufficiently proved, and the brilliant success with which it was attended can not throw a gloss over the morality of its political origin.

Whether it was a necessary measure, indispensable to steady the British empire in Northwestern India, after the terrible shock of the Afghanistan disaster, is a different question. One thing, however, is perfectly clear, that never was conquest attended by greater advantages to the people of the conquered territory, or the fault of the conquerors redeemed by more beneficent acts. The very first act of the Governor-General, in the exercise of supreme power, was

to issue a proclamation from Agra, March 12, ordering the immediate abolition of

slavery and the slave-trade in every part of the newly-occupied dominions, abolishing duties of every sort on the navigation of every part of the Indus, and declaring it free to the vessels of all nations. Sir Charles Napier, in his civil administration, in a liberal and worthy spirit carried out these beneficent intentions, of the Supreme Government. After the battle of

success, and, finally, great zeal and gallantry and science in carrying his plans into execution. His march upon Emaun-Ghur was one of the most curious military feats which he had ever known to be performed, or had ever perused an account of, in the course of his life. After retiring from this successful operation, he collected all his troops, and made those preparations for future defense which were necessary to the completion of his success. He made the most of this extraordinary attack, which was completely successful. He gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a new position where he was not liable to be attacked. He manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations; and these gallant and successful efforts led to a second victory, in which the General showed all the qualities of an excellent general officer, and in which the army displayed all the best qualities of the bravest troops."—DUKE OF WELLINGTON, Feb. 12, 1844; *Parl. Deb.*

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Hyderabad, he received the swords of sixty Ameer, worth from one hundred to two hundred guineas each, and immediately returned them to the conquered. He enjoined, in the civil administration of the province, as little deviation as possible from the laws and customs of the country.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1842, 358; Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation, March 12, 1843.

The annalist of the Scinde war has thus summed up the effects of Sir Charles

Napier's administration of the conquered territories; and after making every allowance for exaggeration, his

observations in this instance seem to be arrayed, not in the colors of fiction, but in the sober tints of historic truth: "He raised up the sinking Scindian laborer, and abated the pride and violence of the fierce Beloochee by the force of order and wholesome control; he protected trade and commerce, and handicraftsmen have been encouraged to return to the country. The great natural resources of Scinde have been explored in part, and measures taken to profit by them. Public works, some of them very expensive and costly, have been commenced and carried on—some from his own designs, some from Lord Ellenborough's. Among them is the reopening the great branch of the Indus to restore the fertility of Cutch, and a gigantic pier at Kurra- chee, which, besides its land construction, runs two miles into the water, forming a secure harbor. Large and healthful stone barracks for the troops have been erected, the police amount to more than two thousand zealous and courageous men, and a battalion of native troops has been raised and disciplined. Were it not for the disturbed state of the Punjaub, the generals could undertake to hold Scinde without a sepoy or European soldier. A camel force of the most efficient kind has been organized under Fitzgerald, who has made marches of eighty miles at once, and thus surprised robber-bands from the hills. Finally, though the revenue is drawn from territory less by Ali Moorad's share than the Ameer possessed, the British revenue, under the rigid and economical system established by Sir Charles Napier, exceeds the whole amount received by the Talpoor rulers. Every part of the civil and political administration is paid from the receipts; the police corps is entirely paid from it; and £90,000 of overplus was, in 1844, paid over to the Calcutta treasury, which, with the prize-money, makes £500,000 in a single year. The Scindian laborer cultivates in security his land; the handicraftsman, no longer dreading mutilation of his nose or ears for demanding remuneration for his work, is returning from the countries to which he had fled, allured back by good wages and employment. Young girls are no longer torn from their families to fill the zenanas of the great, or sold into distant slavery. The Hindoo merchant and Parsee trafficker pursue their vocation with safety and confidence; and even the proud Beloochee warrior, not incapable of noble sentiments, though harsh and savage, remains content with a Government which has not meddled with his right of subsistence, but only changed his feudal ties into a peaceful instead of a warlike dependence. He has, moreover, become personally attached to a conqueror whose prowess he has felt in battle, and whose justice and generosity he has ex-

^{81.} Napier's civil administration.

perienced in peace." To this it may be added, that the inhabitants of Scinde gave the most convincing proof of the reality of these advantages, and their appreciation of them, by steadily adhering to the British Government during the terrible revolt of 1857, when so many of the other states of Hindostan, which had tasted most largely of the benefits of British rule, treacherously turned their arms against us.

The terrible disaster in Afghanistan, which had in a manner rendered unavoidable the Scinde war in order to escape the appearance of a general retreat, was felt not less strongly in the PUNJAB and GWALIOR states. The former of these, which had been moulded into a powerful monarchy by the vigor and capacity of Runjeet Singh, possessed, at the death of that prince, a regular well-disciplined army of seventy-three thousand men. The disposition of this formidable force was well known to be decidedly hostile to the British Government; and although the vigor of Runjeet Singh had retained them in subjection, and his sagacity had led him to adhere to the British alliance as long as he lived, yet on his death in 1839 this auspicious state of things came to a termination, and it soon became more than doubtful whether the army would not force the nominal Government into a war with Great Britain. To the instability and changes which almost invariably in Asia succeed the death of a powerful monarch, had been superadded in the kingdom of Lahore a variety of catastrophes, which had completely disorganized the frame of government, and left the sovereignty a prey to the most daring of the royal blood, the most strongly supported among the unruly soldiery. Kurruck Singh, the heir of Runjeet Singh, died at Lahore Nov. 5, 1840, on the 5th November, 1840, not without suspicion of having had his days shortened by poison. His son Nou-Schal-Schal Singh, the next heir to the throne, was killed a few days after by an accident. Upon this Shere Singh, whose legitimacy was more than suspected, succeeded; but he was a weak young man, enervated by the pleasures of the seraglio, and fell entirely under the government of Dhyen Singh, his prime minister, who possessed vast estates and great influence in the portion of the Punjab adjoining the mountains of Lower Thibet, where he ruled with a high reputation for mildness and justice.²

It soon appeared, however, that this character was but the veil assumed to conceal the most ambitious and flagitious desigus. A conspiracy was formed between Dhyen Singh and Ajeet Singh, his general, to murder their sovereign and share his power, and it fell to the lot of the latter to carry the design into execution. It was consummated on the 14th September, 1843, by the murder of the Maharajah, who was shot by Ajeet Singh when inspecting his troops. Soon after he met Purtab Singh, the eldest son and heir of Shere Singh, whom he also murdered, and sent his head to his brother, Sordut Singh, and his son Heera Singh. They, however, were not so easily disposed of. Collecting a body of troops which remained faithful,

they surrounded the capital, forced their way into the citadel, seized Ajeet Singh and his fellow-conspirators, cut off their heads, which they exposed on the gates of the fort, and proclaimed Dhulup Singh, the only surviving son of Runjeet Singh, Maharajah. The new sovereign was a boy ten years of age, so that the whole authority and power was centred in his prime minister, Heera Singh. His inclination to reopen good terms with the British Government was doubtful, and at any rate the hostility of the Sikh army, the real rulers of the State, was well known. During these repeated changes of the Government, the discipline of the powerful force which Runjeet Singh had reared up with such care had been entirely lost. The soldiers no longer obeyed their officers, the officers were at variance with their generals; the disorganization of the army was complete, and those formidable battalions had turned into armed bands, which lived at free quarters upon the unhappy villagers, whom they plundered in every direction without mercy.¹

This calamitous state of things rendered it more than probable that the British Government at no distant period would, as a matter of necessity, and in self-defence, be involved in a formidable war with the Punjab. In contemplation of such an event, it was of the utmost importance to secure the rear of the position which would require to be taken by the British, and to keep open their communications with Delhi, Agra, and Calcutta, where their arsenals were, and their base of operations would necessarily be placed. To effect this object, it was necessary to make sure of GWALIOR, a powerful Mahratta state in Central India, enjoying the advantages of a well-disciplined army, and a capital which, perched on inaccessible rocks, seemed to defy assault. The position of this state rendered it of the utmost moment in any contest which might ensue between the British and the Sikhs, for it lay directly on the flank of the former's line of communication with Allahabad, Benares, and Calcutta; and any well-organized force descending from Central India by Calpee might make itself master of Cawnpore on the great trunk-road, and thus endanger, if not ruin, every military operation which might be going on in the Punjab or Northwestern India. This importance was clearly perceived by Lord Ellenborough, who, in contemplation of a contest at no distant period with the Sikhs, deemed it indispensable to secure in the outset the communications of the army on the side of Gwalior.

The state of things at this period in Gwalior was such as amply to vindicate the serious attention which at this period was bestowed on it by the Governor-General. Dowlat Rao Scindia, with whom treaties had been concluded by the British Government and the Marquis of Hastings in 1804 and 1817, died in 1827, leaving no legitimate son. His widow, after vainly endeavoring to place a relative of her own on the throne, adopted a relation of her deceased husband, a boy still in pupilarity according to the laws of India, which, like the Roman, permit such a mode of renovating a

¹ Nap. II. 415-417.

³² Distracted state of the Punjab after Runjeet Singh's death.

^{Nov. 5, 1840.}

^{Nov. 9.}

² Ann. Reg. 1841, 276; and for 1843, 350; Osborne's Court of Runjeet Singh, 174.

³³ Murder of the Maharajah and his sons. September 14.

³⁵ Distracted and dangerous condition of that State.

² Anta, c. xxxix. § 46; History of Europe, c. xlix. § 94.

worn-out race; and he was solemnly recognized as sovereign by the chiefs of the country. During his minority the office of regent was bestowed on Mama Sahib, whose authority was approved and recognized by the British Government. Upon the young Maharajah, however, coming of age, which he did, by the Indian law, at seventeen, he aspired to the entire sovereignty, to which, after a struggle, he succeeded, the regent retiring to Agra. The settlements and provisions to be made on the widow were hard-

Feb. 7. ly arranged, when the young sovereign died, on the 7th February, 1843, childless, and without having made any provision for the succession to the throne. His widow, who was only thirteen years of age, upon this assumed, as his heir, Bhaqurut Rao, a boy of eight, reputed to be the nearest male relative of the deceased Maharajah, who was forthwith placed on the throne, the maternal uncle of the late sovereign, Mama Sahib, being at the same time installed in the office of regent, with the entire concurrence of the British Government. The regent, however, proved distasteful to the Gwalior chiefs, and he was soon virtually dispossessed of power by the malcontents, who acquired a predominant influence over the mind both of the young royal widow and the still younger boy-sovereign. The Dada Kergu-walla acquired the ascendancy over both, and his feelings appeared from various acts

to be so hostile to the British Government, that the Resident was instructed to require the surrender of the person of the Dada to the British, and with this demand the Maharanee at length complied.¹

But this compliance was far from meeting the whole views of the Council of Calcutta. What they desired was not merely a nominal and forced compliance with a particular requisition on the part of the regent or his minister, but the establishment of a really friendly government in Gwalior, which might render its military force and important position a source of strength rather than weakness in the evidently approaching contest with the Sikhs. Matters were ere long brought to a crisis by the proceedings of the chiefs hostile to the British alliance in Gwalior itself. The regent, Mama Sahib, who enjoyed the confidence and was supported by the power of the British Government, was summarily dismissed by the opposite party; and although the Governor-General at first positively refused to allow any military aid to be sent from the British stations in the neighborhood to restore the regent to power, yet it soon became evident that the state of things in Gwalior could not, with any regard to the interests of Great Britain or of the adjoining states, be allowed to continue. The army, taking advantage of the divisions among the nobles and weakness of the Government, abandoned themselves to habits of insubordination and plunder, not only within their own territory, but along the British frontier, which, from Cawnpore to Agra, was kept in a continual state of alarm. The real power resided with the army, which was forty thousand strong; and in consequence of this state of anarchy the revenues of the state had declined from ninety-five lacs of rupees a year to sixty-five lacs. In these circumstances,

Lord Ellenborough conceived that it was necessary, as the ally of Scindia, to interpose, and recover the country from the state of anarchy and ruin into which it had fallen; and he was not sorry of a pretext for invading Gwalior, and establishing a friendly government on the throne. A proclamation accordingly was issued, stating that the British armies were about to enter the state of Gwalior, not as enemies but as friends, to support the infant sovereign against his rebellious subjects; and on the 25th December the frontier was crossed, and the army advanced to Hingona, within twenty miles of Gwalior.^{1*}

¹ Proclamations of Gov.-Gen., Dec. 20, 25, 27, 1843; Ann. Reg. 1843, 362-363; Thornton, vi. 475-479; Further Papers as to Gwalior, No. 106, p. 86.

As the Gwalior troops were numerous and well disciplined, this war was not undertaken without preparation for a serious contest. A large force had for some months before been assembled at Agra, which advanced direct on Gwalior, under the command of Sir Hugh Gough, who had succeeded Sir Jasper Nicolls as Commander-in-Chief in India. This army consisted of 14,000 men, with 40 pieces of artillery, and was accompanied by the Governor-General in person. Another force of 2000 men at the same time entered the Gwalior territory from the side of Bundelcund, under Major-General Grey. The Mahratta troops opposed to them were much more numerous—those against which Gough advanced were 18,000 strong, including 8000 horse, with 100 guns. Opposed to Grey was a force of 10,000 men; but the best part of the troops were in the main army, which covered Gwalior.²

² Invasion of Gwalior. Dec. 26.

³ Thornton, vi. 505-508; Ann. Reg. 1843, 366.

The country which lay between the Mahratta position and the British army was one of extreme difficulty, being repeatedly intersected by deep ravines, which were only rendered practicable for artillery by the unremitting labors of the sappers under Major Smith. In addition to this, the Roharee River had to be crossed, which was done in three divisions at daybreak on the morning of the 29th. Gough expected to have found the enemy at Chonda, where they had been on the preceding evening; but they had altered their position, and taken post in front of Maha-

³ Battle of Mahajpore.

Dec. 29.

* Lord Ellenborough's real motives for this war were thus stated in a minute to the Court of Directors: "Were we to recede from our present high position of a paramount authority in India, we should not only endanger our own existence, but bring upon all the states now dependent upon us the most afflicting calamities; the withdrawal of our restraining hand would let loose all the elements of confusion. Redress for the daily-occurring grievances of the several states against each other would again be sought, not from the superintending justice of the British Government, but from the armed reprisals of the injured; and bad ambition, availing itself of the love of plunder and of war which pervades so large a portion of the population of India, would again expose to devastation countries which, under our protection, have enjoyed many of the advantages of peace. To maintain, therefore, unimpaired the position we now hold, is a duty, not to ourselves alone, but to humanity. The adoption of new views of policy, weakness under the name of moderation, and pusillanimity under that of forbearance, would not avert from our own subjects and from our own territories the evils we let loose upon India; and the only result of false measures would be to remove the scene of a contest altogether inevitable from Gwalior to Allahabad, there to be carried on with determined force, a disheartened army, and a disaffected people."—GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S Minutes, Nov. 1843; THORNTON, vi. 481.

rajpore during the night, and were already strongly intrenched in their new ground. An alteration of the plan of attack, therefore, became necessary to meet the new position of the enemy, and the disposition finally adopted was as follows: General Littler's column, which was directly opposite to Maharajpore, was ordered to attack it in front, while General Vaillant's brigade took it in flank and rear; and General Dennis's column was in the rear, ready to support either attack which might seem to require it. The centre, under Littler, advanced in echelon, the 39th Queen's leading, followed by the 56th Native Infantry. The troops advanced with their wonted intrepidity, and by a sudden dash got possession of the enemy's guns in front of the village. The Mahrattas, however, resisted bravely, and the artillerymen were bayoneted at their guns; and the infantry being driven into the village, a most sanguinary conflict ensued in the streets. Meanwhile Vaillant's column assaulted the village in rear, and after a desperate resistance forced their way in. Eight-and-twenty guns were the trophies of this hard-fought contest, which put the British in possession of the key of the enemy's position, and compelled him to continue the contest on different and less advantageous ground.

While this conflict was going on in the centre, 39. Brigadier Scott, on the extreme British left, was engaged with a body of the enemy's horse, and by a brilliant charge of the 10th Light-horse, supported by Captain Grant's horse-artillery, several guns were taken, and two standards captured. By this success the extreme right of the enemy was uncovered and threatened; and this, coupled with the advantage gained in the centre, induced the Commander-in-Chief to order a general advance upon the position the enemy had fallen back to. Here, however, a desperate resistance awaited them. General Vaillant, who, with the 40th Queen's, headed the advance against the enemy's right flank, had to storm successively three strong positions, in each of which the enemy made a stand, and which they defended with determined resolution. In these attacks Major Stopford and Captain Coddington fell severely wounded at the very muzzles of the enemy's guns, which their heroic followers captured, with four regimental standards. The 40th was supported by the 2d Native Infantry Grenadiers under Colonel Hamilton, and the 10th under Colonel M'Laren, who captured two more regimental standards. Meanwhile Littler, with the centre, after his success at Maharajpore, attacked the main position at Chonda in front, while Grant's horse-artillery and the 1st Light Cavalry supported him. The fire from the enemy's batteries was very severe when they approached the position, and numbers fell at every step; but nothing could withstand the rush of the 39th Queen's under Major Bráý, supported by the 56th under Major Dick, who carried the lines, and took two more standards. A last stand was made by the enemy in a small intrenchment, mounted by four guns,

¹ Gough's Dispatch, Jan. 4, 1844; Ann. Reg. 1843, 366; Thornton, vi. 511, 512.

but it was at length stormed by the grenadiers of the 39th under Captain Campbell,¹ supported by a wing of the 56th Native Infantry under Major Phillips; and the enemy were driven from all their intrenchments

in utter confusion, with the loss of nine standards and sixty-four guns.

The victory was complete, but it had been achieved with heavy loss. Seven officers were killed on the field of battle, 40. or subsequently died of their wounds; Loss on both sides and the total loss was 106 killed, 684 wounded, and 7 missing—in all, 797; a loss so heavy and unusual in Indian warfare that it induced the Commander-in-Chief to say, in his official dispatch, "I regret to say that our loss has been very severe, infinitely beyond what I calculated upon. Indeed, I did not do justice to the gallantry of my opponents." The loss of the Mahrattas was not exactly known, but it was estimated at 3000 men. This battle was attended by one circumstance unprecedented 1 Sir Hugh in Indian warfare, that the Govern- Gough's or-General was present on the field, Dispatch, Jan. 11, 1844; and actually under fire with his An. Reg. 1843, suite during part of the engagement. 367; Thornton, vi. 512.

On the same day on which this decisive victory was gained, another defeat was 41. inflicted on the Mahrattas by the Gen. Grey's force under the command of Major- victory. General Grey. This gallant officer Dec. 28, 1843. had under his command only 2000 men, and he was opposed by no less than 12,000 of the enemy, who occupied a strong position on a line of rugged heights, running from the fortified village of Mangore, about twelve miles from Gwalior. The attack was made in echelon, headed by the Buffs, supported by a company of sappers, intended to clear the obstacles with which the ground was encumbered; and such was the vigor of this assault, which was directed against the enemy's centre, that it was at once carried, with the loss of seven guns. Meanwhile, a wing of the 39th Native Infantry, under Brigadier Yates, got possession of a hill commanding the enemy's left, from whence he opened a heavy fire on the troops in that quarter, who soon began to shake, and were driven from their ground, with the loss of two guns. The victory was completed by a splendid charge of the 56th Queen's, headed by Brigadier Anderson, who was wounded, in the course of which the whole remainder of the enemy's artillery was taken. The loss of the victors was very heavy, being 215 men out of 2000, or above a tenth of their number, a proportion nearly double of that sustained by Gough in the great battle on the same day, and nearly equal to Napier's at Meanee.²

These repeated victories convinced the advisers of the Gwalior Maharanee that it 42. was no longer possible to maintain Treaty with the contest, and that their only re- the Gwalior source was in submission. They Government solicited, accordingly, and obtained, Jan. 18, 1844. an audience of the Governor-General, at which a preliminary armistice was agreed to, and it was arranged that the British army should, on January 2, advance to and occupy Gwalior. They did so, accordingly, and a treaty of peace was soon concluded, satisfactory to both parties. The British had no cessions of territory to exact, or rigorous terms to enforce; the establishment of a friendly government, so as to secure the rear of the force which might soon become opposed to the Sikhs, was the real object, and

this was attained by a change in the form of government, and disbanding of the army. The supreme authority was committed to a council composed of persons in the British interest, the president of which was the channel of communication with the British Resident. The disbanding of the army was a much more serious matter, and promised fresh difficulties; nevertheless, it was effected without resistance, and finished by the 17th January. Part of the men were enlisted in the new contingent, the remainder received a gratuity of three months' pay, and went to seek their fortune elsewhere. Most of them repaired to the Sikhs, who, it was well known, were preparing to hoist the standard of hostility. The new contingent was fixed at seven regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, to be maintained by the Gwalior Government; and it was provided that the other forces maintained by them should not exceed 9000 men, of whom only 8000 were to be infantry, with 82 guns. The minority of the reigning prince was declared to terminate when he attained the age of eighteen, and, "in the mean time, the administrators of the Government were to act upon the British Resident's advice, not only generally, or on important points, but in all matters wherein such advice shall be offered." The military force thus authorized to be kept on foot was admirably organized and disciplined, and proved not the least formidable enemy with whom the British had to deal during the terrible rebellion of 1857. The establishment of peace was notified by the Governor-General, five days after it was signed, by a proclamation, in January 18. which he somewhat injudiciously boasted of his successes, and spoke of the Gwalior army as a conquered enemy; not the most likely way to secure it as an ally in the field.¹

The brilliant victories which have now been detailed in Afghanistan, Scinde, and Gwalior, had not only effaced the stains of the preceding disasters in Cabul, but they had restored the prestige of the British arms in the East, and placed their empire in Hindostan on a securer basis than it had ever yet attained. The extraordinary circumstance of two great wars being brought to a glorious termination at the same time, and an unheard-of disaster being succeeded by a transcendent triumph, was enough to have fixed the attention of any people less prone than the Orientals to the influence of imagination, and less willing to yield to the supposed decree of destiny. But when these successes were followed by the conquest of Scinde and subjugation of Gwalior in the course of one year, the ancient supremacy of opinion in favor of Britain was at once re-established throughout the East. These were in themselves inappreciable advantages; but they became doubly so when the position of the British in India at that time was considered, and the formidable position of the Mahratta states on the flank of the British line of communication was taken into view. It was known to all that a serious war was impending with the Sikhs, who would call to their standard all the bold and desperate characters in the north of Hindostan; and he is a bold man who ventures to affirm that the issue of such a war could be contemplated without apprehension, if, when the main strength of Britain was

combating on the Sutlej, their left flank had been threatened by the Scinde horse, and their communications cut off by the battalions of Gwalior.

Conceding to the generals, officers, and soldiers employed in these brilliant operations all the glory and credit justly due to them for their heroic efforts, it is evident that a large part of the praise must be awarded to the Governor-General. To him it belonged to form great designs, and supply to his lieutenants the means of performing them; to them the duty of carrying them into execution. Neither the Scinde nor the Gwalior wars found Lord Ellenborough unprepared. Foreseen and calculated upon, every thing had been provided for carrying them on, and thus, from the very outset, success, great and decisive, attended the British arms. The means of transport had been collected, and reserves of troops were in readiness to support those first brought into action long before hostilities were commenced. Thus that dismal period of disaster, which in British wars generally intervenes between first hostilities and ultimate victory, was avoided. The wars in which he engaged, though of aggression in appearance, were in reality in self-defense; they were unavoidable, to obviate the consequences of the Cabul disaster; they only anticipated the blow in preparation by his enemies. His administration, though one of the shortest, was one of the most glorious in the annals of the British empire in the East. He found it shaking under the effects of an unparalleled disaster; he rendered it in less than two years victorious in every quarter, and resplendent with glory. It might naturally be supposed that such a career of success would have secured for the Governor-General a long tenure of office, and the warm gratitude of Government and the country. It was quite the reverse; it procured for him nothing but distrust and envy; and on the 26th April it was announced by Sir R. Peel, in answer to a question by Mr. (afterward Lord) Macaulay, that the East India Directors had recalled Lord Ellenborough.¹

"Nec minus periculi," says Tacitus, "ex magna fama quam ex mala"—"Nor is there less danger from great fame than bad." When interrogated by Lord Colchester, in the House of Peers, whether the recall of Lord Ellenborough met with the sanction and approbation of the Government, Lord Ripon answered that it had not. It was, however, strictly within the legal and constitutional powers of the Company; for, by a strange anomaly, they had, while liable to be controlled in so many other respects, full power to recall the Governor-General whenever they thought proper. The motives which led to this strong step on the part of the Directors may be easily divined from the tenor of Lord Ellenborough's administration, and the collision which has more than once occurred between their prudential views and the bold policy dictated by necessity to their servants abroad. The East India Company had taken fright at the military propensities of the Governor-General; he himself confessed them at a public dinner in Calcutta, with more truth and candor than prudence or self-regard.* He had left

44. Credit due to Lord Ellenborough himself.

48. Real causes of the recall.

* "The only regret I feel on leaving India is that of being separated from the army. The most agreeable,

42. Brilliant results of Lord Ellenborough's administration.

¹ Treaty, January 13, 1844; Thornton, vi. 532-535.

April 26.

¹ Ann. Reg.

1844, 280;

Parl. Deb.

April 26, 1844.

Calcutta, and made a long sojourn in the North-west Provinces, near the seat of war; he had himself been with the army, and under fire in the last action near Gwalior. Worse than all, he had in many places displaced the political agents, and conferred supreme civil authority in disturbed districts on the military commanders—a course recommended by its obvious necessity, but so hostile to the interests of a large and influential class of civil persons around the seat of government, that it scarce ever fails to prove fatal to those who adventure upon it. Weighty, however, as these considerations were, they were yet surpassed by the terrors inspired by the military propensities of the Governor-General, and the preparations he was making to meet the war with the Sikhs, which every sensible person in India saw could not much longer be averted. If it be true, as is commonly said, that the alarm excited in the minds of the Directors by the wars of Scinde and Gwalior was brought to a climax, and made the ground of dismissal, by the purchase in Australia of thirteen hundred draught-horses soon after the termination of the Gwalior contest, it affords an additional confirmation of the old remark, that so entirely are the great majority of men governed by present events, that, though timeous preparations for future danger have often proved the salvation of empires, they have seldom failed to ruin those who, in the first instance, engaged in them. For those wars it was which cleared the flank and rear of the British army, which so soon was engaged in a strife for life or death on the banks of the Sutlej, and those horses which dragged up the heavy guns

that broke down the intrenchments of Sobraon, and saved the British empire in the East.¹

Upon the dismissal of Lord Ellenborough, Sir R. Peel suggested Sir Henry Hardinge to the Court of Directors as his successor, and the appointment was cordially and unanimously acquiesced in by the latter body.

Many motives concurred to produce this unanimity on the part of the two powers, so often rival, in whom was jointly vested the government of India. In addition to the high character for prudence and wisdom which his career in troubled times as Secretary to the Government in Ireland had acquired for him, his great reputation and glorious career as a soldier seemed to recommend him in a peculiar manner to a government desirous, above all things, of cultivating a pacific policy. Satiated with glory in the field of European fame, he had no need

to go to the East in search of fresh laurels; and the man who had stood beside the dying Moore at Corunna,²

who had turned disaster into victory at Albuera,³ and lost an arm beside Blücher

at Ligny, was not likely to be seduced

by the phantom of Oriental glory into scenes of doubtful expedience or hazardous result. It can not be denied that these views were in themselves plausible; yet how widely different did they prove from the real events which were approaching, and how completely has the

result proved the wisdom of the precautionary measures which occasioned Lord Ellenborough's recall! Within a year and a half after Sir Henry Hardinge's landing in India, he was involved, despite the utmost efforts to avoid it, in a desperate contest with the Sikhs, against whom his predecessor's preparations had been directed.

The able address delivered by the Chairman of the East India Company to Sir Henry Hardinge, previous to his departure for Hindostan, contains at once a luminous exposition of the views at that period entertained by the Government for the direction of Indian affairs, and throws light on the causes which had led to his predecessor's recall.* Existing discontents were alluded to in the sepoy army; but the magnitude of the danger thence arising was as little anticipated as were the terrible fields of Ferozeshah or Chillianwallah. Yet was the symptom to which the Directors alluded on this occasion of so serious a kind as to awaken the utmost solicitude, and such as might well have aroused the attention of Government to the impending danger. In March, 1844, several regiments of the Bengal army, under orders for Scinde, gave unequivocal symptoms of a disposition to mutiny, from an idea that it was a foreign service, not within the limits of their engagement, which was to serve in any part of India. Ultimately, however, they were all persuaded to withdraw their opposition, and march for Scinde across the Sutlej, except the 34th Native Infantry, which persisted in resistance, and was publicly broken and disbanded in consequence at Meerut in presence of the whole troops at the station. The Government at Calcutta made as light as they could

* "You will not fail to recollect that the members of the civil service are educated, not only with particular care, but with a special view to the important duties of civil administration, upon the upright and intelligent performance of which so much of the happiness of the people depends. I doubt not that your experience will coincide with that of the great men who in former times have filled the office of Governor-General, in enabling you to appreciate justly the *eminent qualities of the civil servants of India*; and I feel persuaded that your confidence in them will be returned by the most zealous exertions on their part to promote the success of your administration.

"At the present moment, difficulties have arisen in our native army requiring to be met by prompt and decisive measures. We trust that when you arrive in India you may find that the difficulties have passed away; but should you find them still existing, we trust that you will act toward the *sepoy* with every degree of consideration and indulgence compatible with the maintenance of order and obedience, the first and paramount duty of a soldier.

"By our latest intelligence we are induced to hope that peace prevails throughout India. I need not say that it is our anxious wish that it should be preserved. You, Sir, well know what are the evils of war; and we feel confident that, while ever ready to maintain unimpaired the honor of our country and the supremacy of our arms, your policy will be essentially pacific. Peace, apart from its other advantages, is desirable, with a view to the prosperity of our finances, and the development of the internal resources of the country. From a natural desire on the part of our Government to render the public service as efficient as possible, there is always a tendency to an increase of establishments. A steady and vigilant attention will be, therefore, necessary to enforce the strictest economy consistent with the efficiency of the service. This duty is rendered the more urgent by the existing state of the finances of India; but it is at all times necessary, from the difficulty experienced in that country in devising new sources of revenue, or rendering those already existing more productive and more commensurate with the exigencies of the State. I feel as-

the most interesting period of my life, has been that which I have passed here in cantonments and camps."—
LORD ELLENBOROUGH'S words at a farewell dinner at Calcutta: *Ann. Reg.*, 1844, p. 282.

of it, and passed the mutiny over with as little severe punishment as possible; but Sir Charles

¹ Nap. Mem. Napier was fully alive to its importance, and transmitted the most energetic representations on the subject.¹

^{48.} Sir Henry Hardinge had been offered the command of the Indian army immediately after the disasters in Afghanistan; but he had generously declined to come between the Indian officers and the glory which

he felt assured they would regain for their country and themselves. Now, however, that this was done, and victory again chained by their efforts to the British standard, he did not hesitate to accept the office of Governor-General, and set out for Calcutta, resolved to carry out to the very letter the pacific and economical ideas of the East India Directors. When he arrived there, in September, 1844, he found the whole of the Indian peninsula in a state of profound tranquillity, disturbed only by some insurrections of the robber chieftains on the frontier of the desert in Scinde, which were, after some resistance, suppressed by the prudent foresight of Napier, and Bija, the chieftain who had been most instrumental in promoting the disturbance, was taken.

In this mountain warfare the deeds of March 17, 1845, heroism performed by the British soldiery, both European and native, never

were surpassed.* Sir Henry went out, not only with public recommendations to a pacific policy, but with the most stringent private instructions to the same effect. With the Sikhs in particular he was specially enjoined to remain to the last extremity on pacific terms. Not only any hostile act toward that warlike and powerful nation, but any act which could, however remotely,

² Napier's Mem. be construed into an intention of a warlike character, was to be sedulously avoided. Upon the strict and literal conformity with these instructions, he was given unequivocally to understand his term of office would entirely depend.²

^{49.} One of the first duties, and certainly not the least important, which awaited the new Governor-General on his arrival in India, was the laying out and formation of RAILWAYS. Momentous in all countries, this matter was an affair of vital importance in Hindostan. Not gifted by Nature with the net-work of navigable rivers which, in the basin of the Mississippi, has brought the means

secured, therefore, that your early and anxious attention will be turned to the best means of averting financial embarrassments, and for placing the public finances upon a sound and satisfactory footing."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1844, p. 283-285.

* "At once Beatson and his stern veterans climbed the rock which was crowned by the enemy. As they leaped, ten in number, on the platform, the enemy, eighty strong, fell upon them sword in hand, and the fight was desperate. Seventeen hill-men were slain, six of the soldiers; and the rest, wounded and overborne, were dashed over the edge and rolled down! Such are British soldiers! where mortal man can stand in fight, they will. Every man of them had a medal, two of them had three on their breasts. They died gloriously, but uselessly, on that sad cliff in the Cutchee Hills; never was the Douranee so honored. Their enemies did them due honor; they honored them with a red string on both wrists, their most distinguished mark of honor."—*NAPIER'S MEM.*, iii, 272.

of water-carriage so near every man's door, the plains of Bengal were yet as well qualified by climate, soil, and the means of irrigation, as the fields of Louisiana for the raising of cotton. But to render them profitable, and open up to their inhabitants the English market for that species of produce, a vast internal system of communication was indispensable. Once established, however, and in full operation, such a system would at once double the productive resources of India, and halve the expense of guarding it from the numerous enemies by whom it was surrounded; for *distance* is the bane of the British empire in the East. Troops require to be moved for distances often of a thousand and fifteen hundred miles. From Calcutta to Delhi is 1173 miles; from thence to Peshawur, at the mouth of the Khyber, 580 miles. Hence it is that, though wielding the resources of an empire immeasurably more powerful than any of the native states, the British Government has been invariably and seriously outnumbered, by comparatively inconsiderable opponents, at the commencement of every war. Impressed with these ideas, the East India Directors, in May,

1845, addressed an enlightened and well-informed letter to the Governor-General, May 7, 1845.

earnestly recommending the formation of a system of railway communication in India. Sir Henry Hardinge cordially entered into their views, and he was actively engaged in devising means to carry them out, and at the same time improve the system of native education in India, when the trumpet of war sounded in the North, and he was called from his peaceful labors to a conflict more terrible than the strife of Ligny or the death-struggle of Albuera.^{1*}

The SIKHS, by far the bravest and most powerful nation which at this time existed in an independent state in India, owe their origin, like most other Oriental states, to a religious belief. The word "Sikh" signifies "Disciple," and the founder of their faith was a Hindoo named *Nanak*, who was born in the village of Talwundi, in the province of Lahore, in 1469. He was destined by his father to commerce, but an irresistible impulse prompted him to theological pursuits, and he soon became alike dissatisfied with the Hindoo, the Mo-

* In this letter, which was a very luminous and able one, the East India Directors observe: "According to the experience of Great Britain, by far the largest returns from railways are procured from passengers, the least from the traffic of goods. The condition of India is in this respect directly the reverse of that of England. Instead of a dense and wealthy population, the people of India are poor, and in many parts thinly scattered over extensive tracts of country. But, on the other hand, India is rich in valuable products of nature, which are in a great measure deprived of a profitable market by the want of cheap and expeditious means of transport."—EAST INDIA DIRECTORS TO GOVERNOR-GENERAL, May 7, 1845; *Ann. Reg.*, 1845, p. 829.

The East India Directors were by no means so well aware then as all the world now is of another effect of railway communication, if established on even a few great lines in Hindostan, in facilitating the movement of troops, and thereby at once enlarging the means of defense and diminishing the standing force which must be kept on foot to secure it. This is the great lesson which the Crimean war has taught to Russia, and the wars in the Punjab and Indian revolt to England. Had the Russians possessed a railroad from Moscow to Odessa, Sebastopol would never have been taken: had India enjoyed one from Calcutta to Delhi, the revolt of 1857 would have been suppressed at its first outbreak.

hammedan, and the Bhuddhist worship. The code of this extraordinary man, both in religion and morality, was very remarkable. He taught the unity of God, the equality of all in the sight of Heaven, and inculcated universal kindness, charity, and forbearance among men. His religion consisted in a pure theism, apart from all the superstitions with which the faith of Brahma and Budh, and Mohammed had become disfigured. Thus he rejected the distinctions of caste, the burning of widows, and all the other peculiarities of the Hindoo worship, equally with the sensual paradise and devout observances of the followers of the Prophet. So identical were his precepts

¹ Malte-Brun, ix. 537-539; Elphinstone's India, i. 227-231; Quarterly Review, lxxviii. 177. with those communicated to man by the Jewish lawgiver, that many fanciful observers have thought they discovered in the modern Sikhs the descendants of one of the lost tribes of the children of Israel.¹

The Sikh confederacy, held together by the strong bond of unity of religious belief, contended, with various fortunes, with the numerous enemies by whom they were surrounded for four centuries, during which their power was gradually extended over the adjoining states, and the military spirit and qualities of their own members proportionally increased. In the beginning of the nineteenth century, when they all yielded to the valor and capacity of RUNJEET SINGH, surnamed the "Lion of the Punjaub," the confederacy contained 7,000,000 of inhabitants, of whom 4,000,000 were in the province of Lahore, 1,400,000 in that of Mooltan, 1,000,000 in that of Afghanistan, and 600,000 in Cashmere. The inhabitants of these varied provinces were tall, robust, and animated at once by religious fervor and military ardor. Their forces consisted for the most part of cavalry, the horses of which were of extraordinary swiftness and hardihood. But, in addition to this, their infantry, which had been disciplined by Runjeet Singh by the aid of French and Italian officers, and largely recruited by the sepoys so imprudently disbanded under Lord William Bentinck's government, had now acquired the most formidable consistency; it amounted to 73,000 men, with 200 pieces of cannon. These were the regular troops; but the whole country was peopled by warriors; and if its entire strength was called out, it could bring into the field 260,000 men,

² Malte-Brun, ix. 539-553. and the force under arms had, at no remote period, actually amounted to that number.²

The chief seat of the Sikhs is in the Punjaub — a country celebrated for its riches and fertility from the most remote antiquity. It takes its name from the five rivers by which it is watered, and which, descending from the great snowy range, give the means of irrigation and the blessings of fertility to the level plain which they intersect in their progress toward the ocean. These are the Indus, the Jhelum, the Ravee, the Chenab, and the Sutlej; and these great rivers, with their numerous tributary streams, are available for the purposes of agriculture to the extent of nearly two thousand miles, and afford the means of irrigation to a vast area of the richest alluvial soil. This is the main source of the strength of the Sikhs; and the Punjaub

accordingly contains the capital, Lahore, and chief city Umritzur. But the Sikh dominion extends also over other, and some of them very different regions, in particular Mooltan, Afghanistan East, and Cashmere. The first of these is very populous, containing 1,400,000 souls, with a strong fortress of the same name, standing on the Chenab, for its capital; the second includes the sandy deserts and arid mountains to the east of the Indus; while the last, a beautiful elevated valley of a circular form, three thousand feet above the sea, and surrounded by the summits of the Himalayas, has been celebrated from the earliest ages over the whole of Asia as the almost fabled abode of industry, innocence, and rural felicity. It contains 600,000 inhabitants, a large part of whom make their bread by the manufacture of the beautiful shawls so prized over all the world. But the chief distinction and ancient fame of Cashmere have arisen from the incomparable charm of its scenery and climate, in which nature has combined every thing which the world can exhibit most seductive to the senses and fascinating to the imagination.³

RUNJEET SINGH, who had since the commencement of the present century brought the tribes comprising this empire under subjection, was one of those remarkable men who occasionally appear in the East, and acquire an irresistible sway over the minds of men, so as to mould out of the discordant elements of Oriental society a powerful, though fleeting, dominion. Rude and forbidding in aspect, with only one eye, and a visage furrowed by the small-pox, he yet, from his energy and courage, acquired such an ascendancy as to be the object of respect to the bravest men, and terror to the fairest women, in the northwest of India. His grandfather was an inconsiderable feudal chief, whose quota was only 2500 men, but he was an able man; his son, Runjeet's father, was still more so; and they gradually extended their influence and possessions, so that in 1802, when Runjeet succeeded to the inheritance, he was already one of the first nobles in the Punjaub. Such were the additions which, though entirely uneducated, he made to the family power, by his talent and unscrupulous perseverance, that soon he was in possession of Lahore and all the fertile territory around it, and began a friendly intercourse, as a powerful potentate, with the Government at Calcutta. The knowledge of this intercourse went far to establish his credit and influence; and it continued uninterrupted, though without any personal intercourse, till 1831, when Lord William Bentinck visited "the Lion of the Punjaub" in Lahore, and 1838, when Lord Auckland waited on him, at the head of all the majesty of the British empire. Meanwhile Runjeet overran the whole Punjaub undisturbed by Great Britain, the Government of which was sufficiently occupied with its own conquests. Sensible of the advantages he derived from the friendship of Great Britain, and justly afraid of its power, Runjeet long cultivated the connection, and at length concluded the triple alliance with that power and Shah Soojah, which was the precursor of the Afghanistan expedition. During this

³ Bernier's Voyage de Kachemir, ii. 171, 816; Fontana's Travels in Cashmere, i. 288; Malte-Brun, ix. 540, 541.

53.

Character of Runjeet Singh.

52.

Geographical description of the country.

period he was incessantly engaged in organizing and disciplining, by the aid of General Ventura and other French officers, his already formidable army; and such was the perfection to which his diligence brought it, that it stood the comparison with the British at the great reviews near

Lahore in 1838;¹ and Lord Auckland had good reason to congratulate himself that the Sikh Government preserved its faith inviolate during the dreadful catastrophe which ensued. As long as Runjeet lived the alliance was maintained inviolate, and the loud clamor of the army for a war with the English was disregarded; but during the weak and distracted rule which ensued upon his

death, their demands became more formidable; and Lord Ellenborough was engaged in active measures to provide against the impending conflict when he was recalled by the Directors.²

SIR HENRY (afterward Lord) **HARDINGE**, who was soon called to oppose, not this redoubtable chieftain, for he was gathered to his fathers, but the army which he had created, was one of the most remarkable men which the age in which he lived, so fertile in statesmen and heroes, had produced. Born of an ancient and highly respectable family in the county of Derby, he yet owed nothing to aristocratic influence or connection; for he had already risen to eminence, both as a soldier and a statesman, before he married, in 1821, the daughter of the Marquis of Londonderry. He was born in 1785, entered the service in 1801 as ensign in a regiment of foot, and was present at nearly all the battles under Moore and Wellington in the Peninsula. Including the actions on the Sutlej, to be immediately recounted, he had been in sixteen pitched battles, for which medals had been granted, when he was raised to the peerage in 1846. He was the architect of his own fortune, and cut his way with his good sword to the offices of Governor-General of India, and Commander-in-Chief in Great Britain. Without the great and commanding qualities which in a manner forced Marlborough and Wellington to the lead in civil as well as military life, he possessed in high degree those best suited to enable him to follow out the views, or correct the mistakes, of others. A good soldier, he faithfully obeyed the orders he received, and by his indomitable resolution retrieved many errors in the direction, by superior officers or Government, of the affairs with the execution of which he was intrusted. Heroic courage and unconquerable resolution were his great characteristics. Never did any one more thoroughly act up to his family motto, "*Mens æqua in rebus arduis*." Kindly in his manner, affectionate in private life, he was exemplary in every domestic duty, and beloved by an extensive circle of friends. It was his happiness, or the consequence of his enduring constancy, three times to influence the fortunes of his country; for on the field of Albuera, in circumstances all but desperate, he retrieved the day; on the banks of the Sutlej he stemmed the flood of disaster, and saved the empire of India; and by his indefatigable efforts on his return to England, he raised up the train

of artillery which tore down the ramparts of Sebastopol.

HUGH GOUGH (afterward Lord **GOUGH**) was descended from an ancient family in Devonshire, a scion of which was transferred to Ireland by being created Bishop of Limerick in 1626. Hugh, the fourth son of one of his descendants, was born in the county of Tipperary, on 3d November, 1779, and entered the army in 1794. Like Lord Hardinge, he was present at the principal actions in the Peninsular war, commanded the 87th Regiment at Talavera, and was distinguished in the battles of Barossa and Vittoria, and at the siege of Tarifa. In 1837 he was sent to India in command of a division, from whence he was translated to China when the war broke out in 1839. It will be immediately seen how nobly he supported the high character, which his achievements there won for him, in the Sikh war. Daring in disposition, ardent in temperament, decided in conduct, he combined the resolution of the country of his ancestors with the fire of that of his birth: so bold was his character, so impetuous his courage, that it has earned for him the reputation rather of a brilliant general of division than a consummate commander-in-chief; yet on many occasions, especially in the operations against Nankin, and the battles of Sobraon and Goojerat, he displayed military conduct of a high order; and it was his unconquerable firmness, joined to that of Lord Hardinge, which, in the last extremity, again chained victory to the British standard on the banks of the Sutlej. Generous and warm-hearted, he has all the affection of disposition which characterizes the land of his birth, and his personal influence is much enhanced by a figure which, tall and commanding even in advanced years, and with the snows of age on his brow, bespeaks the hero in every feature and movement.¹

¹ Burke's Peerage, voce Har- dinge; Personal knowledge.

SIR CHARLES NAPIER, also a most remarkable man, differed essentially from either of the preceding heroes of Eastern war. Of Sir C. Descended from the ancient and noble family of the Napiers of Merchiston, in Scotland, which numbers the illustrious inventor of logarithms among its members, he had also the blood of Henry IV. of France, and of the Stuarts, by his mother's side, in his veins. He had the intellect of the Napiers, and the military talent of the founder of the Bourbons; but he had also the vehemence of temper and obstinate self-will which occasioned the downfall of the Stuarts. His mind was essentially heroic: he was an idol-worshiper, but his idols were all surrounded by the halo of military glory. His talents for war were of the very highest order. Had he been born on a throne, and favored by fortune, he might have rivaled the fame of Cæsar or Frederick. Unfortunately, his irritability of temper, and unbounded confidence in his own opinion, rendered him little capable of acting in obedience to commands, or in conjunction on equal terms with others. The Duke of Wellington had the highest opinion of his military talents, and he gave a decisive proof of it by selecting him for the command-in-chief in India after the dubious issue of the fight of Chillianwallah. His administrative talents, when undisturbed, and his temper unruffled, were equal to his military abilities.

On the field of battle, or in the strategic movements of a campaign, his quickness of eye and decision of mind were invaluable; he seldom failed to judge rightly, and never to execute quickly; and his mind was of that far-seeing kind which describes and provides against danger when it is yet distant. Were we to judge of him by his public actions only, he would occupy a very high pedestal in the gallery of contemporary greatness; but this judgment has been somewhat lowered by the indiscreet zeal of a partial biographer, who has brought out in his memoir numerous proofs of violence of temper and harshness of judgment, which a more prudent reserve would have suffered to remain in oblivion.

When Lord Ellenborough was recalled, he was, as already noticed, engaged in preparations for war with the Sikhs; and it was to clear his flank and rear of dubious friends or open enemies that he engaged in the wars of Scinde and Gwalior. As Sir Henry Hardinge was sent out to stop these warlike preparations, and preserve, if possible, the peace of the peninsula, he did not conceive himself at liberty to make the military arrangements requisite to arrest a vigorous onslaught of the enemy, and he yielded to the representations of Major Broadfoot, the political agent at the court of Lahore, and the secretary to the Government at Calcutta, that no serious contest was to be apprehended. Influenced by these considerations, and by "his extreme anxiety to avoid hostilities," he took no steps toward concentrating troops on the Punjaub frontier, even when the approach of the cool season, in the end of 1845, rendered it probable that military operations, if undertaken at all by the Sikhs, would speedily be attempted. He did not, indeed, withdraw the troops which Lord Ellenborough had collected in the towns from Delhi to Kurnaul to guard the north-western frontier, but he allowed them to remain scattered at great distances from each other, in situations offering the greatest advantages to an enterprising and concentrated enemy. Umballa was the frontier town in that direction of the British territory; but Loodianah and Ferozepore, lying near the Sutlej, were stations at which the British, by treaty, were permitted to have garrisons. Sir Henry strengthened both of these places with additional fortifications, so as to place them beyond the risk of a *coup-de-main*, and stationed 6000 men in the former place and 7000 in the latter. The reserve lay at Umballa, consisting of 7500 men, under the Commander-in-Chief in person; but the two frontier stations were a hundred miles distant from each other, and Umballa a hundred and fifty from both; while the Sikhs were stationed between Lahore and the Sutlej to the number of 60,000, within two marches of the river, and two more would bring them to either of the frontier stations.*

Meantime the situation of affairs in Lahore was daily becoming more threatening. The Govern-

ment was overawed and rendered powerless by two factions—the one British, the other anti-British. At the head of the former was Gholab Singh, a hoary intriguer, who was, or professed to be, favorable to the British alliance; at the head of the latter was the Ranee, who, by the facility and charm of her manners, had enlisted many of the chief nobles in deadly hostility to the British. The latter, being the more popular with the troops and populace, had prevailed, and Gholab Singh, as a measure of precaution, had withdrawn to his fortress of Jarnoo. But this triumph was far from satisfying the Sikh soldiery, who, soon after his departure, surrounded the royal palace, clamorously demanding immediate payment of their arrears, or to be led against the English, in order that they might enrich themselves by the plunder of Delhi and the Doab. The Ranee, alarmed for her own life, as well as those of her lovers, Tigh Singh and Lal Singh, willingly yielded to their demands, and orders were given for the whole disposable force to march down to the frontier and cross the river. They did so accordingly, and encamped on its banks.¹

Sir Hugh Gough, apprehensive of an immediate attack on Ferozepore, where there was only one European regiment, though the entire garrison was 7000 strong, ordered up from Meerut two regiments of European cavalry and three of infantry, and directed the troops to close up toward Ferozepore. The Governor-General, however, constrained by his home instructions from doing any thing which could by possibility be construed into a hostile demonstration, countermanded the order. Fortunately the attack of the Sikhs at that moment, though undoubtedly intended, was prevented by the astrologers, who declared that the first auspicious day on which they could march was the 28th. Thus things reverted apparently to their former state; but the Governor-General, now seriously alarmed at the aspect of affairs, left Calcutta, and proceeded by rapid journeys to Kurnaul, which he reached on the 26th November, and where he met the Commander-in-Chief. Still no concentration of troops took place. Hardinge conceived that the garrison of Ferozepore, under Sir John Littler, would be able to repel any sudden attack, and that no serious inroad was in contemplation. But preparations were made for the campaign which might be apprehended. A magazine of provisions was formed at Bussean, a plain midway between Umballa and Ferozepore, which proved of the most service in the operations that succeeded; and the Governor-General sacrificed his whole elephants and camel-train to the public service.**

* *Quarterly Review*, lxxviii. 183.—The author with pleasure acknowledges his obligations to the very able author of this article on the war in the Punjaub, which comes down to the battle of Sohraon in February, 1846. His name is as yet unknown, but the narrative is not only singularly distinct and accurate, but evidently founded on original documents, especially those of the Gough family.

* Sir Henry Hardinge's views at this juncture are contained in the following passage of his dispatch to the Secret Committee of Dec. 2, 1845: "In common with the most experienced officers of the Indian Government, I was not of opinion that the Sikh army would cross the Sutlej with its infantry and artillery. I considered it probable that some act of aggression would be committed by parties of plunderers for the purpose of compelling the British army to interfere, to which course the Sikh chiefs knew I was most averse; but I considered with the Commander-in-Chief and the Secretary to the Government, as well as my political agent, Major Broadfoot, that offensive operations on a large scale would not be resorted

Meanwhile the Sikh soldiery, to whom, as to all Asiatics, moderation is unknown, and a pacific policy is never ascribed to any thing but fear, were in such a state of exultation that it almost amounted to mutiny. In the pride of their hearts they asserted that the English would never venture to face their unconquerable battalions. To such a length did these ideas go, that on the 24th November two

Nov. 24. brigades, despite all the predictions of the astrologers, broke up without orders from Lahore, and marched down to the banks of the Sutlej, and the remainder of the army were preparing to follow their example. Intelligence of those move-

Nov. 25. ments reached the Governor-General on the 25th from Major Broadfoot, and he immediately wrote to the Lahore Government to demand an explanation of them. No answer was received even on the 4th December, and Hardinge did not think he was as yet at liberty to give orders for any counter-demonstration or concentration of troops on his side. On the night of the 9th, however, Captain Nicolson, the assistant political agent at Ferozepore, reported that a portion of the Sikh army had approached within three miles of the Sutlej; while Major Broadfoot had announced on the 7th and 8th that preparations were making on a large scale for the move-

Dec. 11. ment of infantry, artillery, and stores, from Lahore. Upon this the Governor-General wrote to the Commander-in-Chief to order up the whole reserves from Meerut and Umballa to the front, while he himself rode on to Loodianah, and directed every disposable man to move to Bussean, the point intended for the concentration of the troops coming up from Umballa and the rear. A thousand men only were left for the defense of the intrenched camp at Loodianah, which were thought to be sufficient, as no serious attack was anticipated in that direction. These

anticipations proved correct. On the 12th the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej, and concentrated in great force on the left or British bank of the river; while the whole British reserves were in motion, having begun their march on the 10th from all the stations from Meerut to Bussean.¹

A great game now was open to the Sikhs if they had been directed by men capable of taking advantage of the circumstances, or commanding troops who could be relied on to execute with vigor and decision sudden resolutions. The surprise was complete. The strin-

to. Exclusive of political reasons, which induced me to carry my forbearance as far as possible, I was confident, from the opinions given by the Commander-in-Chief and Sir John Littler, in command at Ferozepore, that that post could resist any attack from the Sikh army as long as its provisions lasted, and that I could at any time relieve it under the ordinary circumstances of an Asiatic army making an irruption into our territories, provided it had not the means of laying siege to the fort and the intrenched camp. The Sikh army up to this period had committed no act of aggression. It had, in 1843 and 1844, moved down upon the river from Lahore, and after remaining there encamped a few weeks, had returned to the capital. These reasons, and, above all, my extreme anxiety to avoid hostilities, induced me not to make any hasty movement with our army, which, when the two armies came into each other's presence, might bring about a collision. The army, however, had orders to be in readiness to move on the shortest notice."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1845, p. 333.

gent orders of the East India Directors, and the Governor-General's perhaps too literal compliance with them, had brought the British army into a position of the greatest danger. The peril which Lord Ellenborough had foreseen and was providing against, had now fallen like a thunder-bolt on his successor. Ferozepore, with its garrison of 7500 men, lay exposed to the attacks of 60,000 troops, brave, disciplined, inured to victory, perfectly concentrated, and amply provided with both heavy and field artillery, amounting to 100 pieces. The British troops coming up in support were still, for the most part, a hundred miles distant, for the reserve had only begun to move from Umballa, a hundred and fifty miles, on the 10th, 11th, and 12th; and the foremost of them had not reached Bussean, half-way to Ferozepore, when the Sikhs on the 12th crossed the river in force, and were already close upon that town.^{1*}

Fortunately the Sikh generals, either from being ignorant of the inestimable prize within their grasp, or from not knowing the distance at which the British supports lay, took no advantage of this, to them, eminently propitious state of things. Instead of massing their forces all together, and assailing Ferozepore with the troops and heavy guns already in hand, they *intrenched* one part of their army at the Nuggur-Ghaut in a situation to observe merely that fort; and the other, consisting of 20,000 men, with 40 guns, pushed forward in hopes of falling in with and intercepting either the corps advancing cross-wise from Loodianah to Bussean, or some of the reserves hastening up from Umballa. Thus they came forward, as it were, to meet the British half-way, and voluntarily threw away the immense advantage of being in a position to attack Ferozepore with an overwhelming force. At the same time, having thrown a bridge over the Sutlej on the 16th and 17th, their whole army, including the heavy artillery and reserves, pass-

* "The Sikhs have crossed the river, and probably an action was fought on the 14th December, as Hardinge was in full march on the 13th from Loodianah to aid General Littler, who has only 6000 men to oppose 24,000, who had crossed, and, as I make out, cut off Littler from Hardinge. Bussean is sixty miles from Ferozepore. Hardinge is a good and brave soldier, and probably knows what he is about, yet that he has been surprised is plain. 6000 men are assailed by 20,000, and if the 6000 flinch! Hardinge on the field seems to have shown the same decision which saved the day at Albuera. This is very fine, and gives him glory as a brave man; but it is not enough to repair the error of the Governor-General in letting 60,000 men and 100 guns of large calibre pass such a river unmolested. With Napoleon or one of his marshals in front, he would have been lost. The courage of his troops has carried him through. He ought to have known where the Sikh army was assembling, its composition, and movements, and the construction of the Sikh bridge on the 16th or 17th. They ought to have been met on the bank when only half over, or not allowed to pass. But they were allowed to pass, and even to intrench. It is evident he unduly despised his enemy. I do not think history will let him off without a reprimand." —NAPIER'S *Memoirs*, vol. iii., p. 303-370. There can be no doubt that, in a military point of view, these observations are well founded, and probably no one knew their truth better than Sir Henry Hardinge; but in censuring him so strongly, Napier was not aware of the stringent orders which the East India Directors had given to him to avoid any measure—even the concentration of troops—which would afford the Sikhs a pretext for commencing hostilities. They form Hardinge's true vindication for what would otherwise have been a military error.

¹ Hardinge's
Disp.; Ann.
Reg. 1845,
332; Quart.
Rev. lxxviii.
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^{62.} Movements of
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ed over. But, meanwhile, the British were not idle. Hardinge, recovering his energy by the dropping of the political fetters which had hitherto bound his hands, showed himself every way equal to the crisis. Fortunately the corps detached from Loodianah came up in time to join the leading column of the reserve before the enemy appeared in sight, and Hardinge and Gough, knowing that the reinforcements from the rear were rapidly closing up, put themselves at the head of the advanced guard, and rode on to meet the enemy. The most pressing orders were dispatched to the generals in command of the reserve to send forward every man and gun with the utmost possible expedition; and with such spirit were these orders obeyed by the troops that they marched on an average *six-and-twenty miles a day* under an Indian sun; and this was accomplished, too, when the men were in heavy marching order. The sufferings of the troops, particularly the sepoys, who are not possessed of the physical strength of Europeans, were extreme during these forced marches; yet did their

spirit never fail under this terrible trial; and when sheer exhaustion compelled them to rest for a time, upon being told that the next march would bring them to the enemy, they answered with a cheer, and moved on.¹

Early on the morning of the 17th a spy brought in intelligence that the enemy were moving toward the British, and would soon come in sight. Gough and Hardinge were at the head of 14,000 men, as good troops, both European and native, as had yet been engaged in the conquest of the Indian empire, and they held on their way undaunted. Soon after noon on the same day, when the troops, after their long morning march, were just lying down, extremely fatigued, to rest, information was received that the Sikh army was advancing. Instantly the bugles sounded the *assemblee*, and the men sprang to their arms with the utmost alacrity. Hardinge and Gough rode from regiment to regiment encouraging their men, and the latter rode forward and put himself at the head of the advanced guard, while the former arranged the troops behind in echelon of brigades. The advanced guard had not proceeded above two miles beyond MOODKEE when they came upon the enemy, 20,000 strong, in position, with 40 guns secured behind sandy hillocks and jungle, which concealed them from the British till their presence became known by their fire being opened. Seeing this, Gough hurried his horse-artillery and cavalry under Brigadiers White, Gough, and Mactier, to the front, which

opened a spirited fire upon the enemy, while the infantry deployed so as to be ready to commence the attack when their formation was completed and the guns were withdrawn to the flanks.²

The field of battle was a level plain, interspersed with low brush-wood and small sandy elevations. In consequence of this peculiarity, the armies came, in most places, almost close together before they could see each other. The cannonade, however, soon became extremely warm on both

sides; and in this encounter the British artillery, though of lighter calibre, soon acquired a superiority over that of the enemy. While this was going on with the guns, Gough prepared a grand attack of cavalry on the enemy's left. This attack, led by Brigadiers White and Gough, proved eminently successful. The column of horse, headed by the 3d Light Dragoons, followed by the whole body-guard, the 5th Light Cavalry, and 4th Lancers, made so fierce a charge on the Sikh cavalry, which were pushed forward to stop them, that the latter were entirely overthrown, and the victorious horse, following up their success, swept along the rear of the whole enemy's line, chasing the gunners from their pieces, and for a time silencing the fire of their artillery. At the same time the 9th Irregulars, under Mactier, threatened their right, and, though the thickness of the jungle impeded their charge, seriously disturbed the enemy in that quarter. Hardly were these brilliant charges executed, when the infantry, under Sir Harry Smith, General Gilbert, and Sir John M'Caskill, came into action. The resistance of the Sikhs was obstinate; but, after a murderous fire had gone on for some time, a general charge was made with loud cheers by the whole force, British and sepoy, and attended with entire success, the enemy being driven from their ground with great slaughter, and the loss of seventeen pieces of artillery, for the most part of very heavy calibre. The coming on of night alone saved their army from still greater disaster; but as it was, the pursuit was continued an hour and a half by starlight, and amidst a cloud of dust from the sandy plain, which almost as much as the darkness obscured every object.¹

The victory was gained, but it had been dearly purchased. The killed were 215; the wounded, 657; in all, 872. Among those who fell were Sir Robert Sale, the hero of Jellalabad; Sir John M'Caskill, a brave and experienced officer, whose loss was severely felt, with several other young officers of the highest promise. The enemy, though defeated and driven from the field, were not routed or dispersed; they had abated little of their confidence and haughty bearing, and retreated to the intrenched camp they had formed at FERROZESHAN, near Ferozepore, defended by a most formidable train of artillery, still determined to dispute with the British the empire of India. Expecting a new attack, Gough and Hardinge remained two days under arms; and the enemy's horse hovered about the camp so closely that an action was hourly expected. They did not make any forward movement, however; and during these two days two European regiments, the 29th Queen's and 1st Bengal Light Infantry, came up. Their arrival was hailed with joy, as it more than compensated the loss which had been sustained; and thus reinforced, the army broke up, and on the morning of the 21st advanced to the intrenched camp of the enemy at Ferozeshah.² Before doing so, Sir Henry Hardinge, with generous devotion, waved his superior rank as Governor-General, and tendered his services to Sir Hugh Gough to serve

¹ Gough's Disp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 837; Hardinge's Dispatch, 177.

² Gough's Disp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 837; Hardinge's Dispatch, 177.

March of the British army to Ferozeshah. Dec. 21.

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under him as second in command! The offer, as well it might, was joyfully accepted; and these two noble veterans set out together to seek the enemy in their formidable intrenchments.

Toward the success of their projected attack on the Sikh position, it was indispensable that a junction should be formed with Littler's division, consisting of 5000 disposable men, who lay in Ferozepore; for the Sikhs had all withdrawn into their intrenched camp at Ferozeshah, where there were now 80,000 good troops assembled, with 100 pieces of artillery, many of them of very heavy calibre. Orders, accordingly, were sent on the evening of the 20th to General Littler, to move out with every disposable man at daybreak on the 21st, and be at a point designated, which was nearly abreast of the camp at Ferozeshah, but out of the range of the enemy's guns, at noon. Thither, also, the Commander-in-Chief hastened, with the whole disposable force from the camp in front of Moodkee. Precisely at twelve Gough and Hardinge were at the appointed place of rendezvous, and hardly had they halted when heavy clouds of dust were seen to rise in the direction of Ferozepore. It was Littler's division, which, punctual to its orders, had made the perilous march from Ferozepore with its flank exposed to the enemy, and almost within reach of his guns, without firing a shot or suffering any molestation. By this junction the army was raised to 17,000 effective men; a great object of the campaign was gained by the extrication of the garrison of Ferozepore from its perilous advanced position; and the whole British force was at length assembled in one battle-field.¹

Opinions were now divided at the British head-quarters as to the course which should be pursued. Some thought that, as Littler's corps was extricated, any hazardous movement should be avoided, and time given for the arrival of the reinforcements from Meerut. But Gough judged differently. He knew that the army in his front at Ferozeshah was little more than half the Sikh force, the remainder being still in position observing Ferozepore; but as it was only a single march distant, it would to a certainty come up on the day following, and either double the force to be attacked in the intrenched camp, or fall on the British flank while engaged in assaulting it, or burn the camp and cut off his communications. For these reasons he determined on an immediate attack, before the second army came up to swell the enemy's ranks. The attempt, however, was hazardous, and, but for the necessity of the case, would have been fool-hardy; for the enemy, strongly intrenched, and double the number of their opponents, were amply supplied with provisions, and had enjoyed two days' rest; whereas the British, but scantily provided with food, were exhausted by a march of ten miles on that very morning. The intrenched camp proved even stronger than had been anticipated, for it

was armed like a regular fortification, with numerous salient angles, which exposed the assaulting columns to a flanking fire.² The village of Ferozeshah, which was loop-holed and intrenched, lay within

the circuit of the lines, and the numerous artillery was skillfully disposed, so as to command every approach to the intrenchments.

An immediate attack being resolved on, the bugles sounded just as the wearied soldiers, oppressed with heat and thirst, had lain down to enjoy the much-wished-for repose, and called them to one of the most desperate battles of modern times. Gough in person commanded the right wing, having under him Wallace's (late M'Cas-kill's) and Gilbert's divisions; Hardinge directed the left, composed of Littler's corps. The second line was formed by Sir Harry Smith's division, with the whole cavalry of the army. The horse-artillery was stationed on either flank, and the foot-artillery grouped in the centre, where the principal assault was intended to be made. This was directed against the side *averted* from Moodkee, on which the least attention had been bestowed by the enemy, as they naturally expected to be assailed on the front next to Moodkee, from whence the British advanced. The attack, however, was made on more than one face, as the assailants had overlapped each of the extreme corners of the enemy's works.¹

The troops advanced to the assault in the best order and with unshrinking spirit, and as soon as they came within range they were received by a tremendous fire, which tore down whole ranks at once, and made vast chasms in others. They recoiled, in some instances, before the storm; for the Sikh artillery, of much heavier calibre than the British, and partially sheltered by the embrasures, fired with great precision of aim, to which the European gunners could make no adequate reply. Such was the slaughter, that the 62d regiment, which commenced the attack in the most gallant manner, was fairly forced back, after losing two-thirds of their number; and several sepoy regiments broke and fled the moment they entered the fire. The whole left wing, under Hardinge, after incredible efforts, and carrying part of the works, were driven out again by the heavy fire of the Sikhs, who steadily held the interior of the intrenchments. Gough, on the right, was more fortunate. Though the resistance there was also most obstinate, the European regiments forced their way in through the embrasures. Following up this advantage, Gough brought up the reserve under Sir Harry Smith, and an entrance having been made by the sappers for horse and artillery, several guns were brought in, and opened fire at point-blank range on the enemy; while the 3d Queen's Dragoons, by several gallant charges inside the ramparts, captured several batteries, and made the British masters of great part of the intrenched quadrangle. But the Sikhs still held the remainder, including the village of Ferozeshah, which was strongly occupied; and till darkness closed the scene, the gallant antagonists interchanged volleys of musketry and grape at each other without either gaining any sensible advantage, mutually aiming at the flash after the gloom had rendered the figures no longer visible.²

Night came, but with it no relief to the wounded, no food to the wearied, no respite to the

66.
Position of the
Sikhs, and
junction of
Littler with
Gough.

68.
Battle of
Ferozeshah.
Dec. 21.

¹ Gough's Dis-
patch; Ann.
Reg. 1845, 338;
Quart. Review,
lxxviii. 202.

69.
Continued.

² Gough and
Hardinge's
Disp., Dec.
23, 1845; Ann.
Reg. 1845,
338; Quart.
Rev. lxxviii.
202, 203.

combatants. Side by side with the dying and the dead the living lay down. The Terrible night bodies of the Sikhs were intermingled with those of the British.

The darkness was illuminated only at intervals by the streak of a bomb traversing the sky, the occasional explosion of an ammunition-wagon, the burning of huts, or the volleys of musketry. The Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief both took post, surrounded by their wearied troops, on the bloody battle-field, within the intrenchment which they had so hardly won. With them was a gallant foreign prince, of a house illustrious in the annals of war, PRINCE WALDEMAR OF PRUSSIA, who had hastened to the banks of the Sutlej, and brought to the theatre of Eastern war the courage and the spirit of the great Frederick.* Sleep, despite all the fatigue they had undergone, there was none in that gallant band; the frequent discharges of cannon and musketry, as well as the groans of the wounded and their cries for water, constantly caused eyelids to open which had begun to close. On one occasion, the fire of a Sikh eighteen-pounder, which had been brought to bear on the Governor-General's bivouac, was so annoying that he

was obliged to order the two regiments nearest, the 80th Queen's and 1st Bengal Europeans, to rise up and attack the gun, which was immediately taken with the utmost gallantry.¹

Despite all their resolution, there were many, during that terrible night, who began to entertain the most sinister pre-sentiments. It was known that the last reserves had been engaged on the side of the British, while 30,000 Sikhs were yet to come up who had never fired a shot. Worst of all, it was whispered that the artillery had fired away nearly all their ammunition. The men, wearied by a long march and then a battle, with little food, were yet unable to sleep from the rattle of the musketry and constant bursting of bombs; the horses were unable to strike into a trot. Some, in these disastrous circumstances, thought it would be best to cut their way through to Ferozepore, where they would at least find the shelter of an intrenched camp. On this opinion being expressed to Sir Hugh Gough, he said, "The thing is impossible. My mind is made up. If we must perish, it is better that our bones should bleach honorably at Ferozeshah than rot at Ferozepore; but they shall do neither the one nor the other." "The Commander-in-Chief thinks," said another officer to Sir H. Hardinge, "that it will be fatal to renew the fight to-morrow." "Don't you believe a word of it," replied Sir Henry; "the Commander-in-Chief knows as well as any body that it will not do for a British army to be foiled; and foiled this army shall not be. We must fight it out as soon as there is

* This brave, amiable, and highly accomplished prince survived all the dangers of the Indian campaign, and returned to Europe. In the course of a tour in Scotland two years after, he did the author the honor of paying him a visit of several days at his residence of Possil House, in Lanarkshire, accompanied by his able staff-officers, Count Oriola and Count Greuben. The conversation naturally turned very much on the interesting events recorded in this chapter, and several of the incidents and anecdotes are mentioned on their authority.

light enough to see the enemy." Yet, though they were thus resolute in their determination, both generals knew well the perilous position in which they were placed; indeed, it was evident to all. Hardinge sent orders to burn all his private papers, which was accordingly done, and compelled Mr. Hardinge, his private secretary, a civilian, but with his father's spirit in his bosom, sorely against his will, to quit the field. "What think you," said Gough to Hardinge, when they could converse in private, "of our prospects?" "Think," replied Hardinge, "that we must live or die where we stand." "That is exactly my opinion," replied Gough; "so we understand each other." They pressed hands and parted in silence.¹

At length the sun rose on the 22d on this scene of carnage, and the long night came to an end. The wearied troops, most of whom had neither tasted food nor slept since the morning of the preceding day, were again arranged in line in the same order as before, with the heavy artillery in the centre, the infantry on each side of it, the horse-artillery and cavalry on the flanks.

It was soon found, however, that the guns on the British side were entirely overmatched by those of the enemy. This unequal contest could not be suffered to continue; the artillery were wasting their few remaining charges without any result, while that of the enemy was abundantly supplied. "We must try the bayonet once more," said Lord Gough; and the order to charge was given. Wearied as they were, the troops ran forward with a cheer; but when they came within range of the grape, the fire was so heavy that a part of the line staggered and reeled under the weight of metal thrown upon them. Soon recovering, the men rushed forward with a cheer such as British troops alone can give, and in a few moments the redoubt which was attacked, with all its guns, was in their possession. Meanwhile Hardinge, who led the left, by a rapid charge drove the enemy out of the village of Ferozeshah; and immediately the whole troops brought up their right shoulders, and wheeling to the left in the interior of the now won quadrangle, pressed forward in a splendid line, driving every thing before them, and captured the whole artillery on the works. Conspicuous in front rode the two leaders, Gough and Hardinge, with the captured banners displayed, and were received by the whole line with a shout which caused the welkin to ring again.²

¹ Quart. Review, lxxviii. 203, 204; Personal knowledge: Ann. Reg. 1845, 338.
² Personal knowledge; Gough's Disp.; Ann. Reg. 1845, 359; Quart. Review, lxxviii. 205.

* The Indian wars are, beyond any other in European history, the scene of such glorious personal instances of heroism in the generals-in-chief, which recall rather the heroic exploits of antiquity than the ordinary more distant direction of modern commanders of armies. The incidents of the text will recall to the readers of this age the still more recent achievements of a yet greater general, Sir Colin Campbell, in cheering on, along with his personal staff, under one of the most tremendous fires ever known, the 93d Highlanders in the assault of the Shah Nijee's mosque in Lucknow, on the 16th November, 1857—an operation not less decisive than this of Sir Hugh Gough of that memorable campaign, in which the Commander-in-Chief himself was struck; and the author is proud to say his two sons—Major Alison, Sir Colin's military secretary, and Captain Alison, his aid-de-camp—were at his side. They were both wounded, the former most severely, close under the walls.

The battle was gained. The whole of the enemy's camp-equipage and military stores, with seventy-three guns and seventeen standards, were taken; the British.

intrenched camp, the theatre of so desperate a conflict, was in the hands of the British. But though the Sikh army which had fought these two battles was defeated, another of equal strength remained behind, with its artillery, cavalry, and whole resources untouched. It soon made its appearance on the field, and it was difficult to see how this fresh enemy was to be resisted. Nevertheless the attempt was made; but the wearied troopers could scarcely get their horses to move; and the artillery, obliged to husband their ammunition, were speedily crushed by the superior fire of the enemy. The infantry, however, when drawn up in line, showed so bold a front that the enemy declined the attack, and drew back. This was only done, however, to gain time; and shortly they reappeared with the whole Sikh reserves, thirty thousand strong, the greater part of whom had not yet fired a shot. Then, indeed, the stout heart of the Commander-in-Chief for a moment sank within him; and despairing of the issue, yet determined not to yield, he rode slowly along the front, hoping that every shot which fell around him would prove his last.* The cannonade on the Sikh side was soon extremely violent, and a change of the whole front to the right was rendered necessary, to prevent the captured village from again falling into the enemy's hands. On the British side not a shot was returned from the artillery, their ammunition being totally exhausted. At this critical moment, when there no longer seemed any hope, the cavalry and horse-artillery were seen to move off from the flanks, taking the road to Ferozepore. Great was the indignation in the British infantry when they saw themselves thus left in presence of the enemy at such a moment, wholly unsupported. It resulted from an order given by a staff-officer, who was afterward found to have had no authority to give it. Nevertheless it proved the salvation of the army. The Sikhs, already disheartened by the loss of so many guns, and ignorant of the exhausted state of their antagonists, thought it was a movement to seize the fords in their rear, and cut off their retreat, and first wavered, then began to retreat. The British saw their advantage, gave a loud cheer, and, by a sudden rush forward, seized the guns which had given them so much annoyance, which were instantly spiked. Upon this the whole Sikh army fled to the rear; and such was their consternation, that they never stopped till they had got the Sutlej between them and their enemies.¹

The loss of the British in these desperate battles was very severe, and on a scale hitherto unprecedented in Indian warfare. It amounted

to 694 killed and 1721 wounded—in all 2415, being a sixth of the troops engaged, 74 who were about 15,500. The soldiers Results of passed an anxious time on the night of the battle. the 22d, for they were every moment uncertain whether the attack would not be renewed. But morning broke without any alarm, and the scouts brought in intelligence that the whole Sikh army were crossing the Sutlej. Among the slain were Major Broadfoot, the zealous and able political agent in the Northwestern Provinces; Colonel Wallace, and Major Somerset, son of Lord Fitzroy Somerset (afterward LORD RAGLAN), a worthy descendant of John of Gaunt. On the afternoon of the 23d, seeing the battle was not about to be renewed, the Governor-General issued a general order, which, after recounting in deserved terms of eulogy their glorious exploits, invited the survivors of these bloody fights to assemble near the Governor-General's tent, to return thanks to the Lord of Hosts for the victory. The service was solemnly and reverently performed, and joined in with fervent devotion by all present, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief setting the example. The terrible scenes they had recently witnessed, the thinned ranks, the dead and the dying by whom they were surrounded, had impressed even the most volatile with serious sentiments; and many knees were then for the first time bent in prayer, and many lips, unused to religious services,

¹ Quart. Review, lxxviii. 207; Personal knowledge.

—"Faltered thanks for life Redeemed, unhop'd, from desperate strife."

After this desperate shock both armies remained for a time quiescent; the losses on either side had been so serious that they required to be replaced before the contest could be renewed. The delay, however, turned chiefly to the benefit of the British. The Sikhs at first enjoyed the immense advantage of attacking suddenly, with their whole force concentrated, an army widely scattered. But when the first onset was over, and the contest came to depend on the comparative amount of the forces which the contending parties could bring up to reinforce their ranks, the superior resources of the British Government came to tell with decisive effect on the future fortunes of the campaign. The Governor-General ordered up, from Meerut, Cawnpore, Delhi, and Agra, every disposable man and gun to the front; and though a large number, of course, required to be left behind to keep up the communications, yet considerable reinforcements reached the army. Before the end of January, 1846, the forces under his command consisted of thirty-one battalions of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry, and a full proportion of artillery and irregulars—in all, in round numbers, thirty thousand combatants of all arms. The troops were so disposed that they could, on the shortest notice, converge to any point where an attack might be made or assistance required, while all the roads in the rear, from Sirhind to Bussean, were covered with convoys bringing up stores of all sorts for the use of the army, or reinforcements hurrying on to the scene of danger and glory in the front. Meanwhile the Sikhs were not idle. Though defeated and discouraged, they were not yet subdued; and taking heart from the prolonged inactivity

^{75.} Preparations on both sides to renew the conflict.

¹ Personal knowledge; Gough's Disp., and Hardinge's Disp.; Ann. Reg. 1846, 339-341; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 206, 207.

* "The only time I felt a doubt was toward the evening of the 22d, when the fresh enemy advanced with heavy columns of infantry, cavalry, and guns, and our cavalry horses were so thoroughly done up that they could not even command a trot. For a moment, then, I felt regret (and I deeply deplore my want of confidence in Him who never failed me or forsook me) as each passing shot left me on horseback; but it was only for a moment."—Sir H. Gough to ———, Dec. 27, 1845.

of the British after the battle, rendered necessary by the exhaustion of their ammunition, they again threw a bridge of boats over the Sutlej, and passed a portion of their army over to the left bank, and fortified the *tête-de-pont*. The situation of their intrenched camp was admirably chosen; it was situated on a bend of the stream, which enabled the artillery on one side to command the other; and placing their field-artillery on the left bank on the *tête-de-pont*, they ranged their heavy guns, commanding them on the right bank, which was higher, in the rear. Thus, if the *tête-de-pont* were carried, the victors would

¹ Quart. Review, lxxviii. 208, 209; Ann. Reg. 1846, 356, 357; Personal knowledge.

find themselves exposed to a plunging fire from the opposite side, from batteries which they had no means of reaching but by a bridge of boats, liable at a moment's warning to be broken down.¹

During these operations a considerable part of the supplies of the Sikh army were drawn from the chiefs under British protection on the left bank, whose secret leaning to the native side was clearly evinced in their actions, though in words they professed fidelity to the British. For this purpose they had established a considerable magazine at Dhurum-Kote, a fortified village on the road from Ferozepore to Loodianah, under the protection of a considerable force. Deeming himself strong enough to resume the offensive, Sir Hugh Gough determined to attack this post,

which was done by SIR HARRY SMITH, with the brigade under his orders. But while this movement was in course of being executed, Sirdar Runjus Singh, with a powerful force, was sent by the Sikh generals across the Sutlej by the ford of Philour to threaten Loodianah and cut Smith off. The movement was ably conceived, and had very nearly proved successful. When Smith was advancing toward Loodianah, whither his orders directed him, after his success at Dhurum-Kote, he was suddenly assailed by the Sirdar, who fell perpendicularly on his line of march, and opened a heavy fire of artillery on the long line of baggage which encumbers the march of every considerable Indian army. The head of the column extricated itself from the danger, and moving steadily on by echelons of battalions, fired, when assailed by the enemy's

² Gough's Dispatch, Feb. 1, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 357; Quarterly Rev. lxxviii. 210.

horse, with the precision of a field-day; but the baggage was cut off, and almost entirely fell into the hands of the enemy. Smith, however, with the soldiers, got through, and effected a junction with Godby near Loodianah.²

By this junction Sir Harry Smith's disposable force was doubled, but the movement of the Sirdar on his flank had cut him off from Cureton, who was following him up in support, and the loss of his baggage, which contained a considerable portion of his ammunition, rendered his situation very precarious. The Sikhs first took up an intrenched position at a place called Bud-dawul, between Smith and Wheeler. After remaining there for some days, however, they decamped, and moved toward the Sutlej to effect a junction with a reinforcement of 4000 regular troops, with 12 guns and a large body of cavalry. Having accomplished this, the Sirdar resumed

the offensive, and marched to ALIWAL, so as to threaten Smith's communications. Meanwhile that general had joined Wheeler; and finding himself now at the head of three brigades of infantry, besides an admirable body of cavalry, he resolved to attack the enemy, who were about six miles distant, occupying a ridge close to Aliwal. The ground on the British right being a short hard grass, eminently favorable for the movements of cavalry, Smith wisely concentrated the greater part of his horse in that quarter, the remainder being sent to the left, and the cannon placed in the centre. Between the bodies of horse, the infantry moved up in echelon, and deployed with beautiful precision when they came to the ground. The sight was most imposing when the British approached within cannon shot. Right before them, drawn up in admirable array, lay the army of the Sikhs, full 20,000 strong, with 70 guns; the British were only 9000, with 32 pieces of artillery. But the spirit of the troops was excellent; they advanced as to certain victory, and the glancing of the sun on the swords and bayonets as they deployed formed a spectacle at once martial and imposing.¹

¹ Sir Hugh Gough's Dispatch, Feb. 1, 1846; Sir H. Smith's Disp., Jan. 28, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 357-58.

When the British had advanced to within cannon-shot, the fire opened upon them from the Sikh artillery was so violent that it became necessary to halt the men, though still under fire, till the village of Aliwal, on the enemy's left, was carried. Brigadier Godby, who was on the extreme British right, was directed to advance as quickly as possible against the village, supported by Hick's brigade. They made a splendid charge, and took the village, with two guns of heavy calibre, which had proved extremely annoying, by a rapid rush. Once established there, the centre and whole line were ordered again to advance, which they did with the utmost spirit, the 31st Queen's and native regiments contending who should be first to reach the enemy. While the battle was raging with the utmost fury in the centre and left, Brigadier Cureton executed a brilliant charge against a large body of horse on the enemy's left, which was driven back in great disorder upon the reserves of their infantry. At the same time, Brigadiers Wilson and Wheeler had advanced in the centre at the head of their brigades against the line opposite them, and driven them back, taking several guns. Seeing this, and to secure the victory, which was now declaring for the British at all points, Sir Harry Smith moved forward Godby's brigade from Aliwal, so as to threaten the enemy's rear and their line of retreat to the fords of the Sutlej by which they had crossed over. Upon this the Sikhs fell back on all sides, and, to cover their retreat, occupied in strength the village of Bhoondee and the ground to its right. There they were charged in the most gallant manner by the 16th Lancers and 3d Light Cavalry, the Lancers leading, who broke into the enemy's square, and totally routed them. At the same time, the 53d Queen's, supported by the 30th Native Infantry, stormed the village of Bhoondee, and drove the enemy successively from every position which they strove to take up between it and the river. It was now no longer a battle, but a rout. A general rush ensued to the ford

and the boats, in endeavoring to reach which the British guns and howitzers played with fatal effect on the multitude contending with each other to get over. Nine guns were taken on the edge of the river, and two more stuck in the quicksands, and fell into the hands of the victors. In the ardor of pursuit several of the British horsemen followed the other guns into the middle of the stream, and spiked them, with the water up to the axles of the carriages.¹

This victory completely restored the prestige of the British, which had been somewhat dimmed by the calamitous loss sustained in the desperate shock at Ferozeshah. The Governor-General, in a proclamation addressed to the troops, recounted with just pride that 52 guns had been taken in this splendid battle, making, with those captured at Moodkee and Ferozeshah, 143 left from the Sikhs since they had crossed the Sutlej two months before, while they had been driven every where back to their own side of the river. The loss of the Sikhs in this battle was not less than 8000, chiefly incurred in the crossing of the Sutlej; the British were only weakened by 673 killed and wounded.²

Still the Sikhs held the intrenched camp, bridge of boats, and *tête-de-pont* of SOBRAON, which enabled them at pleasure to direct their forces to either bank of the river, and kept the long line of the British communications in constant danger from sudden irruptions. It was of the utmost moment to dispossess them of this stronghold, but the attack on it was no light matter, for it was defended by 80,000 of the best Sikh troops, supported by an immense train of artillery, for the most part of heavy calibre. Many reasons concurred to recommend delay: the Sikhs had no farther resources to look to, whereas those of the British were daily coming forward; and Sir Charles Napier, with 15,000 men from Scinde, was in full march upon Mooltan, which he would shortly reach, and thereby effect a diversion in the rear of the enemy to the relief of the Commander-in-Chief. On the other hand, all Asia expected the British speedily to crush the Sikhs, and prove the reality of their boasted victories by their capture; and formidable as the intrenchments were, it had been found at Ferozeshah that they might be carried by British courage and resolution: above all, a heavy train of guns and mortars had come up from Delhi. Thus reinforced, the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, after duly weighing all the circumstances of their own and the enemy's position, resolved on an immediate attack on the intrenched camp, and it was fixed for the 10th February.³

Previous to this grand attack on the now concentrated forces of the enemy, Sir Harry Smith's division had been called up from Loodiansh. The Sikhs were confident in the strength of their intrenched camp, extending over both sides of the river, with a strong well-constructed bridge of boats between them. The British guns, which now amounted to 100 pieces,

of which a considerable part were of heavy calibre, were arranged in the form of a semicircle round the camp on the left bank of the river, so as to be able to concentrate a cross-fire upon any part of the enemy's works. The Sikh intrenchments were armed by 180 pieces of artillery, of which 70 were heavy; and the whole country round, by which approaches required to be made, was perfectly level, without cover of any kind, and swept by their artillery. It was evident, therefore, that the attack could not be made without a very great loss of life; for the practice of the Sikh gunners was excellent, and they stood steadily to their pieces. It was for some time discussed at head-quarters whether in these circumstances it would not be the more advisable course to give up all thoughts of attacking Sobraon, and instead move down the Sutlej to the neighborhood of Ferozepore, where there was a large island unoccupied by the enemy, and attempt a passage there, so as to take the intrenched camp in rear. After mature deliberation, however, this plan was abandoned as too hazardous, requiring the dividing of the army in presence of the concentrated Sikh forces having command of both banks of the river, and it was determined to make a direct attack upon the intrenchments in front.¹

It was the plan of the British commander to shake the enemy by a fire of uncommon severity of some hours' duration, and then suddenly let the troops loose for the storm. The fire was to have commenced at daybreak, but the mist rising from the river was so thick that it was necessary to wait an hour till the sun had dispelled the vapor. Meanwhile the troops were arranged in the order in which they were to proceed to the assault. On the extreme left, two brigades, composing Sir Robert Dick's division, stood close to the margin of the river. His attack was to be headed by the 10th Queen's, supported by the 58d Queen's, led by Brigadier Stacey. In reserve on this wing were Wilkinson's and Ashburnham's brigades, composed of native troops; in the centre, Major-General Gilbert's division was formed close to and partly in the village of Sobraon; while on the right Sir Harry Smith's division extended round to the edge of the Sutlej on the other side. Thus the British troops formed an immense semicircle, each end of which touched the Sutlej, while in its centre was the village of Sobraon, which gave its name to the battle. Brigadier Cureton's horse threatened the ford of Hurreek, opposite to which the enemy had stationed large bodies of cavalry. The Sikhs, consisting of thirty-two regular battalions, occupied the interior of the intrenchments, which consisted of a triple line of works, one within another, flanked by formidable redoubts, the fire from which swept every part of the plain by which alone they could be approached.²

When the fire of the British artillery, which was kept up with uncommon vigor and precision, and was admirably replied to by the Sikhs, had lasted three hours, the troops were moved up to the assault. The infantry marched steadily forward in line; the guns came up at the

¹ Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 212; Gough's Dispatch, Feb. 13, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 360; Personal knowledge.

² Gough's Dispatch, Feb. 13, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 360.

³ Gough's Dispatch, Feb. 13, 1846; Sir Henry Hardinge's Disp., Ann. Reg. 1846, 360.

⁶¹ Personal knowledge of both sides, and dispositions for the attack.

⁸² Desperate strife which ensued.

gallop, taking successive positions as they advanced, until they were within 300 yards of the front line of the Sikh works, when they halted, and poured in a concentrated fire on those parts of the works intended to be assaulted. Then the infantry rushed forward with a run, the 10th leading, supported by the 58d Queen's, and 48d and 59th Native Infantry. Such, however, was the vigor of the defense, that the bravest of the Europeans recoiled from the shock, and the stormers were repulsed with terrible slaughter. Then the Ghoorkas were brought forward, and these brave little men, in their dark-green uniforms, running over the intervening space strewn with dead, reached the foot of the rampart. A little Ghoorka, lifted upon the shoulders of a huge grenadier of the 10th, who had rushed on again along with them, was the first who got into an embrasure. Speedily a desperate conflict ensued around him, the Sikhs striving to bayonet those who came pressing up to protect him. At last the latter prevailed, a portion of the works was carried, and the whole division, headed by the gallant Stacey, came pouring rapidly in, followed by Wilkinson with his men, and both brigades were soon engaged in a desperate close fight with the enemy in the interior of their works.¹

¹ Gough's Dispatch, Ann. Reg. 1846, 361; Personal knowledge.

No sooner did the Sikh generals see this advantage gained on the left, than ^{84.} they directed their whole force against the division which had thus penetrated into their intrenchments; and the danger was imminent that it would be crushed by superior numbers on the very ground which it had with such difficulty won. To meet this danger, Ashburnham's and Gilbert's brigades were hurried forward in the centre, Smith's division was directed against the right, and the fire from the whole artillery was redoubled. Long and desperate was the conflict, for the Sikhs fought with the utmost resolution; their gunners stood to their pieces to the last, and even when the British, at particular spots, had broken in through gaps opened by the artillery, their masses rushed on with undaunted valor, and again and again expelled the stormers from the intrenchments. At length, the sappers on the left centre having cleared out openings in the works sufficiently wide to admit horsemen in single file, the 3d Queen's Dragoons, headed by Sir Joseph Thackwell, penetrated in, and, forming inside the works, galloped along, taking the batteries in the rear and cutting down the gunners, who, with unconquerable valor, continued to discharge their pieces. Gough immediately sent in the whole three divisions in the centre and right to support and follow up this advantage. Long and desperate, however, was the conflict within the works; the Sikhs fought with heroic resolution, refusing alike to give or receive quarter; and it was not till the entire British reserves had been brought into action that victory finally declared for them. Gradually the Sikh columns were forced back toward the bridge and ^{85.} fords in their rear; the fire from their rearmost ranks at first lessened, and at last altogether ceased; and the whole mass, abandoning their guns, rushed in a tumultuous body to the water's edge.²

² Gough's Disp.; Ann. Reg. 1846, 361, 362; Quart. Rev. lxxviii. 214; Personal knowledge.

Sir Hugh Gough had anxiously looked for the arrival of the period when the rising of the Sutlej, by rendering impassable the fords on either side of the bridge of boats, might enable him to attack the enemy in the hazardous predicament of having no line of retreat but a broad river, traversed by a single narrow bridge, in their rear.* This immense advantage, the counterpart of that enjoyed by the Archduke Charles in the second day of the battle of Aspern, now seconded his efforts.¹ During the night preceding the battle, and while it was raging, the Sutlej rose seven inches, and this rendered the fords hardly passable for foot-soldiers. This circumstance drove the whole fugitives to the bridge, the entrance of which was soon choked up. The British horse-artillery advanced at the gallop to the edge of the river, and opened a tremendous fire of round-shot and canister on the living mass of fugitives. So terrible was the slaughter that the victorious troops felt for the sufferers, and would have recoiled from continuing it, had not the recollection of the cruelty with which the Sikhs had, in the commencement of the action, slaughtered the wounded British who fell into their hands steeled every heart of the conquerors against pity.²†

^{85.} Dreadful slaughter of the Sikhs in crossing the bridge.

¹ Gough's Disp.; Ann. Reg. 1846, 362; Hardinge's Proclamation, Ibid.; Personal knowledge.

Such was the battle of Sobraon, in which it is difficult to decide whether to admire ^{86.} most the desperate valor of the conquerors, or the heroic prowess of the British had come into contact with very different races of men from those who yielded to the prowess of Clive. Equally plain was it that the sepoys could no longer be relied on in battle with the rude and hardy inhabitants of the North; experience had abundantly proved that, unless preceded and supported by European troops, they were no match, in the general case, either for the Sikhs, the Ghoorkas, or the Afghans. The loss in the battle was very severe; it amounted to 820 killed and 2063 wounded—in all, 2883. Among the former was Major-General Sir Robert Dick, a gallant officer, who had won his spurs in command of the 42d at Quatre-Bras; Brigadier Taylor, and General M'Laren. No less than 13 European officers were killed, and 101 wounded; while of the native there were only 3 of the former

* "The enemy have intrenched themselves on the very brink of the river, at a bend where the guns from the opposite side enfilade not only the position itself, but the advance of it. I have done every thing to draw them out of it, but in vain. I now want only some lucky opportunity; but the ford is so good that the whole guns and men may pass over any night without my knowing of it. A good fall of rain, or an accidental thaw of snow upon the hills, may enable me, when they have no other means than the bridge, to attack them. Were I to do so now, I could not push on to Lahore, for my battering-train is not up."—SIR HUGH GOUGH to —, 2d February, 1846 (MS.).

† The personal valor of the Sikhs was strongly spoken of in all the private letters which appeared in the newspapers of the day. "I saw one fellow dash out of the batteries, sword in hand, and before he was bayoneted he had cut down two Europeans. We stopped one man who was leveling his musket at a dying Sikh in the river, to whom we promised protection if he would come ashore. The dying man shook his head, as much as to say he would never give in to the Feringhees, and floated down the stream."—Letter of a Staff Officer, 14th February, 1846; Quart. Rev., lxxviii. 214.

and 39 of the latter. The extraordinary valor and prowess of the Ghoorka regiments attracted universal admiration, and were deservedly noticed by the Commander-in-Chief. Sixty-seven

¹Gough's Dispatch, Feb. 13, 1846; Ann. Reg. 1846, 361-363; Hardinge's Proclamation, Feb. 14, 1846; Ibid. 363.

pieces of cannon and 200 camel-swivels, besides 19 standards, were taken, and immense stores of ammunition. The loss of the Sikhs was prodigious, chiefly during the terrible flight over the bridge, or in trying to cross the fords: it amounted to at least 10,000 men.¹

Sir Henry Hardinge, who in this battle, as in that of Ferozeshah, maintained his chivalrous place as second in command in the army, was foremost, as was the Commander-in-Chief, wherever the fire was hottest and the danger greatest. He was with Stacey's

brigade, which first got into the intrenchments; and it was his indomitable firmness which encouraged the troops to keep the ground they had won with so much difficulty. Sir Hugh Gough displayed not only the *coup-d'œil* of an experienced general, but the vigor and elasticity of a young officer. On horseback from morning to night, he wore out the strongest of his staff without seeming to feel fatigue himself, and was among the first of the horsemen who penetrated in single file into the intrenchments on the right. As soon as the battle was gained, Sir Henry hastened to a spot some miles farther down, where preparations for crossing over had been made; and four brigades, which had been kept in hand for that purpose, were passed. The whole army soon followed, and advanced in great strength toward Lahore. At

the same time the Governor-General issued a proclamation, which, after recounting the wanton and unprovoked incursion of the Sikh soldiery, and the signal chastisement which they had experienced, concluded with declaring that the British Government did not desire any acquisition of territory, but only security for the future, indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the establishment of a government at Lahore which should afford a guarantee against such aggressions in time to come. Brought to reason by the approach of the victorious army, the Ranee and her Durbar or council resolved on submission, and dispatched plenipotentiaries to the British camp to arrange terms of accommodation. They were courteously received by Sir Henry Hardinge, and the blame of the war being

by common consent laid on the rebellious soldiers whom the Government were unable to control, no difficulty was experienced in coming to terms, which were arranged in a formal treaty, signed on the 15th February at Kusoor.²

By this treaty the whole territory, hill and plain, lying between the River Beas, the former frontier, and the Sutlej, was ceded to the British Government. A crore and a half of rupees (£1,500,000) were to be paid as an indemnity for the expenses of the war; the whole guns which had been pointed against the British were to be given up, and the entire Sikh army re-formed on the system which prevailed in the time of Runjeet Singh, and on a scale to be arranged in connection with the Brit-

ish Government. The entire control of the Sutlej, with the country between it and the Beas, was surrendered to the British. Gholab Singh, who had adhered to the British during the contest, received in return a tract of hilly country between the Indus and the Ravee, including Chumba and Cashmere. In consideration of this gift, he agreed to pay them 75 lacs of rupees (£750,000), and to acknowledge himself a tributary of the British Government. At the earnest entreaty of the Sikh Durbar, it was agreed that a British subsidiary force should occupy Lahore till the end of the year. These terms being agreed to, the young Maharajah, Dhuleep Singh, was received with great pomp by the Governor-General, submission having been previously made, and pardon awarded by the Government; and a week after, the British army made their triumphal entry into Lahore, and were put in possession of the gates of the citadel, the residence of the Maharajah. From thence the Governor-General issued a proclamation, recounting in terms of just eulogy the glorious achievements of his troops, which in sixty days had defeated in four pitched battles the bravest army in Asia, taken 220 guns in fair fight, and subdued a martial kingdom's vast array.^{1*}

The glorious and speedy termination of this bloody and terrible war gave the greatest satisfaction both in India and Great Britain. Its great and memorable events, the heroism displayed by the chiefs and soldiers on both sides, the fearful chances of the conflict, and the mighty stake which was played for by the contending armies, strongly moved the British mind in both hemispheres. The moderation shown by the British, both in the outset in striving to avert the conflict, and in the end in sparing the vanquished, was the subject of frequent and warm eulogy in both Houses of Parliament and by the press. The anticipation was now generally expressed that lasting peace had at length been secured in India, the fidelity of the sepoys thoroughly tested, and our empire in the East established on a firm foundation. Honors were, with great and deserved profusion, showered down on the chiefs and officers and men who had been engaged in these memorable conflicts: Sir Henry Hardinge was

* "The army of the Sutlej has now brought its operations in the field to a close, by the dispersion of the Sikh army and the military occupation of Lahore, preceded by a series of the most triumphant successes ever recorded in the military History of India. The British Government, trusting to the faith of treaties, and to the long subsisting friendship between the two states, had limited military operations to the defense of its own frontier. Compelled suddenly to assume the offensive by the unprovoked invasion of its territories, the British army, under its distinguished leader, has in sixty days defeated the Sikh forces in four general actions, captured 220 pieces of field-artillery, and is now at the capital, dictating to the Lahore Durbar the terms of a treaty, the conditions of which will tend to secure the British provinces from the repetition of a similar outrage. The Governor-General, however, being determined to mark with reprobation the perfidious character of the war, has required and will exact that every remaining piece which has been pointed against the British army during the campaign shall be surrendered; and the Sikh army, whose insubordinate conduct is one of the chief causes of the anarchy and misrule which have brought the Sikh state to the brink of ruin, is about to be disbanded."—SIR H. HARDINGE'S Proclamation, Lahore, Feb. 22, 1846; *Ann. Reg.*, 1846, p. 367.

made a viscount with the cordial approbation of the country, and a large pension settled on him by the East India Company; Sir Hugh Gough was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Gough; numerous officers engaged were decorated with military orders, and a gratuity of twelve months' batta bestowed, without exception, on the whole soldiers engaged in the campaign.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1846, 370-374; Quart. Review, lxxviii. 215.

Judging by the European standard, and relying on the vast effect of a noble display of moderation in the hour of victory, there can be no doubt that the anticipations of a long peace were well founded. But there never was a greater mistake than was committed in applying that standard to the Eastern world. Destitute of all ideas of moderation or any power of self-control in the career of ambition themselves, the Asiatics have no conception of these virtues, and utterly discredit their existence in others. If they see moderation and abandonment of conquests in a victorious power, they invariably ascribe it, not to humanity or a sense of justice, but to a secret dread of the enemy, or the consciousness of inability to continue the contest in the party heretofore successful. It is considered, therefore, as a certain proof that the contest may, on the first convenient opportunity, be renewed. So it proved in the present instance; so it proved in the sparing of Canton in 1841, which rendered unavoidable its capture in 1858; and so it has proved on every occasion, whether in Asia or Africa, when the Europeans have been brought in contact with the more savage nations of the earth.

Even before the year during which the occupation of Lahore had expired, it had become evident that the Sikh soldiery were far from being thoroughly subdued, and that a renewal of the contest at no distant period might with confidence be anticipated. When Gholab Singh attempted to take possession of the principality carved for him out of the dominion of the Sikhs, he experienced such opposition from the son of the late governor that he was driven out of the country, and only regained his footing in it by the assistance of General Wheeler, with a brigade of British troops. It was discovered ere long that this resistance had been secretly encouraged, and in fact enjoined, by the vizier and some ministers of the Durbar at Lahore. It thus became evident that the British influence in Lahore would only be secured by the permanent presence of a subsidiary force. The other members of the Durbar of that capital accordingly applied to the British Government to conclude a fresh treaty, stipulating for the assistance of a permanent force; and this was agreed to. Its amount was left to the decision of the Governor-General, but

It was stipulated that the Sikh Government was to pay 22 lacs of rupees (£220,000) annually for its maintenance.²

It was not to be expected that a state of things which reduced them to the rank of a protected State could be very agreeable to so proud and

marital a people as the Sikhs. Such, however, had been the violence of the shock on the Sutlej, that, in spite of the ill humors which were afloat, especially among the soldiery, they remained perfectly quiet—stunned, as it were—during the whole of 1847. The Ranee, who was found to be intriguing against the Government, and was of a very restless, ambitious disposition, was sent off under a military escort to Sharpoora, where she remained under surveillance. Lord Hardinge employed this period of repose in visiting various parts of India, every where organizing schools and the means of extending public instruction. He was busily engaged, also, in directing surveys for the formation of railways and canals, which were set on foot, and in great part carried into execution, by his successor. Akbar Khan, the persevering and inveterate enemy of the British in the Afghanistan war, died in the early part of the year; and in the latter, Sir Charles Napier, whose health had suffered severely from the climate, fatigue, and anxiety, and an incipient disease, which proved in the end mortal, resigned the command in Scinde; and his merits were acknowledged in handsome and well-deserved terms by the Governor-General.* Lord Hardinge did not long remain in India after the retirement of his gallant lieutenant. His health was so severely affected by the climate, and the extreme fatigues and anxiety he had undergone, that he too was obliged to resign; and he set sail for England in November, to enter upon duties and render services, as Master-General of the Ordnance and Commander-in-Chief, not less important than those he had conferred upon his country on the banks of the Sutlej.¹

He was succeeded as Governor-General of India by LORD DALHOUSIE, a nobleman whose administration lasted nearly eight years, and was eminently prosperous; but it has acquired an additional interest from having so closely preceded, and in many respects been connected with, the terrible revolt of 1857. He is of very ancient descent, for his maternal ancestor, Sir Thomas Maule, defended the Castle of Brechin against the forces of Edward I. during that monarch's invasion of Scotland in 1295; and his direct paternal ancestor, Ramsay of Dalwolsey, distinguished himself by his defense of Dalhousie Castle, and at the battle of Roslin, in the wars of Wallace and Bruce. The present Earl, who was born in 1812, the son of one of the bravest and most distinguished of Wellington's lieutenants, inherited all the talents, energy, and patriotic spirit of his ancestors, but they were more directed than theirs to pacific pursuits. His mind was essentially pacific; he had remarkable administrative talents, which were directed,

* "The Governor-General most cordially acknowledges the sense he entertains of the just, firm, and able manner in which his Excellency has conducted the civil administration of the province intrusted to his charge. This important and difficult duty has been performed with an ability which justifies the unlimited confidence which his Lordship has reposed in Sir Charles Napier—a name pre-eminently glorious as the leader of the forces which achieved the victories of Meance and Hyderabad."—Proclamation of Lord Hardinge, 10th October, 1847; Ann. Reg., 1847, p. 435.

* See ante, § 6.

not to organizing the means of war, but to developing the resources and stimulating the industry of peace. Though the younger branch of the family, which inherited the vast family estates in the county of Angus, had always adopted Whig principles, he himself, as his father had been before him, was a Tory, but of that liberal kind which Sir Robert Peel loved to collect around himself, in order to form the nucleus of a Conservative party in harmony with the lights and intelligence of the age. His administrative talents early attracted the notice of that sagacious observer; and when he was called to the helm in 1841, he at once gave Lord Dalhousie an important situation in the Board of Trade. While there, the latter's sagacity soon discovered the perilous nature of the railway mania, which was spreading such an excitement through the country; and the lowering of the deposit required on such undertakings, from ten to five per cent., was made against his decided remonstrances. The reputation of financial and administrative ability which his career at the Board of Trade earned for him pointed him out to the succeeding Government and the East India Directors as the most suitable person to administer the Indian empire, now delivered, it was hoped, by Lord Hardinge's victories, from all risk of external aggression; and with great liberality, though not of their own party, the Whig Ministry appointed him Governor-General. He received his appointment in November, 1847, and immediately set sail for India.¹

When the new Governor-General arrived at Calcutta, on 10th January, 1848, he found affairs by no means wearing the prosperous aspect which was anticipated. The Punjab had again become the theatre of disturbances, only the more difficult to deal with that they originated in the wide-spread and ineradicable hostility of the soldiery and the people. It was in Mooltan that the hostility to British influence earliest broke out into open acts of hostility. This important fortress had been one of the last conquests of Runjeet Singh; and the governor whom the Lion of the Punjab had placed in it had been killed in a popular tumult, soon after the latter's death. He was succeeded by his son Moolraj, who was governor when Lord Hardinge occupied Lahore. Disputes, however, ensued between the government of the Sikhs and Moolraj after the former fell under British influence; and as it was well known that the people took part with their governor, the Durbar resolved to dispossess him and substitute in his place Sirdar Kahn, in whom they had confidence. The change was effected without violence, and the new governor seemed to be quietly installed in his office, when an event occurred which demonstrated how strong were the feelings of hostility to the British on the part of the inhabitants. On the very day after, the British resident, Mr. Vans Agnew, and Lieutenant Anderson of the Bombay army, who had been appointed to attend the new governor to the seat of his authority, were treacherously set upon by a body of armed Sikhs, and both desperately wounded. They were carried by Sirdar Khan to a small fort outside the fortress, and beyond the reach of its guns, where it was thought they would be in safety; but this expectation proved fallacious.

The Sikh garrison immediately rose in arms, and let in the assailants, by whom both the Englishmen were barbarously murdered, and the entire fortress of Mooltan, as well as the fort where the crime had been committed, fell into the hands of the insurgents.¹

As soon as intelligence of the atrocious act reached Lahore, it was resolved to take instant steps to avenge the majesty of the British name. LIEUTENANT EDWARDES, a gallant and enterprising officer, who had a small detachment under his command on the banks of the Indus, effected a junction with a body of Sikh horse, under Colonel Cortlandt, and the united force attacked the revolted Sikhs, three thousand strong, and defeated them with great slaughter. A second battle, which was very obstinately contested, ensued a month after, in which the Mooltan insurgents were again defeated with the loss of six guns; and a third on July 1, in front of the fortress, in which they were totally routed, and shut up within its walls. Edwardes immediately advanced to observe the town, being too weak as yet either to complete its investment or undertake its siege; and meanwhile the utmost efforts were made to collect a siege-train and assemble forces adequate to so serious an undertaking. By great exertions a large army, with all the *materiel* necessary, was collected, consisting of twenty-six thousand men, of whom six thousand were British soldiers, the whole under the command of General Whish; and the investment was completed in the beginning of September. Before, however, any progress could be made in the siege, it became evident that the revolt was not an isolated outbreak, but part of a general movement of the whole Sikh nation to expel the British, and recover their independence. Early in September an insurrection took place in the northwest of the Punjab, headed by Chuttur Singh, the governor of the province, who approached Peshawur at the head of a large force, and obliged Major Lawrence to evacuate that station and seek refuge at Kohat, under the protection of Mohammed Khan.²

A general assault took place on the outworks of Mooltan on 12th September, which, after an obstinate resistance, were carried with considerable loss on the part of the British, but terrible slaughter to the enemy. A sortie was attempted next day to retake them, which was repulsed. But at this critical juncture, Shere Singh, son of Chuttur Singh, who commanded a body of 5000 Sikh auxiliaries, suddenly went over to the enemy with his whole troops. In consequence of this defection the siege was raised, and Whish retired to a few miles' distance, where he took up a position observing the fortress. Meanwhile the insurrection headed by Chuttur Singh, in the northwestern provinces of the Punjab, was making rapid progress, and the two chiefs, Chuttur Singh and his son Shere Singh, emboldened by the raising of the siege, converged from Mooltan on the one side and Peshawur on the other, and effected a junction at Wuzerabad on the 21st October. They then openly set up the standard of independence, and de-

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 428, 429; A Year in the Punjab Frontier, I. 242-250.

95. First operation of Edwardes and Col. Cortlandt against the insurgents. May 20.

June 18.

July 1.

² Ann. Reg. 1848, 430, 431.

96. Defection of Shere Singh, and raising of the siege.

Oct. 21.

clared war against the British Government; and so popular was the cause, that in a few weeks they had 30,000 men around their standards. Meanwhile the Governor-General, now seriously alarmed, was making the utmost efforts to collect a respectable force at Ferozepore to meet the danger. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough, hastened to the spot, and on the 21st November took the command of the army, which had advanced to the Chenab, in the centre of the Punjaub, and mustered twenty thousand combatants.¹

No sooner had the veteran Commander-in-Chief assumed the command than he signalized his presence by the commencement of vigorous operations. The united Sikh force, 30,000 strong, was posted at RAMNUGGUR, about a mile and a half from the Chenab, about midway between the source of that river and its junction with the Indus. The Chenab here takes a bend; and its breadth admitted of a small island, consisting of two acres, about the centre of the channel. This island was occupied by 4000 Sikhs with six guns; the main body of their army was posted on the right bank, the channel between which and the island was so deep as to be passable only in boats; while that between it and the left bank was only a sandy water-course, thirty yards wide, partially filled up. The position of the enemy's army, divided in this manner by a deep river, appeared, with reason, to the Commander-in-Chief to invite an attack, and orders for this purpose were issued to the troops to be in readiness to march at two in the morning of the 22d.²

The troops marched at the appointed hour, and passing Ramnuggur, moved swiftly toward the bank of the river opposite the island, where it was hoped a surprise would be made. Their outposts soon drove in the Sikh patrols and detachments across the narrow channel into the island; and the horse-artillery, coming down to the water's edge, opened fire upon it. They soon, however, found themselves overmatched by the fire from the enemy's heavy guns in position on the opposite bank. Seeing this, a body of 3000 horse issued from the island, thinking to make an easy prey of the guns; and orders were given to the 14th Queen's Dragoons, led by Havelock, with the 5th Native Light Cavalry, to charge them as soon as they reached the left bank. The charge was most gallantly made, though unfortunately with too decisive effect; for the Sikh horsemen, driven back, or feigning a retreat, drew the victorious British to the edge of the water-course, which was a precipitous bank, four or five feet deep, down which men and horses rolled and lay in wild confusion at the bottom, while the Sikh batteries from the opposite shore were playing with fatal effect on the defenseless throng. They re-formed, however, and a second time charged the enemy, when their brave commander, Havelock, fell, and the horsemen were again repulsed. Colonel King, the next in command, was forming his men for a third charge, when General Cureton rode up with orders from the Commander-in-Chief to withdraw, and terminate the useless butchery.

Scarcely were the words out of his mouth when the brave general was struck by two musket-balls, and fell dead from his horse. Colonel King now drew off his men, and the combat ceased. The enemy had been driven from the posts he occupied on the left bank of the river, but he still held Ramnuggur and the right bank; and three distinguished officers and many brave men had fallen in a disastrous nocturnal combat, without any adequate result.¹

After this repulse both armies remained for some days quiescent. On the 30th November, Lord Gough detached General Thackwell with a strong body of troops across the river above Ramnuggur, to threaten the Sikh army in rear, while he himself attacked them in front. To counteract this movement, Shere Singh, who commanded there, moved forward to attack him. It resulted only in a heavy cannonade, attended with little loss on either side. The Sikhs did not venture, as yet, to measure their strength with the British in the open field, and they retreated in the night in the direction of the Jhelum. Upon learning this movement, Lord Gough immediately dispatched Sir Walter Gilbert, with the 9th Lancers and 14th Light Dragoons, across the river to pursue them; and it was hoped the campaign was over, and that the enemy would disperse. In this expectation, however, he was mistaken. The Sikh general was only waiting for the reduction of the fortress of Attock on the Indus, which had been long besieged by his father, Chuttur Singh, when he knew he would be reinforced. On 10th January intelligence was received that the place had fallen, and that Chuttur Singh was in full march to join his son. Lord Gough now saw that there was no time to be lost, for Shere Singh's forces already amounted to forty thousand men, with sixty-two guns, and they would be raised to half as much more by the arrival of Chuttur Singh. He resolved, therefore, to bring him to action before the junction took place, and for this purpose marched at daylight on 12th January to attack the Sikh army, which lay intrenched in a very strong position, broken by copsewood and jungle, and intersected by deep ravines, near the village of CHILLIANWALLAH.²

Lord Gough approached this formidable position about noon, and found the enemy drawn up in battle array, prepared to engage. A skirmish of horse-artillery soon ensued between the advanced posts, which led to Gough bringing up some heavy pieces, and these soon silenced the light guns the enemy had pushed forward; but seeing this, they immediately opened with their whole guns from right to left. Some of the balls fell among the staff of the Commander-in-Chief, who had gone forward to reconnoitre. It was now evident that they would advance their guns so as to reach the British encampment before night, and Lord Gough therefore resolved to anticipate them by an immediate attack, even before their position had been fully ascertained. Hastily the troops, though wearied with a long march, were drawn up in order of battle—Gilbert's division on the right, flanked

97.
Position of the
Sikhs at Ram-
nuggur.
November 22.

¹ Gough's
Desp., Nov.
25, 1848;
Ann. Reg.
1848, 432,
433.

98.
Bloody re-
pulse of the
British.
Nov. 22.

¹ Gough's
Disp., Nov.
25, 1848;
Ann. Reg.
432, 433.

99.
Operations of
Lord Gough
and Shere
Singh.
December 2.

² Gough's
Disp., Jan.
14, 1849;
Ann. Reg.
1848, 483;
1849, 377.

100.
Preparations
on both sides
for the battle.
January 12.

by Pope's brigade of cavalry, with three troops of horse-artillery. The heavy guns were stationed in the centre, and the field-batteries were with the infantry. Campbell's division, flanked by Brigadier White's brigade of cavalry, and Colonel Brind's horse-artillery, were on the left. The Sikhs were drawn up in the interstices of thick jungle, which were occupied by sharpshooters, who, themselves concealed, kept up a heavy fire on the advancing columns. They were fully forty thousand strong, with sixty-two guns, and very strong in cavalry, which was chiefly mass-

ed on their extreme left, where the ground was favorable to the action of that arm. The entire British force was under twenty thousand combatants.¹

The battle began with a cannonade, which lasted nearly two hours. A forward movement was then ordered by the British-left, and Campbell's men advanced with great steadiness to the charge. But when they approached the enemy, they were received with such a tremendous fire from the batteries in position, aided by a cross-fire of musketry from the enemy in the thickets, that they were forced to retire, after sustaining a very severe loss. To support this attack Brigadier Mountain, with the fifth brigade, advanced against the enemy's centre, and his men charged with such vigor that the whole guns opposed to them were taken and spiked; but they could not be held, owing to the terrible fire of musketry from the woods, and the brigade was obliged to retire, which it did with the utmost steadiness. But while the combat thus raged on the left and in the centre, a fearful disaster had been incurred on the right. The infantry under Gilbert and Godby had there advanced, forcing their way through dense jungle, and soon found themselves exposed to a desperate fire from the thickets. The advanced battalions were obliged to fall back, which they did with surprising regularity. At this juncture the artillery under Dawes came up, and instantly opened on the enemy, who in their turn were forced back, and several guns taken. At the same time, the cavalry under White, on the extreme left, by a brilliant charge, routed the horse opposed to them. The battle seemed gained, or nearly so, when a sudden cry was heard on the right, followed by a cloud of dust and general confusion in that quarter. This arose from the 14th Light Dragoons, which, on being ordered to charge, dreading an ambushade similar to that which had proved so fatal to them at Ramnuggur, turned about, and, in spite of the utmost efforts of their officers, retreated to the rear, driving, in their flight, right through Huish and Christie's horse-artillery. Several of the horses and a gun were upset in the shock, and the Sikh cavalry, taking advantage of the confusion, charged rapidly, cut down seventy of the gunners, and took six guns,

four of which, with five colors, remained in their hands. The other guns, however, opened upon the advancing Sikhs with such vigor that they retired; and with the approach of night the battle ceased.²

The intelligence of this untoward engagement, which was, in truth, a drawn battle, excited a strong feeling of alarm in Great Britain. The

loss had been very severe. No less than 27 officers and 731 men were killed, and 66 officers and 1446 men wounded—in all, 2269; and the Sikhs could point to the unusual trophies of four guns and five standards taken. Aided by the darkness of the night, the enemy contrived to remove nearly the whole of the guns which had been wrested from them during the fight. The whole blame of the untoward result was laid on Lord Gough, and the clamor soon became loud for his recall, never reflecting that the affair, at the worst, had been a drawn battle. As it was, the outcry was so violent that Government deemed it best to yield to it; and, much against the will of the East India Directors and the partisans of the political agents both in India and this country, determined on sending out Sir Charles Napier. "If you don't go," said the Duke of Wellington to Sir Charles Napier, "I must." There was no resisting this appeal. Though laboring under a mortal malady, the veteran accepted the proffered command, and on 6th May embarked for India.³

But however loud may have at the moment been the outcry against the veteran General, he was not long of showing that he was still worthy of the supreme command. For about a month after the battle both armies remained quiescent, during which Lord Gough was incessantly engaged in repairing his losses and strengthening the artillery, the want of which had been so severely felt in the preceding battle. He was soon reinforced. The troops engaged in the siege of Mooltan, with the noble train of artillery which had led to its reduction, as will immediately be narrated, joined the army, and at once gave the British a great superiority in that important arm. On the 12th a great movement was observed in the Sikh position, and large bodies of horse came forward to the front, so as to conceal what was going on behind. Under cover of this armed screen the Sikh army decamped, and retired in the direction of GOOJERAT. The object of this movement was to draw near to Chuttur Singh, who was advancing from the north with 20,000 Sikh soldiers, and 1500 Afghan horse under Akram Khan, a son of Akbar Khan. The junction was effected near Goojerat, and the united forces, 60,000 strong, with 59 guns, were encamped around that town, covered in front by the dry bed of a river, which nearly encircled its outer circumference. Lord Gough's army had been increased to 25,000 men; and he was at length superior in the number and weight of his guns, which amounted to 100 pieces.⁴ He determined, therefore, to attack the

Retreat of the Sikhs toward Goojerat, and their junction with Chuttur Singh. February 12.

¹ Napier's Mem. iv. 153-157; An. Reg. 1849, 380.

² Gough's Dispatch, Feb. 28, 1849; An. Reg. 1849, 381; Napier, Mem. iv. 153-157.

³ Sir Charles Napier judged the affair of Chillianwallah with the candor and allowances which one brave man owes to another. "Lord Gough was a noble soldier of fifty years' service, and had always been victorious, whether obeying or commanding. No man heard, because no man dared to say, that personal comfort, or idleness, or fear, had induced him to shrink from danger, or responsibility, or labor. What, then, was his crime? He had fought a drawn battle; the enemy was not crushed. For that only his destruction was called for." —NAPIER'S Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 151.

enemy in the position they had chosen, and both parties prepared for a decisive struggle.

Lord Gough's plan of attack was to throw his right upon the centre of the enemy, while his left forced their way across the dry nullah which covered their position, and then wheeled to the right, and, in conjunction with the British right, made a concentrated assault upon the Sikh centre. His great reliance, however, was on his superior artillery, which, being ranged in a semicircle round the enemy's position, would be enabled to bring a concentrated cross-fire to bear on his batteries and the dense masses of troops drawn up behind them. The British guns, accordingly, were advanced to the front, and the fire on both sides soon became extremely warm, for the Sikh gunners served their pieces with extraordinary rapidity, and stood to them with their accustomed valor. Ere long, however, the superiority of the British fire became apparent, and, in spite of all their efforts, the Sikh batteries were forced to retire before the terrific storm which was falling upon them. Lord Gough, seeing this, brought forward his infantry. Gilbert's division advanced, and its leading brigade, under Brigadier Penny, consisting of the 2d Europeans and 31st and 70th Native Infantry, carried the village of Burra-Kalra in the most gallant style. At the same time the village of Kooba-Kalra was stormed by Harvey's brigade, led by Colonel Franks at the head of the 18th Queen's Infantry.

Encouraged by this success, Lord Gough now ordered a general advance of the whole infantry, preceded by the artillery, and supported by the cavalry. The horse and light artillery advanced in the most beautiful style, unlimbering and firing with such rapidity that their forward movement seemed to be unchecked by a halt; while the heavy guns, a little behind, covered their approach by an incessant fire of bombs and round shot over their heads. Nothing could stand against it. First the Sikh artillery fell back in confusion, and the pieces, crowding into a small circle in the rear, got entangled, and were taken amidst loud cheers. Next the infantry fled on all sides; and the victorious troops, breaking through the nullah and all the defenses, drove the enemy entirely from the field of battle, and pursued them twelve miles beyond Goojerat, taking 57 guns, 32 standards, their camp, whole ammunition, and baggage. This decisive victory was gained with the loss of only 5 European officers killed and 24 wounded; the total loss being only 92 killed, and 682 wounded.

Early next morning a strong body of horse and foot artillery, with some infantry and the whole cavalry, amounting in all to 15,000 men, were dispatched toward the Khoree Pass, to intercept the flight of the enemy toward the Jhelum. It was reached accordingly, and passed, Brigadier Mountain leading the way through the gorge, which was found to be of tremendous strength; but the enemy had already got through, though to the number only of 9000 men with 10 guns, so disastrous had the battle and pursuit proved to them. The British army followed, and when they reached the Jhelum, Shere

Singh made propositions of surrender, while Akram Khan, with his Afghans, fled in all haste to Attock. The river having with some difficulty been passed, it was intimated to the Sikh leaders that no terms would be listened to but unconditional surrender. To these conditions they were obliged to submit, and the humiliating scene took place on the 12th March, near Hormuck. First, the guns taken at Chillianwallah were brought in, to the infinite joy of the soldiers; then came the whole Sikh chiefs and officers; and, lastly, the common men, who all delivered up their arms. The guns surrendered were 41, and the soldiers nearly 10,000. Each man received, from the humanity of the British Government, a rupee to carry him home, and the cavalry were allowed to retain their horses, which were all their own property; but the whole arms, guns, and standards were retained by the conquerors. The number of cannon taken since the commencement of the campaign was 158 pieces; the soldiers killed, surrendered, or dispersed, 60,000.

The flying Afghans were pursued with the greatest rapidity by Sir Walter Gilbert, in hopes that they might be overtaken before they reached the Indus or got possession of the bridge of boats at Attock. In this hope, however, he was disappointed: when he approached the river he found that place already in possession of the fugitives, who were making preparations to destroy the bridge. Gilbert, however, accompanied by his staff and a small body of irregular horse, galloped up to the left bank; and the Afghans, who thought they were still two marches in the rear, were seized with such consternation that, though they mustered 6000 combatants, they retired, and most of the boats were secured by the pursuers. The horse-artillery having soon after come up, the Afghans, after firing a few rounds, evacuated the fortress, which was taken possession of by the British, as was the fort of Hyderabad, forming a *tête-de-pont* on the right bank, with the bridge between them. Upon this the Afghans precipitately took to flight, making straight for the Khyber Pass, from whence they withdrew into the wilds of Afghanistan.

While these successes were securing British supremacy in the centre and north of the Punjaub, operations in the Mooltan equally successful were going forward on the western frontier of that province. The great drain of men required to reinforce the Commander-in-Chief, and the entire defection of the Sikh forces, suspended the siege of Mooltan only for a very short period. On the 21st December a large reinforcement arrived from Bombay, which raised the besieging force to 32,000 men, of whom 15,000 were British, with 150 pieces of artillery. This great reinforcement enabled General Whish to renew operations. On the 27th a general attack was made on the suburbs, which the enemy abandoned on the approach of the stormers, and retired within the city walls. The besiegers now broke ground on all sides within five hundred yards of the rampart, and with such vigor were the approaches pushed, that on the 28th a

104. Battle of Goojerat. Feb. 21.

105. Glorious victory of the British.

1 Gough's Disp., Feb. 23, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 382, 383.

106. Great results of the victory, and surrender of the Sikhs. February 24.

Feb. 27.

¹ Lord Gough's Dispatch, March 12, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 382, 383.

107. The Afghans are driven off, and Attock taken. March 17.

² Gilbert's Report; Ann. Reg. 1849, 383, 384.

108.

Dec. 21, 1843.

Dec. 27.

general bombardment was commenced, and on the 29th the nearest breaching batteries had been pushed to within eighty yards of the rampart. An incessant fire was kept up upon the city and walls during the next twenty-four hours; and on the morning of the 30th the principal magazine blew up with a tremendous explosion. It had cost Moolraj five years to form, and contained sixteen thousand pounds of powder. Eight hundred persons were killed or wounded by the explosion, and the principal buildings in the town thrown down; but the works were uninjured: the Sikh chief sent a haughty defiance to the besiegers next day, saying he had still powder and shot to hold out for twelve months.¹

Nothing daunted by this terrible catastrophe, the Sikhs made a vigorous sally on the following day, but they were repulsed with heavy loss by Major Edwardes and Lieutenant Lake. The bombardment continued without intermission for forty-eight hours, and at the close of that time the assault was ordered. Two columns advanced from the Bombay army, and one from that of Bengal. Great was the rivalry between these brave troops for the honor of first mounting the breaches, but the prize fell to the Bombay divisions—that assigned to the Bengal column having been found not to be practicable after it had been nearly won. A sergeant-major of the Bombay Fusiliers was the first who planted the British colors on the place. The Bengal column now rallied, and bore down all opposition, so that before sunset the whole city was in the hands of the British. The citadel, however, still held out, in which Moolraj shut himself up with a large force. Approaches were actively pushed against it, but it was soon found that the walls, being made of tough mud, could not be brought down even by the heaviest artillery. Recourse was, therefore, had to mining, while the sap was at the same time pushed to the edge of the counter-scarp, and an incessant fire was kept up on the bastion, against which the attack was directed. By the concentration of all these modes of attack on a small space, two practicable breaches were at length made in the wall, and the assaulting columns having been formed, and being ready to mount them, Moolraj surrendered at discretion. The garrison, 8800 strong, marched out next day, and laid down their arms on the glacis. Last of the procession came Moolraj himself, magnificently dressed, riding a splendid Arab steed.

He was afterward brought to trial for the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson, and found guilty; but his life was spared in consideration of his gallant defense.²

The repeated acts of insubordination of the Sikh soldiery, and the evident and serious risks to which they had exposed the British empire, determined the Governor-General to put a final stop to these aggressions. On the 29th March, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, which, after recounting the long peace and alliance which had subsisted between

the two governments, and the manner in which, twice over, it had been treacherously broken by the Sikh troops, declared the "kingdom of the Punjaub at an end; that all the territories of Maharajah Dhuleep Singh are now and henceforth a portion of the British empire in India." It promised protection and due honor to the Maharajah, and the few chiefs who have not engaged in hostilities against the British, and guaranteed to all the people, whether Mussulman, Hindoo, or Sikh, the free exercise of their own religion, but forbade any one to interfere with that of another, and declared "that all fortified places not occupied by British troops shall be totally destroyed, and effectual means taken to deprive the people of the means of renewing either tumult or war. The estates of all sirdars or others who shall have been in arms against the British shall be confiscated to the State." So strong is the disposition, even in the most warlike people of Hindostan, to submit at once to external conquest, and range themselves willingly under the banners of any power which has proved its superiority decisively in the field, that this great stretch, of annexing at once the most powerful kingdom in India to the British dominions, excited very little sensation in Hindostan; and the Sikh soldiers have since proved at once the bravest and most faithful of the many armed hosts which are crowded round the British banner.¹

After these bloody wars, the British empire in the East enjoyed several years of undisturbed repose. All the outbreaks which had occurred subsequent to the Afghanistan disaster, every effort at independence which had been made, had led to overthrow and subjugation. The Scinde Ameers had tried it, and failed; the Gwalior people had tried it, and failed. Even the great and colossal power of the Sikhs had been overthrown; and after two desperate and bloody campaigns, their capital had been taken, their army disbanded, their kingdom incorporated with the all-conquering State. Struck with this astonishing series of victories immediately succeeding so dire a calamity, the inhabitants of the vast peninsula of Hindostan, for the time at least, abandoned the contest; and, submitting to the dominion of the British as the decree of Providence, sought only to improve the advantages which the general establishment of internal peace afforded, and to improve the means of industry which its vast extent and powerful protection seemed to promise.

The East India Company took advantage of this precious breathing-time from external war to afford every facility in their power to the development of the internal resources of their vast territories. Then was seen to what the long abstinence from such undertakings, at least on a scale commensurate to the necessities of the country, had been owing. Wars—perpetual wars for existence, had diverted or absorbed the whole funds which could be applied to the purposes of internal improvement. But now that the victory was gained, and the necessity of a great and profuse warlike expenditure had come to an end, they began in good earnest the great work of domestic melioration. Canals were

¹ Proclamation, March 29, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 385.

^{111.} Peace in India for some years.

^{112.} Great pacific improvements of the East India Company at this period.

dug or restored, roads made, railroads surveyed, and in part at least executed. The mind of Lord Dalhousie, essentially administrative, was ardently and successfully directed to these great objects, and he was admirably seconded both by his Council and an able staff of engineers which they took into their employment. Under this skilled direction, liberally supported by the funds of Government, works were undertaken, and in great part executed, which immediately produced vast results, and promised ere long entirely to alter the face of the country. It was the grand ideas, the princely magnificence of Baber or Aurungzebe carried out by European skill, supported by European perseverance, and animated by Christian beneficence.

Then were projected, and in great part executed, those magnificent public works which have so completely effaced the well-known reproach cast by Mr. Burke upon the British administration in India, and which will bear a comparison with any in the world for greatness of conception and perfection of execution. Then was formed the Great Trunk Road, which, starting from Calcutta, and taking the arc of the great bend formed by the Ganges in the plain of Bengal, passes by Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, and Agra, to Delhi, and thence to Umballa, Lahore, and Peshawur. For a short part of this distance, to Raneegunge, being 120 miles, a railroad has been constructed, intended to be continued along its whole extent, and which, when completed, will be of the most essential service. Canals have been formed, conveying the waters of the Jumna, the Ganges, the Indus, and the streams of the Punjab, over the level alluvial plains in their vicinity. A noble pier and harbor at Kurrachee, at the mouth of the Indus, has opened the inland trade of that great river, and obviated the extreme inconvenience so long experienced by the shifting of sand at its mouth. The electric telegraph has been introduced, and extends already over the distance of 4000 miles.* The sums expended by the Indian

* PUBLIC WORKS CONSTRUCTED DURING LORD DALHOUSIE'S ADMINISTRATION, WITH THEIR DISTANCE AND COST.

I.—Canals.			Distance (Miles).
Ganges Canal.....			440½
East and West Jumna Canal.....			445
Punjab Canals.....			425
Madras Irrigation Works—tanks, reservoir, and dam across the Cauvery, Godavery, and Kistnah.			
II.—Roads.			
	Miles.	Cost.	
Great Trunk Road—Calcutta to Peshawur.....	1423	£1,423,000.	
Calcutta to Bombay.....	1009	500,000	
Madras to Bangalore.....	200	37,121	
Bombay to Agra.....	734	243,676	
Rangoon to Puna.....	200	160,000	
III.—Railroads under Government Guarantee.			Miles.
Calcutta to Burdwan.....			120
Bombay to Wassind.....			50
Bombay to Campoolie.....			10
Madras to Vellore.....			81
IV.—Electric Telegraph.			
Calcutta to Peshawur.....	1423		
Agra to Bombay.....	794		
Bombay to Madras.....	1374		

—Parliamentary Memorandum of Public Works, 1854, No. 218; and MILL, p. 170, 171.

Government under Lord Dalhousie's administration, after the termination of the Sikh war, have never been under £1,500,000, sometimes above £2,000,000, annually—sums, the magnitude of which will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that the wages of daily labor are there 3d. a day only, and that these sums are equivalent to four times their respective amount in this country. Of the total debt of £68,000,000 which now (1858) attaches to the Indian Government, an eighth part has been contracted during eight years in the internal improvement of the country—an amount much greater, if the difference in the value of money is taken into consideration, than was expended on similar undertakings by any European government, either then or at any former period.¹

This happy state of tranquillity was first broken in upon, in 1852, by a second rupture with the Burmese Government, which arose from the pride and arrogance of a barbaric court, and their inconceivable ignorance of the strength of the power with which they were in close contact, and whose displeasure they did not hesitate to brave for the most inconsiderable objects, or the gratification of the most senseless caprice. The treaty concluded with the court of Ava in 1826, which expressly provided for the proper treatment of British subjects trading to Rangoon, or the other harbors of the Burmese territories, proved inadequate long to protect the subjects of Great Britain from those insults and aggressions which it seems the ineradicable habit of Eastern satrap to heap upon traders. So many cases of injury occurred in the course of the years 1851 and 1852, that the Governor-General came to the conclusion that the law of nations had been violated, especially by the governor of Rangoon in his cruel and oppressive conduct to British subjects. Commodore Lambert, accordingly, was sent with two steamers to Rangoon to demand redress; but the attempt at pacific overtures only produced fresh insults. Upon this a formal disavowal of the acts of the governor of Rangoon, his removal from office, and the payment of ten lacs of rupees (£100,000) in satisfaction of the claims of the injured parties, were demanded. No concession, however, was made; and the period allowed for accommodation having elapsed, an expedition was dispatched under the command of General Godwin, an experienced officer, who had been engaged in the former war, to enforce redress. The expedition sailed for the mouth of the Irrawaddy on the 28th March, the naval force being under the orders of Rear-Admiral Austen. On the 5th April the fort of Martaban, commanding one of the entrances of the river, was attacked even before the Madras portion of the expedition had arrived; and a tremendous fire having been kept up by the *Rattler* and *Proserpine* steamers for two hours, a breach was effected in the stockades, the troops were landed, and the place carried, though garrisoned by five thousand of the best soldiers in the Burmese empire.²

After this success the expedition proceeded up the Irrawaddy to Rangoon, which stands on the left bank of the principal branch of the

¹ Thornton; Mill's India in 1848, 170, 171.

¹¹⁴ Second Burmese war, and capture of Martaban.

March 28. April 5.

² General Godwin's Disp., April 18, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 279-283.

river, about twenty miles from the sea. In the operations which ensued, both the naval and military services greatly distinguished themselves. Hostilities were commenced by a general attack by the war-steamers on the enemy's flotilla and river defenses; and in a few hours the former were all burned, and the latter leveled with the ground.

The troops were then landed without further resistance, and advanced against the town. Its principal defense consisted in a pagoda placed in the centre of a regular fortification, constructed since the last war, and forming the northern extremity of a new town, also of recent construction, surrounded by a ditch, and a mud wall sixteen feet high and eight broad. This citadel was defended by 100 pieces of heavy calibre, and a garrison of 10,000 men. The British, in advancing on the

13th against it, sustained a severe loss from the fire of the Burmese musketeers placed in the jungles, and the utmost difficulty was experienced in dragging up the heavy guns. At length, however, these obstacles were all overcome, and the troops advanced to the attack. By indefatigable exertions a sufficient number of heavy guns were dragged up to breach the eastern side of the fort, where the assault was to be delivered; and the fire of the enemy's musketeers having been kept down by 500 men, who picked off all who showed themselves on the ramparts, the order to attack was given. On rushed the stormers under a heavy fire; the steps on which the pagoda stands were ascended with the bayonet amidst deafening cheers; and soon the British colors, displayed from the summit, announced that the citadel of Rangoon had fallen. The garrison fled in confusion through the southern and western gates, where they were met by the fire of the steamers, and obliged to seek safety by dispersing in the jungle.

The immediate surrender of Rangoon was the result of this victory, which was soon followed by the submission of all the adjacent country. The stores, ammunition, and heavy guns were then

landed, and placed in Rangoon, which was strengthened and garrisoned by a strong body of troops, it being the design of Government to make it not only the base of present operations, but a permanent acquisition to the British empire in the East. These precautions having been taken, the troops were again moved forward up the Irrawaddy. On the 17th the fleet began

to ascend the river, and on the 19th they were before Bassein, where the soldiers were landed; and first an armed pagoda was carried, and next a strong mud-fort stormed, after a desperate resistance. Martaban, the first conquest of the British, which was garrisoned only by a small native force, was soon

after attacked by a large body of Burmese, but the assailants were repulsed with great slaughter. Encouraged by these successes, an expedition was fitted out early in July, under Captain Tarleton, to reconnoitre the river as far as Prome. That officer, having ascended the river to a place where it divided into two branches, found ten thousand Burmese stationed in a strong position commanding the

western and deeper channel. But Tarleton, having ascertained that the eastern channel was passable at that season of the year, moved up by it, and thus, without opposition, reached Prome, which was immediately taken. The town not being capable of defense, the stores in it were destroyed, the guns spiked or brought away. The steamers then returned to Rangoon, and in their passage severely handled the Burmese army, which was crossing the river as they came down, and burned fifty boats containing the warlike stores of their army, including the state barge of their general-in-chief.¹

Lord Dalhousie now came to Rangoon, where he arrived on 27th July, and issued a well-deserved complimentary address to the forces. Having gained all the information which he desired, the Governor-General returned to Calcutta,

and offensive operations were resumed as soon as the return of the cool season rendered them practicable. On the 25th September the troops were embarked at Rangoon, and they came in sight of Prome on the 9th October, where they were shortly after landed. They immediately advanced, and made themselves masters of a fortified pagoda situated on an eminence which commanded the enemy's position. Upon this the Burmese evacuated the town in the night, and next morning it was taken possession of without opposition. This success was followed by the capture of Pegu, a large town about sixty miles from Rangoon. The

enemy were 4000 strong, and had fortified a pagoda commanding it with the utmost care; but they were driven from it by a gallant assault by Major Hill, at the head of 100 men of the Madras and the like number of the Bengal Fusiliers. That officer, who was left in Pegu with a small garrison of 400 men, was soon threatened by immensely superior bodies of the enemy. To disengage him, General Godwin again moved from Rangoon with 1200 men.

He found a body of Burmese, 9000 strong, posted in a formidable position, armed with cannon; but dispositions having been made for an assault, they fled, and after pursuing them for two days, and relieving the garrison of Pegu, General Godwin returned to Rangoon. This was followed by a proclamation from the Governor-General, which, "in compensation for the past, and for better security for the future, proclaimed that the province of Pegu is now, and shall henceforth be, a portion of the British territories in the East."

In this proclamation Lord Dalhousie declared that he was willing that hostilities should cease, now that security for the future had been obtained; and well might he say so, for, having pushed the British frontier to the eastern extremity of the province of Pegu, he had not only gained a very defensible frontier against the Burmese, but by the possession of Rangoon, Pegu, and Martaban, he got the entire command of the mouths of the Irrawaddy, and was in a situation to be enabled to close at pleasure an inland trade essential to the provisioning of the capital. Yet, too proud to affix his signature to an express treaty ceding these valuable possessions, the king

¹ Tarleton's Report, July 30, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 287.

^{117.} Capture of Prome and Pegu. October 10.

Nov. 20.

Dec. 20.

² General Godwin's Dispatch, Dec. 23, 1852; Ann. Reg. 1852, 283-292; Governor-General's Proclamation.

^{118.} Peace with Burmah. June 30, 1856.

could only be prevailed on to engage not to offer any further molestation to British subjects, to throw open the navigation of the Irrawaddy to the merchants and people of both countries for the purposes of trading, and not to molest the British in their newly-acquired province of Pegu. With this declaration the Governor-General professed himself satisfied, too happy to get, on favorable terms, out of a contest in which every object worth contending for was already gained. Hostilities now ceased with the national forces of Burmah; but they continued with some feudatory bands, which, taking advantage of the confusion produced by the war, had established themselves in various parts of the country in strong forts, from whence they issued to plunder

Jan. 16. and lay waste the adjacent country. One of them, commanded by a noted free-

booter named Mea-toom, was strong enough to

Feb. 1. repulse two attacks made by a body of seamen and marines, with thirty-five se-

poys, under Captain Loch, R.N., of the *Winchester*. Another expedition, however, conducted

by the boats of the *Zenobia* and the *Nemesis*, was more successful; for it defeated and dispersed a

band of 3000 men, strongly intrenched in a stock-

Feb. 5. ade, on the 5th February. Finally, the strong-hold of the great robber Mea-toom

was at length carried by storm in March follow-

ing, and himself driven into the woods, attended

March 13. only by 300 followers, who, in despair, threw away their arms and dispersed.

No further attempt was now made to disquiet the British in their newly-acquired conquest, and unbroken peace reigned through their vast dominions from the mouths of the Indus to those of the Irrawaddy, and from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya snows.

This period of tranquillity, during which Lord

119. Dalhousie was incessantly occupied Annexation with his great projects of domestic im-

of Oude. provement and social amelioration, was not even interrupted by an important event

in the east of India. This was the ANNEXATION OF OUDE, which, without any hostilities com-

enced, was carried into effect by a simple reso-

lution of the Governor-General in Coun-

March 17, cil on March 17, 1856. This power-

1856. ful State, which lies on the eastern bank of the Ganges, between Cawnpore and Nepaul,

embraces 25,000 squares miles of territory, and contained at the period of annexation 5,000,000

inhabitants. The natives of this extensive re-

gion are a nation of warriors; scarcely a family but has one or more sons in the army, either of

their own country or of the East India Com-

pany. No less than 70,000 of the men enlisted in the sepoy battalions were drawn from the

Oude territories. The country is in the hands of between four and five hundred landholders,

who, like the Norman barons after the Con-

quest, were so many military chieftains dwell-

ing in fortified castles, each defend-

ed by two or three pieces of artil-

lery.[†]

By treaty, concluded in 1801, between the

British Government and the King of

Oude, the former guaranteed the do-

minions of the latter, with the stipu-

lation "that the King of Oude, ad-

vising with and acting in conformity

to the Council of the officers of the Honorable

Company, shall establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants." It was, however, notorious that, though the kings of Oude since that time had never failed in their duty to the British Government, but, on the contrary, essentially served it on many occasions,* yet they had scandalously violated the rights of their own subjects. The Government of Lucknow, the capital, was perhaps the most corrupt and oppressive in the world, so far as its own people were concerned. It was stated in the House of Commons, in the debate on this subject, in February, 1858, by Colonel Sykes, that during the two years preceding the annexation eleven thousand persons in Oude had perished by violent deaths; that the revenue was always collected by an armed force, attended by a battery of cannon; and that incessantly, from one year's end to another, the discharge of artillery was heard within its boundaries directed against the defaulters to the Government collectors. Moved by the petitions of the unhappy sufferers under these exactions, and by the obvious discredit which they brought on the British Government and connection, the Governor-General in 1856 proposed a treaty to the King of Oude, by which the sole and exclusive administration of the country was to be transferred to the East India Company, with the right to the whole state revenue, burdened with a due provision to the reigning family, who were to be allowed to retain their royal titles, and enjoy their palaces and parks at Lucknow. These terms, as might have been expected, having been rejected by the King, a proclamation was

forthwith issued, declaring the kingdom Feb. 14, 1856.

incorporated with the dominions of the

East India Company, and requiring all the in-

habitants to yield obedience to their authority.

The British forces immediately entered the coun-

try from Agra and Cawnpore, and took posses-

sion of the capital and whole territories without

resistance. About the same time the ter-

ritories of the Rajah of Sattara were in- July 1, 1856.

corporated with the British dominions;

those of the Rajah of Berar had already been

absorbed in 1853; but these encroachments, be-

ing on inconsiderable native potentates, were

made without opposition, and excited very little

attention. Unhappily the ease with which this

annexation was accomplished at the time misled

the Government as to the precautions necessary

to secure this acquisition, and the representa-

tions of Lord Dalhousie on that subject remained

without effect. Not a man of European race

was added to the force in the country; Delhi,

the great arsenal of Northern India, was left ex-

clusively in the hands of the native troops; and

a few hundred British, and a few battalions of

sepoys, formed the sole garrison of the most war-

like and formidable people of Eastern India.[†]

* During the Nepaul war they lent the British Govern-

ment £2,000,000; and on occasion of the invasion of Af-

ghanistan, the greater part of the draught animals for

the use of the army was drawn from Oude; and the King

gave up his personal elephants and horses to the Govern-

or-General, when he went to visit Runjeet Singh, previ-

ous to that calamitous expedition.

† It was stated in the Governor-General's proclamation,

The war in the Punjab throws a bright light on those which preceded it in Oude. 181. on those which preceded it in Oude. Reflections on him and Scinde, and vindicate Lord Ellenborough's administration from the aspersions thrown upon it for the commencement of hostilities against these powers. Judging by the European standard, there can be no doubt that he was the aggressor on both those occasions, because, although the native powers were the first to engage in hostile acts, this had been rendered necessary by a course of encroachments on the part of the British. But it is now apparent that this was unavoidable. The opposite system was followed by the East India Directors and Lord Hardinge, who forewore all hostile preparations against the Sikhs, and brought the Indian empire to the brink of ruin, in order to avoid giving a pretext even for hostilities, and what was the consequence? Two terrible wars, in which the utmost hazard was incurred, and in which salvation was earned only by heroic efforts and the shedding of torrents of blood. What would have been the fate of these wars if they had occurred when the British flank was threatened by the insurrection in Scinde, and their communications cut off by the forces of

as the reason for this annexation—"One vital and chief dilapidation of the treaty has been manifestly disregarded by every successive ruler of Oude, and the pledge which was given for the establishment of such a system of administration as should secure the lives and property of the people of Oude, and be conducive to their prosperity has from first to last been deliberately and systematically violated. By reason of this violation of the compact made, the British Government might long since have justly declared the treaty void, and withdrawn its protection from the rulers of Oude. But the friendly intentions of the British Government have been wholly deluged by the dishonesty, or incapacity or apathy of the rulers and kings of Oude. Disinterested account, indignant exposure, alternating through more than fifty years, with repeated warning, remonstrance, and threats, have all proved ineffectual and vain. The people of Oude are still the victims of inequity, corruption, and tyranny, without remedy or hope of relief. The King, like most of his predecessors, takes no real share in the direction of affairs. The power of Government throughout his dominions are for the most part abandoned to worthless favorites of the court, or to violent and corrupt men, unfit for their station and unworthy of trust. The collectors of the revenue hold sway over their districts with uncontrolled authority, exacting the utmost payment from the people, without reference to past or present engagements. The King's troops, with more than equal impunity, and undisputed and undisputed, and defended of their pay by them to whom they are intrusted, are permitted to plunder the villages on their own account, so that they have become a lasting scourge to the country they are employed to protect. Gangs of freebooters infest the districts, law and justice are unknown, armed violence and bloodshed are daily events, and life and property are nowhere secure for so long. The time has come when the British Government can no longer interfere in Oude than on the basis which its position under the treaty serves indirectly to sustain."—*Proclamation of Governor-General, Oude Papers, 1856, No. 3106. M.S. 104, App.* This is a pretty curious "indictment against a whole people," in Mr. Burke's words, and probably genuine, with some exaggeration, a picture of the usual and established system of Asiatic government in every age. But when it is recollected that this dismal catalogue of misdeeds was founded on the information of the British residents at the court of Lucknow, and when it is remembered what a gallant and obstinate defence of their independence the people of Oude made two years after against the whole power of Britain, it is impossible not to suspect some exaggeration in these statements. Without suspecting such men as Mr. James Outram, or those employed by him, of intentional falsification of facts, nothing is more probable than that in a country so corrupt they may have, in many instances, been furnished with false information, and every one engaged in public affairs knows that if the inclinations of Government are known to incline one way, there is never any lack of the most detailed information to establish the justice of the view thus taken by it.

Gwalior? In all probability India would have been lost. It was by anticipating the danger, and combating the hostile powers in succession, that the danger was averted, and India saved. For this immense service the country was indebted to Lord Ellenborough; and, according to the usual course of human events, it is not the least conclusive proof of the reality of the obligation that the East India Company requited it by his recall. So strong is the desire to economy of their own money, however anxious to get that of others, and so invincible the repugnance to make costly preparations against future danger, in the great majority of men, that whoever attempts or recommends it is certain to incur present obloquy, and, if his opponents have the power to effect it, political downfall.

But though these considerations render it evident that any peace with the native powers of India is to be regarded 182. powers of India is to be regarded ^{What of the incorporation of Oude?} only as a truce, and that any relaxation in the means of defence on the part of the European power will speedily become the signal of general onslaught, the same form of justification can scarcely be applied to the incorporation of Oude. Unlike the warlike powers in the northwest of India, the Government of Oude had engaged in no hostile designs or preparations against that of Great Britain. Through all the changes of fortune for a half century it had stood faithfully by our side. Whatever faults it had committed, and they were many, had been directed against its own subjects, and related to matters of internal administration. Other grounds of justification in the case of Oude must, therefore, be sought than that of hostility to Great Britain, and these are found by the defenders of the annexation in the fact that, by the treaty of 1801, there was expressly stipulated to the British Government a right of interference, in the event of such internal misadministration as was charged against the native authorities.

As this encroachment was instrumental in bringing about the rebellion of 1857, 183. and the terrible war which ended in ^{Picture of the Indian empire at this period.} the termination of the East India Company's rule in India, in conformity with the old Hindoo prophecy, in the hundredth year after its foundation by the battle of Plassey, it is a fitting opportunity to consider what was the extent and magnitude of the empire which in that period—short in the lifetime of a nation—had been formed by the energy and perseverance of the Company,* and the courage of the nation which aided them by its resources. India, then, contained, in 1858, when the direct rule of the East India Com-

*—*M.S. 104, p. 2.*

pany was merged in that of the home Government, 180,367,148 inhabitants, extending over 1,465,322 square miles. Of these, 131,990,881 were under the direct dominion of the East India Company, and 48,376,247 the inhabitants of the protected states. The revenue (gross) of this immense territory was £30,817,000, of which £17,109,000 was the land-tax, £5,195,000 drawn from the monopoly of opium, £2,631,000 from that of salt, and £2,106,000 from customs. The cost of collection was about £6,000,000; the charge of the army is £11,000,000 annually; the interest of debt in India £2,000,000; and £3,500,000 are remitted to this country for charges payable at home, or interest on the debt due there. The annual deficit has, on an average of the last four years, been £1,500,000 annually; in the year ending 30th April, 1857, it was £1,981,062. The army amounted in the same month to 231,276 native troops, of whom 26,129 were cavalry, regular and irregular; 22,047 Europeans in the employment of the East India Company, of whom 6585 were artillery; and the Queen's troops in India before the revolt broke out were 81,800, all paid by the East India Company. The auxiliary troops, which the protected states were bound to furnish, were 32,211 more; in all nearly 320,000 men. The public debt of India was £68,000,000, being somewhat more than twice its income. Nor had this empire been acquired by conquest over unwarlike or barbarous nations: for if the inhabitants of Bengal were a timid race, the Ghoorkas, the Sikhs, the Afghans, the Mahrattas, and the inhabitants of Scinde rivaled the ancient Germans or Parthians in hardihood and valor; and in the great revolt of 1857 the East India Company encountered 120,000 soldiers, armed, instructed, and disciplined by themselves, and inferior to none in the contempt of death when animated by religious zeal. This empire embraced a greater number of inhabitants than that conquered in five centuries by the Roman legions; double the number subjugated by the Russian arms in two centuries; and more than triple those won for France by the energy of the Revolution and the victories of Napoleon! And this mighty empire, transcending any which has existed since the world began, has been acquired in one century by a pacific Company, having its chief place of business 14,000 miles distant from the theatre of its conquests—which has almost always been guided by pacific interests, and rarely engaged in wars, except from necessity and in self-defense—which began its career with 500

1 MILL'S INDIA IN 1858, 66, 67, 131, 134; Thornton.

European soldiers, and seldom had so many as 50,000 collected around its standards! The history of the world may be sought in vain for a parallel to such a prodigy.¹

124. It may sound strange to British ears, but it will be evident to future times, and is already discerned by foreign nations, that the chief cause of this extraordinary and unparalleled phenomenon is to be found in the presence of constitutional energy in Great Britain during the period when the empire in the East was forming, and the absence of parliamentary control in its direction. The mother country furnished an inexhaustible supply of young men, drawn chiefly from the landed gentry

of the middle class, to fill every department both in the civil and military service in the East, while the selection of candidates was exempt from the debasing effects of court favor or parliamentary influence. The command of this extraordinary aggregate of military and civil ability was practically vested in the Governor-General at Calcutta, distance and the necessity of self-direction on the spot having rendered nearly impotent for evil the division of power between the East India Company and the Board of Control, which the strange and anomalous constitution of 1784 theoretically established. It is to the extraordinary combination of circumstances which gave British India the united advantages of democratic vigor in the classes from which its defenders were taken, with aristocratic perseverance in the Senate by which its government was directed, and the unity of despotism in the dictator to whom the immediate execution of the mandates of that Senate was intrusted, that the extraordinary growth of the British empire in India during the last century is beyond all question to be ascribed. During that period Great Britain has often at home sustained serious reverses, from the ignorance and incapacity of those whom parliamentary influence or court favor had brought to the head of affairs, or the parsimony with which democratic economy had starved down the national establishment, during peace, to a degree which rendered serious reverses inevitable on the first breaking out of hostilities; but in India, though the usual intermixture of good and evil fortune in human affairs has been experienced, there have never been awanting, after a short period, troops requisite to repair reverses, and generals capable of leading them to victory.

The extinction of the rule of the East India Company in 1858, loudly applauded 125. by the unthinking multitude, excited very different feelings in the reflecting portion of the community; and the following extract from one of the ablest of the daily journals may be taken as a fair mirror of their feelings: "Proud and happy as the American colonists were at the achievement of their independence, there were many who gazed through tears at the last ship which carried a Royalist freight as it put off from the shore. Haughtily as the martial Spaniards drove the Moors before them into the Mediterranean, punishing all who lagged in the final flight, the high-hearted among those Christian knights could hardly have paced the halls of Saracenic palaces, and climbed the pinnacles of the empty mosques, without some sadness and some tenderness for the departed people, so brave in their first intrusion, and so learned and accomplished in the midst of their heresy and bigotry. From the poor Indian remnant on the Missouri, who close up the burial-mound of their last chief, and take down their last wigwam, and turn their backs on the period when they were a tribe, to the train of Zenobia following their captive queen as she issued from the gates of Palmyra into the desert, before the eyes of a pitying foe, there is no human heart which can help suffering when human pride and greatness succumb to the ultimate destiny of all.

¹ So falls, so languishes, grows dim and dies,
All that this world is proud of. From their spheres

The stars of human glory are cast down:
Perish the roses and the flowers of kings,
Princes and emperors, and the crowns and palms
Of all the mighty, withered, and consumed!

We are now at the death-stroke of one of the ablest governments on record. Its monuments will outlive it long, and we must make the most of them, seeing that their nature is that of the highest order of monuments—the good works which follow the dead—first to praise them, and then to lapse with them into oblivion. Its imposing greatness appears now the least affecting part of it. There is no need to commend to English hearts the valor manifested on all occasions of need by individuals, from Clive to Havelock, and by the Government, from its defiance of Hyder Ali to its mastery over its mutinous Bengal army. We need not point out to English eyes the splendor of the whole panorama of Indian history, from the sailing of the first fleet into Goa, and the gorgeous embassies to the foreign courts of Asia, to the final spread of railways, roads, canals, telegraph wires, colleges, village schools, and civilization in all its forms. There can be no need to rouse the sensibility of British men to the dignity of such a hierarchy, and such a succession of ability as has been built up and drawn out within the dominions of the Company, from the first hour when it found work for its hand to do, to the present when its knell is struck. Not only Englishmen, but all other men who care about the doings of their race, are aware of the magnificent features of our Indian rule, as shown in war, in wealth, in power, and in genius. No one of the vast multitude of observers will say that in any one century of human history there has been elsewhere such a display of remarkable men, of work done, and of empire consolidated, as between the battle of Plassey and the victories of Havelock. But these kinds, and all other kinds of greatness, will grow dim hereafter in comparison with that which constitutes the special glory of our Indian rule—its being planned and carried out for the benefit of India, and more and more expressly so from period to period of its history. It is here that we feel the most misgiving and the saddest regret. As we never saw before, we must naturally ask whether we shall ever see again, a great empire ruled, not only by a superior race for the benefit of an inferior, but a government planned and carried out at all, expressly for the good of the many. It may be true, and it is true, that the empire of the Com-

pany arose by ambition and cupidity, by encroachment and force of arms. But admitting all this and more, the fact remains that the Company has exercised the most beneficent rule ever exhibited for an equal length of time; and that it not only released the native population from the penalties of barbaric rule, but governed them for their own welfare, bestowing on the study of that welfare an amount of toil, solicitude, generosity, and magnanimous devotedness, more appropriate to an ideal republic than to the transaction of a despotic corporation.”

¹ Daily News,
July 14, 1858.

The great danger to be apprehended from the transference of the direct govern-

ment of India to an executive nominated by the House of Commons, is the removal of the breakwater which has hitherto been interposed

126.
Danger of direct government of India by Britain.

between that remote empire and the popular passions which sometimes agitate the ruling State, and the party influences which always regulate its administration. It is in vain to expect for a public service, conducted by men chosen by ministerial majorities in the House of Commons, any thing like the long line of illustrious statesmen and heroes who have conducted the affairs of the East during the last century—an array of names to which no other country, during the same or perhaps any period, can present a parallel. If India is to become the battle-field of party, as Ireland so long was, or the theatre for experiments founded on vehement and ignorant popular passion, as the West Indies have been, or the preserve from which aristocratic cupidity is to be maintained, or democratic ambition gratified in return for parliamentary support in this country, we may expect a very different future for our empire in the East from what the past has been. Taught by these examples, the prudent observer, without absolutely despairing of the fortunes of the Indian dominions of Great Britain from the direct government of the House of Commons, will at least see that it will be fraught with dangers of a more serious kind than any by which it has yet been assailed; that it must be conducted with a prudence rarely witnessed in communities subject to multitudinous rule; and that the East India Company, in concluding their glorious reign, and handing over the magnificent empire they have won to the British executive, may well say, “HERE IS OUR BEQUEST; SEE THAT YOU KEEP IT.”

CHAPTER L.

FRANCE FROM THE FALL OF LOUIS PHILIPPE IN FEBRUARY TO THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT OF THE ASSEMBLY IN DECEMBER, 1848.

THE rule of the *bourgeoisie* in France was destroyed by the Revolution of 1848, as that of the mixed Constitutional Ministry had been by that of 1830. In both cases the destruction of the ruling power and overthrow of the Government were brought about by the discontents of the class *immediately below* that in which legislative power was vested, and their passionate desire to seize it for their own behoof, without any regard to the effects of such a change upon the public liberties or the general fortunes of the State. The points upon which the quarrel in both cases ultimately turned—the Ordinances of Polignac in the first, the Reform Banquet in the last—were but the pretexts for the commencement of a contest already prepared, and rendered inevitable by other and more general causes. The expansive force and ascending ambition of the class next to power were in both cases the cause; and accordingly, by a very natural change, the middle class, which made the Revolution of 1830, and gained possession of the Government by its success, was the class against which the execrations of the people were mainly directed in the next movement which convulsed the State. The men who had been lauded to the skies as the saviors of the country, the apostles of freedom, the pure and tried patriots whom nothing could seduce, when combating the Royal Guards in 1830, had become, according to the new revolutionists, the greatest tyrants, the most vile and corrupt of the human race, when defending the Government of their creation under the banners of the Citizen King.

Those who adhere to the opinion that it is in the middle ranks of society that the class is to be found, alike removed from the pride of that above and the violence of that below it, on which government can most securely be rested, would do well to study the condition of France during the reign of the Citizen King. Then, if ever, since the creation of the world, the middle and urban class was really installed in power; and then the *experimentum crucis* to ascertain its real worth was made. The old feudal aristocracy had for the most part been swept away during the first Revolution. The working classes were effectually shut out from any share in the Legislature by the high qualification of electors. The army was commanded by officers drawn from their ranks; the National Guard was filled with them or their adherents. Here, then, was a complete, pure, and unmixed *middle-class government*, and what was the result? Was it that administration was more pure, selfishness more eradicated, patriotism more general, liberty better secured, than in any former period of French annals? Quite the

reverse. There is no time in which, by the consent of all parties, corruption was so general both in the Legislature and its constituents, public virtue in so little esteem, selfish advantage so much the object of general pursuit, and in which so unrelenting a war was carried on both against private liberty and the independence of the press. These evils at length became so general that they caused the overthrow of the middle-class Legislature, and the Citizen King whom they had put on the throne; and as experience had now taught the population that they had only made matters worse by descending from the ancient *régime* to the modern *bourgeoisie*, so they were resolved to try whether they would be improved by going down yet farther, and transferring power to the entire working classes. The results of this great experiment form the interesting and important subjects of this and a succeeding chapter.

The first care which devolved upon the Provisional Government was to make head against the violence of its own supporters. During the three days that Paris had been in a state of insurrection, no work had been any where done; and as the great bulk of the laboring classes were alike destitute of capital or credit, they already began to feel the pangs of hunger on the morning of the 25th, when the Provisional Government, having surmounted the storms of the night, was beginning to discharge its functions. An enormous crowd, amounting to above 100,000 persons, filled the Place de Grève, and surrounded the Hôtel de Ville on every side, as well as every passage, stair, and apartment in that spacious edifice itself. So dense was the throng, so severe the pressure, that the members of the Government itself could scarcely breathe where they sat; and if they attempted to go out to address the people outside, or for any other cause, it was only by the most violent exertion of personal strength that their purpose could be effected. Decrees to satisfy the mob were drawn up every quarter of an hour, and, when signed, were passed over the heads of the throng into an adjoining apartment, where they were instantly thrown off by the printers of the *Moniteur*, and thence placarded in Paris, and sent by the telegraph over all France. Under these influences were brought forth the first acts of the Provisional Government, some of which were singularly trifling, but very descriptive of the pressure under which they had been drawn up. One issued on the 25th February changed the *placing* of the colors on the tricolor flag, putting the blue where the red had been; a second abolished the expressions "Monsieur" and "Madame," substituting for them the words "Citoyen" and "Citoyenne;" a third liberated all functionaries from their

oaths of allegiance; a fourth directed the words "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," to be inscribed on all devices, and on all the walls of Paris, and changed the name of the streets and squares into others of a revolutionary sound and meaning. This was followed on the Feb. 27. 27th by others of a more alarming import, or deeper signification. One ordered every one to wear a *red* rosette in his button-hole; another directed trees of liberty to be planted in all the public squares, and reopened the clubs; a third changed the names of the colleges of Paris, and of the titles of general officers; and a fourth abolished all titles of nobility, forbidding any one to assume them.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 96, 97; Cassagnac, i. 286, 287; Lamartine, Histoire de la Révolution de 1848, i. 241-242.

But the Provisional Government soon found that it was not by such decrees that the passions of the people were to be satiated, or their hunger appeased. Already, on the morning of the 25th, before they had had time to do any thing, the well-known features of popular insurrection had displayed themselves. The Tuileries and the Palais Royal had been abandoned to the populace the evening before, as in truth, after the King had abdicated, there was no longer any Government to withstand their excesses. These august palaces were sacked from top to bottom, their splendid furniture burned or thrown out of the windows, their cellars emptied of all the wines which they contained.* The presence of the National Guard and troops of the line, who were still under arms, prevented these excesses going farther in the metropolis; but that only caused the storm to burst with the more fury on the comparatively unprotected buildings in the country around it. Over a circle formed by a radius of thirty leagues round Paris, the whole railway stations were sacked and burned; the bridges were in great part broken down or set on fire; even the rails in many places were torn up and scattered about. The beautiful chateau of Neuilly near Paris, the favorite abode of the late King, was plundered and half burned. Versailles was threatened with a similar fate, which was only averted by the firm attitude of the National Guard, which turned out for the protection of that palace, no longer of kings, but of the fine arts. But the magnificent chateau of M. de Rothschild, near Suresne, was sacked and burned

by a mob from Melun, at the very time when that banker was putting at the disposal of the Provisional Government 50,000 francs (£2000), to assuage the sufferings of the wounded in the engagements.²

Imagination may figure, but no words can convey, an adequate idea of the tremendous pressure exercised on the Provisional Government during the first days succeeding their installation. They have been thus described by two of the most ardent partisans of the new régime, and who had profited most hitherto by its establishment. "We arrived," says M. Caus-

* The author is in possession of several beautiful pieces of furniture and articles of vertu, looted out of the windows of the Tuileries on this occasion, and purchased on the spot by some careful Jews, who hastened to the spot to make profit of the dimensions and madness of Christians.

sidière, the new Minister of Police, "at the gates of the Hôtel de Ville across a line of posts, at which the 'Qui Vives' and the demands for the countersign incessantly multiplied as you approached the seat of government. The doors of the building could only be compared to the entry of a bee-hive. A mob, armed and turbulent, beset the door-way. Those under the arch resolutely made good their ground, and forcibly pushed back the crowd, which was incessantly forcing its way up the great stair. To get into the inside, it was necessary to mount as to an assault—to strive with your shoulders and elbows, so as during the strife to get one of your legs thrust in. I was soon separated from my escort; I attempted the escalade with my lieutenant alone. Twice I was repulsed with loss. At length, after vigorous efforts, and with the assistance of some of the citizens who recognized me, I penetrated to the bottom of the great stair. If I did not lose in that rude contest one of my limbs, I lost one of my pistols, which during the *malée* was torn from my girdle, and never after recovered. It was only at the end of half an hour's fighting that I got to the Salle du Conseil."¹

¹ Causidière, Mémoires, i. 87, 88.

So far the new Minister of Police as to the surroundings of the Provisional Government; now hear one, and not the least gifted of its members, on the cares of the Government which oppressed them. "No sooner was one messenger dispatched charged with an order or a decree," says M. de Lamartine, "signed on the corner of a bit of paper with pencil, than another arrived with a similar note, announcing that the Tuileries was menaced by devastation and flames; that Versailles was surrounded by a furious mob, which thirsted to destroy that last relic of royalty; another, that Neuilly was already half consumed by fire; a fourth, that all the railway stations were in flames, the bridges cut or destroyed. It was indispensable to re-establish the traffic on the roads by which a capital with 1,100,000 mouths was to be fed, and huge mountains of barricades to be cut through to let the convoys pass when they did reach the streets. Crowds who had been famishing for three days were to be fed, the dead to be collected, the wounded tended, the soldiers protected against the people, the barracks evacuated, the arms and horses collected, the palaces, the museum, to be protected from pillage. An insurgent populace, 800,000 in number, was to be calmed, pacified, and, if possible, sent back to their work-shops in the suburbs; posts were to be every where established, formed of the Volunteers and National Guards, to prevent pillage. In a word, the things to be done were innumerable; it was hard to say which was most urgent, or where neglect would entail most serious evils on the Republic."²

² Lam. i. 245, 246.

But of all these pressing cases, by far the most urgent was to pacify and feed the enormous multitude of destitute workmen whom the Revolution had thrown out of employment, and who crowded into the Place de Grève, threatening the Government with destruction if they did not instantly give them bread and work. The band which had sacked the Tuileries kept possession of that palace, feasting on the provisions and wines which it contained for nine days: they were

only prevailed on to leave it on the 6th March, by the approach of an armed force of two hundred men, and the promise of a decree declaring that they had deserved well of their country, and should receive two francs a day for the period of their occupation. But the famishing crowds which night and day thronged the Place de Grève were not so easily appeased. So early

Feb. 25. as the 25th February, vague rumors, calculated to excite their apprehensions and rouse their passions, began to circulate among them: the King was returning with an armed force; the detached forts were preparing red-hot shot to rain down vengeance on the devoted city. Under the influence of these terrors, one body set out for Vincennes to search that fortress, while another took their way to the Invalides, which they were only hindered from ransacking by a force detached for its protection by the Minister of Police. Balked in the object of their pursuit in these places, the mob streamed back into the Place de Grève, where there was no longer an armed force to oppose them—the Government, to appease the people, having been obliged to send all the military out of the capital, and the National Guard being in too great consternation either to show themselves or act against the ruling multitude. They insisted upon searching every part of the building for concealed arms, or magazines of combustibles or powder, and, rushing in, soon overpowered the *portiers* and sentinels, and spread themselves through every corner and crevice of the building. Finding nothing, they inundated the Salle du Gouvernement, and extorted from the overwhelmed mem-

bers a decree "guaranteeing employment to all, and bestowing on the combatants on the barricades the million of francs saved by the termination of the civil list."¹

Though this decree was a vast concession to the working classes, and indicated not obscurely the commencement of that Socialist pressure on the Government which was ere long felt so severely, yet it was far from meeting the wishes of the angry and famishing crowd who filled the Place de Grève and all the adjoining streets. A hoarse murmur was heard from the dense mass; the vast surface, paved with human heads, began to swell in undulating waves, indicating the force of generally-felt passions; the countenances of such as could be discerned bore the expression of mingled ferocity and determination; and already cries of "LE DRAPEAU ROUGE!" were heard from the agitated multitude. At this call for the symbol of popular violence and the reign of blood, the other members of the Government hung back; no one dared to face the infuriated multitude. But M. de Lamartine stood forth alone and bareheaded, and having with great difficulty obtained a hearing, said—"Yesterday you asked me to usurp, in the name of the people of Paris, the rights of thirty-five millions of men, and to vote a republic absolutely, instead of a republic founded on their consent. To-day you demand the *drapeau rouge* in room of the *drapeau tricolor*. Citizens, neither I nor any of the Government will adopt the *drapeau rouge*. We would rather adopt the black flag which is hoisted in a bombarded city to mark to the en-

emy the hospital of the wounded, the refuge of suffering humanity. I will tell you, in one word, why I will oppose it with the whole force of patriotic determination: It is, citizens, that the *drapeau tricolor* has made the tour of the world, with the Republic and the Empire, with your liberties and your glory; but the *drapeau rouge* has only made the tour of the Champ de Mars, dragged in the blood of the citizens."² A universal tumult arose at these intrepid words—some loudly applauding, others as vehemently condemning; and in the tumult several muskets were leveled at Lamartine and the persons by whom he was surrounded. But the barrels were knocked up by others less inclined to blood; and in the confusion Lamartine was dragged in by his friends within the building, and escaped without injury. The decree promising the people work was immediately after read aloud from the balcony; and the people, wearied with the fatigues of the day, began to drop off. But Lamartine's stand on this occasion was a most noble act, which well entitles him to the thanks of every friend of humanity; for had the people not been met by his happy and courageous inspiration, the Government would have been overturned on the spot, and a new reign of blood would have commenced.³

But although the danger of a bloody republic was got over at the moment, yet it was evident to all that some lasting measures were indispensable in order to security for the Government, and the employment of the idle and violent persons who were assembled in the streets. The Municipal Guard had been disbanded, and the whole military had been sent out of the city by the Provisional Government, in order to appease the people and avoid the risk of collisions, which might be highly dangerous. Thus the Government was entirely at the mercy of the mob, and the only protection they could invoke consisted in two battalions formed of volunteers, who had placed their bayonets at the disposal of the authorities. But, though faithful, they were too few in number to be of any real service in the event of danger such as that which had just been escaped. In these circumstances it occurred to the Provisional Government to form a new body of defenders out of the most active of those who had been engaged in the assault on the monarchy. They decreed the formation, accordingly, of a new urban corps called the "GARDE MOBILE," to be composed of those who had been most determined on the barricades; and the plan would, it was hoped, enroll on the side of the Government the most formidable of those who had recently been leagued together for its overthrow. It perfectly succeeded. High pay—double that of the troops of the line—soon attracted into the ranks the most ardent of those who had been engaged in the late disturbances.⁴ There the instinct of military discipline prevailed; the bold youths attached themselves to their

¹ Alluding to the occasion in 1790, when the *drapeau rouge* was hoisted by the orders of Bailly at the Hôtel de Ville, and Lafayette ordered the troops to fire on the mob in the Champs de Mars.—See *History of Europe*, c. vii. § 97, 98.

² Decree, March 1, 1848; *Moniteur*, March 1, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 110, 111.

³ Institution of the Garde Mobile and Volunteers.

colors and the Government which paid them; and the Garde Mobile, which soon consisted of twenty-four battalions, and mustered fourteen thousand bayonets, rendered essential service to the cause of order in the subsequent convulsions.

Several other measures less creditable to the authorities, but not less descriptive of the pressure under which they labored, emanated at the same time from the busy legislative mill in the Hôtel de Ville. Acts of accusation were launched forth against M. Du-

chatel, M. Salvandy, M. de Montebello, and all the members of the late ministry; but this was a mere feigned concession to the passions of the people; the Provisional Government, to its honor be it spoken, had no intention of proceeding seriously against them. Gratuitous tickets to the opera were largely distributed among the people; but, as well observed, it was poor consolation for a man who had got no dinner to be presented with an opera ticket. The licentious mob, who had plundered and kept possession of the

Tuileries, were at length got out, but only by a great display of military force, and on the express condition that they were to be taken to the Hôtel de Ville, thanked for their patriotic conduct, and presented with certificates of good behavior. At the same time, the volunteers who had tendered their services to the Provisional Government refused to surrender their places at the Hôtel de Ville to the urban militia,

and used such menacing language that it was deemed expedient to veil the weakness of Government under a pretended respect for their patriotism, and allow them to remain.¹

A fresh element of discord soon arose from the liberation of Blanqui, Barbès, Bernard, Huber, and all the political prisoners in Paris, whom long confinement had roused to perfect frenzy against authority of every kind. Their first measure was to reopen all the clubs, which soon resounded with declamations as violent as any which had ushered in the horrors of the Reign of Terror. A hundred of them were opened in a few days, chiefly in the worst parts of Paris, and every night crowded by furious multitudes. The

Government, in compliance with their demands, authorized the planting of trees of liberty, in imitation of the orgies of the first Revolution; and in a few days numerous bands issued forth from Paris into the gardens and woods in its vicinity, pulled up the prettiest young trees they could find, and brought them into the public places of the capital, where they were planted, withered, and died. These proceedings excited so much enthusiasm, and gave rise to such noisy and tumultuous assemblages, that the Minister of Police was obliged to issue a circular against them. To reconcile the people to the want of this favorite pastime, the Government arranged a magnificent procession for

the interment of the few who had fallen in the cause of the insurrection during the revolt. It went off with great éclat, and amply gratified the taste of the Parisians for theatrical display. One incident only threatened to disturb the harmony of the proceedings. Two ladies, not, it may be supposed, of the most

rigid virtue, uninvited, joined the procession, splendidly attired in flowing white robes, mounted on milk-white steeds. They were intended to personify the Goddesses of Reason and Love, which had made so much noise in the fête in Notre Dame during the first Revolution. The police were at a loss what to do, for they dreaded the ridicule which such an exhibition would occasion, and yet scarcely ventured to interfere, as the people loudly applauded the fair equestrians. At length one of the police officers had the presence of mind to say, "The Republic admits only into its service women who are beautiful, but you are *devilishly ugly*—get out of the ranks." This turned the laugh against the fair intruders, the more especially as the libel was in some degree true, and they were obliged to retire.¹

But the Provisional Government had soon more serious cares to occupy them.

Distrust and distress, the inevitable attendants on successful revolution, ere long appeared in their most appalling form. The Government, having guaranteed employment and sufficient wages to every citizen, soon found themselves embarrassed to the very last degree by the multitudes every day thrown upon them. Credit was at a stand; the manufactories and workshops were closed, and the thousands who earned their bread in them were thrown destitute upon the streets. So violent was the panic, so strong the desire to realize, that the Five per Cents fell in the beginning of March to 45! "Nothing," says Lord Normanby, "surprised me more, in the wonderful changes of the last two days, than the utter destruction of all conventional value attached to articles of luxury or display. Pictures, statues, plate, jewels, shawls, furs, laces, all one is accustomed to consider property, became as useless lumber. Ladies, anxious to realize a small sum in order to seek safety in flight, have in vain endeavored to raise a pittance upon the most costly jewels. What signified that they were 'rich and rare,' when no one could or would buy them? The scarcity of money became so great that a sovereign passed for three or four and thirty francs. Many persons sent their plate to be coined into five-franc pieces. All the most expensive *nouveautés* which had been accumulated for the display of the coming season were in vain offered at a fraction of their value. It seemed a mockery to suppose that under the red flag should be nurtured any thing but a 'ragged regiment of shreds and patches.' It was melancholy to see the most civilized capital in the world suddenly reduced to the primitive condition of barter."²

In these circumstances it was in vain to think of the ordinary channels of employment being reopened, and nothing remained but for Government to take upon themselves, in the mean time at least, the employment of the people. For this purpose, on the 27th and 28th of March, decrees were passed appointing great work-shops, called *Ateliers Nationaux*, where the whole unemployed might be set to work. As the idle were the very men who had made the Revolution, it was indispensable to keep them

10.
Decrees
against the
ex-Ministers,
and other
measures.
March 1.

March 6.

¹ Ann. Hist.
1848, 112, 113;
Cass. I. 297-
299; Causa. I.
117-119.

11.
Reopening of
the clubs; lib-
eration of pris-
oners; plant-
ing of trees of
liberty; fête
of March 5.

March 24.

March 5.

¹ Causa. I. 121-
124; Lord Nor-
manby, Year
of Revolu-
tions, I. 169,
170; Ann.
Hist. 1848,
112, 114.

12.
Prostration
of credit, and
formation of
the Ateliers
Nationaux.

² Normanby,
I. 145, 146;
Ann. Hist.
1848, 112.

13.
Formation of
the Ateliers
Nationaux.
March 27, 28.

in good-humor, and for this purpose the wages given were two francs a day. This was more than the average rate even in prosperous periods, and it had the effect of bringing a host of needy and clamorous claimants, not only from Paris, but all the towns in the neighborhood. The numbers in the first week were only 5000, but they soon increased in a fearful progression; from the 1st to the 15th April they swelled to 36,250, and at length reached the enormous number of 117,000! The daily cost of their maintenance exceeded 200,000 francs. This enormous expenditure was necessary, for the universal prostration of credit, hoarding of specie, and disappearance of capital, rendered it impossible to get quit of workmen once enrolled in the brigades of unemployed; the Government were obliged to add much from the secret-service money to support them, in addition to the vast sums publicly applied to their relief; and, in truth, they were kept up as well from the desire always to have a huge army of dependents ready to support the Revolutionary Government as from the necessities of their situation.*

¹ L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. de la Révolution de Février, 68; Emile Thomas, Hist. des Ateliers Nationaux, 200-204.

In these huge work-shops were collected together a crowd of workmen, all of different trades; and they were all set to the same employment, which was generally that of removing nuisances, leveling barricades, or taking away dung-hills. Even these humble employments were soon done; nothing remained for the enormous multitude to do; for as to making articles of luxury, or even convenience, for the public, that was out of the question at a time when no one was purchasing more than the absolute necessities of life. Thus the Ateliers Nationaux soon turned into *vast pay-shops*, where idle crowds hung about all day, receiving two francs a day for doing nothing. In the latter period of their existence, there were not 2000 actually at work out of 110,000 on the public rolls. There was no one concerned in the Administration who was to blame for this state of things. It was unavoidable in the circumstances, just as the employing 200,000 starving laborers on the public roads in

² L. Blanc, Rev. de 1848, 64, 65; Ann. Hist. 1848, 115. Ireland at the same time was. The real authors of it are those who, for the selfish purposes of their own aggrandizement, promoted the Revolution,³ and thus brought so vast a

body of their fellow-citizens into such disastrous circumstances.

When the increasing necessities of the numerous classes whom the Revolution had deprived of bread forced the subject of their maintenance on an unwilling Government, the cry was for the appointment of a minister *pour l'organisation de travail*; and the public voice, expressed on a hundred banners reared aloft in the Place de Grève, designated M. Louis Blanc, whose Socialist principles had long been known, for that high office. Despite their revolutionary propensities, however, the other members of the Provisional Government were aware of the hazard of appointing such a minister, and the endless multiplicity of claims which would come upon them if such an office received their sanction. To avoid the danger, and yet escape the obloquy of openly resisting a demand so supported, they fell upon the device of appointing M. Louis Blanc president of a commission appointed to sit at the Luxembourg, and inquire into the condition of the working classes, and the means of relieving their distresses. This, it was hoped, would act as a safety-valve to let off the ill humors of the Republic, and turn any explosion they might generate aside from the Provisional Government. The better to favor this design there were associated with M. Louis Blanc in this commission the acknowledged chiefs of all the sects of Socialists and Communists. The Ateliers Nationaux, however, were not put under their direction. They remained under the orders of M. Marie, the Minister of Commerce; and in consequence of this not being generally adverted to, and the Luxembourg being regarded as the centre of the Communist action and the source of Communist measures, much unjust obloquy has been brought upon Louis Blanc and his Socialist supporters.¹

Their principles were, that capital is the real enemy of labor, the capitalist the middleman who has interposed between the producer and consumer, diminishing the profits of the former, enhancing the price paid by the latter. To obviate this, as it seemed to them, great injustice, their plan was to organize all trades and manufactories in great companies, in which the operatives were to share in the profits, which were to be equally divided, not paid by wages. In this way they thought that the condition of the working classes would be at once ameliorated and equalized by the fruits of their labor being exclusively divided among themselves. Following out these principles, what Louis Blanc wished established in March, 1848, to meet the public distress, was not "Ateliers Nationaux," but "Ateliers Sociaux"—great establishments where persons of the same trade should be employed together, and divide among them, without the intervention of any capitalist, the whole fruits of their industry. He condemned as an "insensate project" the Government establishments, where persons of all trades were huddled together, and set to kinds of work for which nine-tenths of them were of course utterly disqualified; and he loudly complains, not without reason, that he should be stigmatized as the author of a system

* "Après la séance du Gouvernement je me rendis à l'Hôtel de Ville, et reçus la nouvelle qu'un crédit de 5,000,000 francs (£200,000) était ouvert aux ateliers nationaux, et que le service des finances s'accomplirait dès lors avec plus de facilité. M. Marie me prit ensuite à part et me demanda fort bas, si je pouvais compter sur les ouvriers? 'Je le pense,' répondis-je, 'cependant le nombre s'accroît tellement qu'il me devient difficile de posséder sur eux une action aussi directe que je le souhaiterais.' 'Ne vous inquiétez pas du nombre,' me dit le Ministre: 'si vous les tenez il ne sera jamais trop grand, mais vous avez un moyen de vous les attacher sincèrement. Ne ménagez pas l'argent; au besoin même on vous accorderait des Fonds secrets. Je ne pense pas en avoir besoin; ce serait peut-être ensuite une source de difficultés assez graves; mais dans quel autre but que celui de la tranquillité publique me faites vous ces recommandations? Dans le but du salut public. Croyez vous parvenir à commander entièrement à vos hommes? Le jour n'est peut-être pas loin où il faudra les faire descendre dans la rue.'—Histoire des Ateliers Nationaux, par M. EMILE THOMAS, p. 200; LOUIS BLANC, Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février, p. 64.

¹ Moniteur, March 1, 1848; Louis Blanc, 53, 54; Ann. Hist. 1848, 115.

¹⁶ Real principles of the Socialists.

which he not only never supported, but strongly opposed.*

But although Louis Blanc may justly claim exemption from the immediate responsibility of the Ateliers Nationaux, real fault he can not so easily shake himself loose from the charge of having largely contributed to spread among the working classes those delusive and impracticable doctrines which brought about the Revolution. He admits that, when named as member of the Provisional Government, he declared that "he proclaimed not only the Republic, but the democratic and social Republic;"† and that, in answer to the deputations which addressed him at the Luxembourg, he guaranteed, in the name of the Republic, "the same wages in periods of adversity which they had previously attained in periods of prosperity, and full employment to all citizens."‡ When doctrines so monstrous and utterly inconsistent with the existence of industrial employment were not only openly avowed by the Government, but made the condition of their appointment, it is of no consequence who was charged with the duty of organizing the Ateliers Nationaux. The persons really responsible for their establishment are those who, by closing private enterprise by rendering it ruinous, forced the people to have recourse to the public establishments. If M. Marie organized the Ateliers Nationaux, it was Louis Blanc and his disciples who drove the people into them.

The Socialist principles, proclaimed by authority from the Luxembourg, have produced such calamitous results, that the French writers have been led carefully to examine the foundations on which they rest, and elaborate refutations of them have proceeded from many able pens. But the real answer to

* "Les Ateliers Nationaux étaient organisés non seulement sans ma participation, mais contraire à mes principes. Rien de plus opposé au régime industriel développé dans l'organisation du travail que le régime si justement flétri des ateliers nationaux dirigés par M. Emile Thomas, sous la responsabilité de M. Marie. Les ateliers sociaux, tels que je les avais proposés, devaient réunir chacun des ouvriers appartenant tous à la même profession. Les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie montrèrent entassés pêle-mêle des ouvriers de toute profession, lesquels, chose insensée, furent soumis au même genre de travail. Dans les ateliers sociaux tels que je les avais proposés, les ouvriers devaient travailler à l'aide de la commandite de l'Etat; mais pour leur propre compte en vue d'un bénéfice commun, c'est-à-dire, avec l'ardeur de l'intérêt personnel, uni à la puissance de l'Association et au point d'honneur de l'esprit de corps. Dans les ateliers nationaux tels qu'ils furent gouvernés par M. Marie, l'Etat n'intervint que comme entreprenant et les ouvriers ne figurent que comme salariés. Or comme il s'agit ici d'un labeur stérile infructueux, auquel la plupart se trouvaient nécessairement inhabiles, l'action de l'Etat, c'était le gaspillage des finances, la rétribution, c'était une prime à la paresse, le salaire, c'était une aumône déguisée."—LOUIS BLANC, *Pages de l'Histoire de la Révolution de Février*, p. 63.

† "Annoncé comme membre du Gouvernement Provisoire, je montai en uniforme de Garde National sur la table qui servait de bureau, et là, dans un discours qui dût être singulièrement animé, s'il répondait aux battements de mon cœur, je proclamai non seulement la République, mais la République démocratique et sociale. Flocon s'exprimait dans le même sens. Alors un ouvrier nous félicita, au nom de ses camarades, d'avoir posé de la sorte la véritable question—la question suprême de la Révolution qui venait de s'accomplir, et le titre de Membres du Gouvernement Provisoire nous fut confirmé par des acclamations ardentes."—LOUIS BLANC, p. 21.

‡ "M. Louis Blanc promettait aux ouvriers au nom de l'Etat, dans le présent, la conservation pendant les péri-

them will at once occur to every person engaged in the actual business of life. Socialist principles are impracticable, then, when attempted to be put in force; and if practicable, they would be pernicious; because, if the profits of stock were swallowed up in the wages of labor, credit would be destroyed, and no fund could exist to purchase the materials on which labor is to be exerted, and maintain the persons engaged in their manufacture in the interval between the commencement of industry and the receipt of the price of its produce. If any one believes the contrary, he is recommended to try whether he will get the same advance of money on the credit of ten thousand workmen worth a sovereign each as of one man worth ten thousand sovereigns. In the second place, the proportion which the wages of labor bear to the profits of stock in all industrial establishments, whether connected with land or manufactures, is so large, that even if the whole of the former were divided among the latter, it would not make an addition to them of more than thirty or forty per cent.—a difference not greater than a good harvest or a prosperous commercial season always makes, without making any sensible addition to the amount of their savings. In the third place, supposing that, by the force of numbers and the prevalence of frugal habits, little capitals could be formed in the hands of the operatives, it would be impossible to find in their ranks men who could be intrusted with its administration. To withstand the temptation arising from the power of intrusting with any common fund requires habits of the most difficult acquirement, and is seldom seen except in cases where a second nature, as it were, has been induced by many generations employed in their acquisition. In the fourth place, even the rise of wages, arising from the workmen dividing the profits of stock, could only be temporary. By stopping the accumulation of capital in the hands of employers it would check the growth of wealth, and with it that of all the branches of manufacture which minister to the comforts or elegancies of life. All the persons engaged in them would at once be thrown back upon the occupations which minister to bare necessities, and competition would soon bring down the wages in them to the lowest point, as it was so long the case in Ireland. Louis Blanc told the deputations of workmen at the Luxembourg that by embracing Socialist principles they would "all become kings!" He would have been nearer the truth if he had said they would all become beggars.

Three circumstances distinguished this Revolution from both of those which had preceded it, and form so many characteristics well worthy of consideration. The first is, the entire absence of all religious jealousy or rancor by which it was distinguished. No one need be told that the very reverse was the case in the first Revolution. The same was the case, though in a lesser degree, in the Revolution of 1830. Hatred of the Jesuits, and jealousy of the influ-

19. Absence of religious jealousy in this Revolution.

odes de crise des salaires appartenant aux périodes de prospérité, avec une participation aux bénéfices; dans l'avenir, le libre exercice de leurs facultés, la libre satisfaction de leurs désirs, enfin, le maximum de bonheur."—Paroles de M. LOUIS BLANC (Conférence du 29 Avril, 1848).—*Moniteur*.

ence they were supposed to be acquiring in the Government and the educational establishments of the country, were the chief causes of the overthrow of Charles X. But on this occasion, this the most deadly poison that can be mixed up with the revolutionary passions, was entirely wanting. The old animosity of the revolutionists against the clergy seemed to have disappeared. The Revolution was ardently supported by the clergy, in the first instance at least, especially in the rural districts. The priests blessed the trees of liberty which were planted in the villages and squares; fervent prayers were offered up for the Republic from the altars; the priests, surrounded by their flocks, marched to the polling-places for the elections for the Assembly when they came on. This change is very remarkable, and suggests much matter for reflection; but it is easily explained when we recollect that the Church had lost all its property during the first Revolution, and ceased to be either an object of envy from its wealth, or of jealousy from its power. Thrown upon their flocks for support, since the miserable pittance of forty pounds a year allowed by Government barely sufficed for existence, the clergy had identified themselves with their interests, and shared their desires. The Government of Louis Philippe had been so hostile to religion that they in secret rejoiced at its overthrow. This very remarkable change bespeaks the profound knowledge of the human heart which selected the Apostles intended to propagate a faith destined to overspread the world from the fishermen of Galilee, not the priests of Zoroaster or the pontiffs of Rome, and illustrates the prophetic wisdom of the words of Cazalès, in the first National Assembly, "Take from them their cross of gold, and they will get one of wood, and it was by a cross of wood that the world was saved."¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 1111; Hist. of Europe, c. vi. § 60.

The second circumstance which distinguished this Revolution was the sedulous attention now paid to the demands and interests of LABOR. It was the interests of capital and the *bourgeoisie* which were chiefly, if not exclusively, considered in the Revolution of 1830. Robespierre and St. Just had professed, and probably felt, a warm interest in the concerns of the working classes; but they could see no other way of serving them but cutting off the heads of all above them. The lapse of thirty-three years' peace since 1815, and the vast increase of industry which had in consequence taken place, had now, however, given a more practical direction to men's thoughts. They no longer thought that they were to be benefited by placing the heads of the rich under the guillotine; they adopted a plan, in appearance at least, more likely to be attended with the desired effect, and that was, to put their own hands into their pockets. Encouraged by the conferences at the Luxembourg and the Socialist declamations of Louis Blanc, as well as the decrees of the Government, which guaranteed employment and full wages to all the working classes, they all united now in demanding from their employers at once an increase of wages and a diminution in the hours of labor! By a decree of the March 26. Government, the hours of labor of all sorts in Paris were fixed at ten hours

a day, though in the provinces they were left at twelve hours. These demands, too, were made at a time when, in consequence of the panic consequent on the Revolution, and the universal hoarding of the precious metals which had ensued, the price of every species of industrial produce, so far from rising, was rapidly falling, and sales of every thing, except the mere necessities of life, had become impossible! The consequence, as might have been anticipated, was, that mostly all the master-manufacturers closed their work-shops; and in the first two weeks of March above a hundred thousand were out of employment in Paris alone, and thirty or forty thousand in Rouen, Lyons, and Bordeaux!¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 114-116; Emile Thomas, Commission d'Enquête, 91.

A third effect which ensued from the peculiar character of this Revolution, as the revolt of *Labor against Capital*, was the strongest aversion on the part of all its promoters to the principles of free trade, and a decided adherence to that of protection. Lord Normanby, who, though not yet regularly accredited to the Provisional Government, was in daily communication with M. de Lamartine, repeatedly sounded the French Minister on this subject, representing how advantageous it would prove to both nations if their commercial intercourse could be conducted without fiscal restraints; but in vain. M. de Lamartine answered coldly to all these proposals, saying that, in the existing temper of men's minds, it was in vain to bring any such doctrines forward. He was doubtless right; they ran directly counter to the strongest desires of those who had made the Revolution. These desires soon broke out in savage and inhuman attacks on foreign workmen, especially their great rivals the English, in many parts of the country, especially on the lines of railways then in course of construction. The effect of these attacks, and of the general obloquy to which they were exposed from the jealousy of their French competitors, was, that nearly the whole English workmen then in France, amounting to above thirty thousand, were obliged to leave the country and return home. They arrived on the shores of Britain in the most deplorable state of destitution, and loudly complaining of the treatment they had received; for, not content with driving them out of the country, the French Revolutionists laid an embargo on their funds in the savings banks there, which Lord Normanby for long labored in vain to get removed. The gross injustice of this proceeding had a very salutary effect on the corresponding classes in the south of England, and the publication of these complaints in the papers went far to cool that general enthusiasm in favor of the Revolution which, on its first occurrence, was felt among the working classes of Great Britain.²

^{21.} Acts against free trade, and expulsion of English workmen from France.

² Lord Normanby, i. 160, 161, 220; Ann. Hist. 1848, 116, 117; Ann. Reg. 1848, 254.

But all other consequences of the Revolution fade into insignificance compared with the commercial and monetary crisis which resulted from its success, and, in its ultimate results, was attended with the most important effects upon the fortunes of the Republic. The panic soon spread

^{22.} Monetary and commercial crisis, and resignation of M. Goudchoux as Finance Minister.

from the towns to the country; the peasants, fearful of being plundered, either by robbery or the emission of assignats, hastened to hide their little stores of money; specie disappeared from the circulation; and, as a necessary consequence, purchasers were few, even for articles of primary necessity, and the price of every article of commerce underwent a serious diminution. M. Goudchoux, the first Minister of Finance in the Provisional Government, could devise no better mode of meeting the difficulty but by a decree which postponed the payment of all bills falling

Feb. 25. due on 22d February and subsequent days to the 15th March. As this raised

a violent clamor among the holders of these securities, he followed it up by a decree

March 2. on the other side, which anticipated the

March 5. payment of the *rentes* falling due on the 22d March, by declaring them payable on the

15th. As arrangements had been made to meet these payments on the 22d, this only made matters worse, and increased the general confusion.

Such was the outcry, and so wide-spread the

panic, that M. Goudchoux felt himself unable to make head against it,

and he resigned his situation as Finance Minister, and was succeeded

by M. Garnier Pagès.¹

Fortunately for France and Europe, his successor was a man of abilities and res-

olution, and exempt from those money influences which so generally tie

up the hands or blind the eyes of statesmen intrusted with the financial concerns of nations. The com-

mercial state of France at this period, and the circumstances which rendered the important

change in its monetary system which soon after took place necessary, are thus explained in the

official report of the Comte Argout, the bank's chairman, for the year 1848: "When the Rev-

olution of February broke out, the treasure in the Bank of France and its branch establish-

ments amounted to 225,000,000 francs. The demand for specie, however, rapidly increased

on that event, but the bank made the most courageous efforts to meet the drain. From the 26th

February to the 15th March, that is, during fifteen working days, the bank discounted in Paris

alone 112,000,000 francs. In the branch banks, during the same period, it discounted 45,000,000

francs. By this means it saved from bankruptcy the banks of Rouen, Orleans, Havre, and Lille.

But the drain of specie was only thereby rendered more alarming. From the 26th February to

the 15th March, the metallic reserve at Paris fell from 181,000,000 to 82,000,000 francs. On the

15th March the payments in coin amounted to 10,000,000 francs, and on the evening of that

day there remained only 59,000,000

francs. On the succeeding day

(16th) it was known the run would

be still more considerable, and in a few days more the bank would be

entirely drained of specie."²

In these alarming circumstances, the council-general of the bank met, and pre-

pared the draft of a decree, which

was immediately submitted to the Provisional Government, received its

unanimous sanction on the night of the 15th March, and appeared in the columns

of the *Moniteur* on the following day. By this decree the bank was relieved from the obligation of paying its notes in specie, and its notes were declared a legal tender. The power of emission, however, was limited to 350,000,000 francs, as the maximum of the circulation; and it was provided that weekly states of the affairs of the bank should be published, as in England. The emission of notes for 100 francs was authorized by the same decree. The issue of notes for 50 francs and 25 francs had been anxiously prayed for by the commercial classes; but the council-general of the bank refused its consent to this demand, as likely to lead to an exportation of specie at a time when it was of such importance to keep it in the country. The circulation of the bank at the date of the decree amounted to 275,000,000; so that, even as it stood, this measure afforded a considerable extension to the available circulation of the country, and what was of still more importance, relieved it entirely of the obligation to pay in specie.¹

Thus did the suspension of cash payments result in France from the Revolution

of 1848, as the emission of assignats

in that country in 1791, and the sus-

pension of cash payments in Great

Britain in 1797, had arisen from that

of 1789. In all the three cases the change was

the result of necessity, and the effect was im-

mense, far exceeding what had been either in-

tended or foreseen by its authors. The forced

paper circulation of the first revolution in France,

which at length was pushed to £750,000,000

sterling, beyond all question brought that coun-

try safe through the terrible assault of the Eu-

ropean powers in 1793 and 1794; but it did so

only by producing a rise of prices which utterly

destroyed the capital of the nation, and inflicted

an irreparable wound on its industry. The sus-

pension of cash payments in Great Britain in

1797 alone enabled the nation to make head

against the power of revolutionary France, and

preserved the liberties of Europe when threaten-

ed with destruction by the arms of Napoleon;

but it did this at the cost of a duplication of

prices, doubling the amount of the national debt,

and imposing a heavy burden on its industry,

which will never now be removed. The opposite

system, introduced by Sir Robert Peel in 1819,

of rendering the currency entirely dependent on

gold, and contracting the paper whenever the

gold was withdrawn, had induced three terrible

monetary crises, under the effects of the last of

which the nation was still laboring. Steering

the middle course between these two extremes,

the measure of M. Garnier Pagès, based on the

principle of *meeting the drain by an issue of paper,*

bearing a forced circulation, but limited in amount

to what the nation really required, may be regarded

as a model of political wisdom, and perhaps

the greatest boon ever bestowed by legislative

wisdom on an afflicted nation. For if it had

not been passed, and either an unlimited issue

of the currency, or an unlimited contraction of

it, had been practiced, beyond all doubt all the

eloquence and courage of Lamartine would have

been unable to avert another revolution—a sec-

ond rule of the Jacobins, a second reign of blood,

and a second revolutionary war.

This decree was, in the first instance, confined

¹ Decree, March 15, 1848; *Moniteur*, March 16.

² Great effects of this change, and its wisdom.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 139, 146; *Moniteur*, March 6, 1848.

^{23.} M. Garnier Pagès minister. Financial state of the Bank.

² Rapport du Comte D'Argout, for 1848; *Moniteur*, March 16, 1848.

^{24.} Suspension of cash payments. March 15.

to the Bank of France; but by two supplementary decrees, issued on 27th April and 2d May, the protection was extended to the banks of Bordeaux, Rouen, Nantes, Lyons, Marseilles, Havre, Lille, and Orleans, which were amalgamated with the Bank of France, and their joint circulation, inconvertible into specie, was extended to 452,000,000 francs (£18,000,000). This was fully equal to the necessities of a nation which at that period, strange to say, did not require more than £18,000,000 of discounts, while New-
marsh, At the same time, the greatest efforts were made by the Bank of France, and all its branches, to sustain industry and credit in every possible way. Discount banks (*Comptoirs Nationaux*) and loan offices (*Magasins Généraux*) were established in Paris and all the commercial towns of France, and bills were accepted for discount bearing two signatures only, instead of three as formerly required. The rediscounting of bills was permitted, contrary to prior usage, and loan offices formed, for granting receipts or warrants for goods stored in public warehouses, on which loans of money might be obtained. By these several means, powerfully aided by the limited but inconvertible currency, very great assistance was rendered by the Bank of France, both to individuals and the public treasury, during the remainder of the year—a period which, but for that relief, would unquestionably have been fraught with unparalleled disasters. In the nine months of 1848 after the decree suspending cash payments, the bank at Paris rediscounted bills to the amount of 90,000,000 francs, and in the branches 140,000,000 francs, besides advancing on security of goods in the “Magasins” 62,500,000 more. In addition to these advances to individuals, the bank lent Government on 31st March 50,000,000 francs; on 31st May 80,000,000 francs; and on 3d June engaged for a loan of 150,000,000 francs to the Treasury, of which 50,000,000 francs was actually paid over. In these immense advances, rendered possible solely by the wise suspension of cash payments, rather than in all the eloquence of M. Lamartine, the real means are to be found whereby France surmounted the crisis, and averted a second reign of terror. And the fruit of these measures clearly appeared in the rapid diminution of the number weekly admitted into the Ateliers Nationaux, New-
marsh, which in the fortnight from 16th to 1st March was 25,250; and from 1st to 15th April, 36,250; but from 16th to 31st May it had fallen to 3000; and from 1st to 15th June, to 1200.²

Most fortunate was it for France and the world that the Provisional Government had either the sense to see, or were forced by the pressure of the

working classes to adopt, these the only measures suited to the crisis, or capable of meeting its dangers; for the condition of the public finances, in consequence of the Revolution, had become all but desperate. Such was the effect of the universal alarm, that the consumption of every individual in the country, from the highest to the lowest, was at once reduced to the smallest possible amount. The *octroi* of the capital, which in 1847 had produced from 75,000 to 80,000 francs a day, immediately fell to 40,000 or 50,000 francs. All other taxes on consumption at once fell off in the same proportion. The imports of France in 1848 were little more than *half* of what they had been in 1847; and as the Revolution only took place in the end of February, this implied a falling off to a still greater amount in the ten months subsequent to that convulsion. The exports, it is true, did not exhibit a decline by any means in the same proportion; but that arose from a peculiar and very distressing cause, which, so far from bespeaking a revival of industry, indicated just the reverse. It arose from the universal desire to turn movable property into cash, and the impossibility of finding a market for it in France itself. This led to a general sending of it abroad; and to such a length did this go, that the foreign trade of France in 1848 presented the enormous balance of £11,000,000 in favor of that country, which of course was paid in specie.* This is a most curious and instructive circumstance, indicating at once how fallacious a test of the prosperity of a nation the amount of treasure in its banking establishments is; how erroneous an opinion it is, which is often entertained, that the amount of exports is to be taken as the measure of its manufacturing prosperity; and how great a mistake it is to suppose that the issue of inconvertible paper in moderate quantities will drive specie out of the country. For in this year of unexampled alarm and suffering, when the diminished consumption of all classes brought the imports down a half, and the national industry was sustained only by the issue of inconvertible notes to the extent of £18,000,000 sterling, the balance of trade was £11,000,000 in favor of France. Her exports had undergone very little diminution; the notes in circulation had risen from £11,000,000 to £15,000,000, the bullion in the bank from £3,000,000 to £10,000,000, while the New-
discounts had sunk from £11,000,000 to £6,000,000.[†]

† At the moment when these lines are written (April 2, 1859), a similar phenomenon is presented in this country. The last Bank and Trade Returns show:

Notes in circulation.....	£19,500,000
Bullion in Bank.....	18,385,000
Ditto on 15th November, 1857.....	7,170,000
Decrease in exports from corresponding months in 1857.....	2,081,000

Rate of interest at Bank....	2½ per cent.
Ditto in November, 1857....	10 per cent.

So that the circulation is nearly entirely metallic. Interest is at the lowest point, and yet exports have sunk

* IMPORTS AND EXPORTS FROM FRANCE IN REAL VALUE, FROM 1845 TO 1850.

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Deficit.
1845	£24,200,000	£33,900,000	£2,800,000	£54,870,000	£2,070,000
1846	86,800,000	84,100,000	53,800,000	57,340,000	8,500,000
1847	89,080,000	85,600,000	54,900,000	65,190,000	10,290,000
1848	23,200,000	83,300,000	70,720,000	70,860,000	140,000
1849	81,200,000	41,800,000	57,270,000	65,770,000	8,500,000
1850	81,200,000	44,900,000	57,260,000	58,470,000	1,670,000

—NEWMARSH, VI. 653, 654, 659; and *Ann. Hist.*, 1846 and 1847.

But how deplorable soever may have been the financial state and prospects of industry in France, it was absolutely necessary to make some concession to the powerful revolutionary party in possession of the capital, which imperiously demanded an instant relaxation of the burdens immediately affecting themselves. The tax which was most generally condemned was that on salt; and by a decree on 31st March it was suppressed, though the Government had presence of mind to defer the taking effect of the decree till the 1st of January succeeding. The same decree announced a great reduction on the excise on meat and wine; and at the same time the railways from Paris to Orleans, and from Orleans to Vierzon, were put under sequestration, upon the pretense that they were insolvent. But these reductions, and the immense reduction in the customs, rendered some great increase in another quarter absolutely necessary. No other resource appeared practicable but additions to the direct taxes. It was accordingly resolved to increase the whole of them 45 per cent., which was accordingly done. By a supplemental decree, the direct taxes in the Departments of the Rhone, including Lyons, were increased 50 per cent. more, or 95 in all; and several other Departments were subjected in additional charges, varying from 15 to 25, or 60 to 70 per cent. in all.* By this decree the Government obtained a large accession of revenue; for the receipts of the Treasury in 1848 were no less than £70,000,000, being £15,000,000 more than the receipts of 1847, the last year of Louis Philippe's reign. So that, whatever the French people might hope to gain by the Revolution, relief from taxation could not be included.

No words can convey an adequate idea of the universal disappointment and indignation which this decree occasioned in France. The peasant proprietors, in whose hands nine-tenths of the country was, had received the Revolution coldly

£2,000,000 a month.—*Times*, March 28, 1868. And during the period when this serious decline was going forward—the result of the drain of gold in autumn, 1857—the specie in the Bank had, so far from being drawn out of the country by the suspension of the Bank-Charter Act in November, 1857, increased by upward of £11,000,000.

* A very valuable report was framed by the Minister of Finance at this period, on the financial state of France when the reign of Louis Philippe ended. From this it appeared that the

	Franks.
Public funded debt amounted, on January 1, 1848, to.....	5,792,261,000
Its annual charge to.....	239,428,000
Floating debt to.....	637,703,000
Loan contracted in 1847.....	250,000,000
Of which was still to be paid.....	167,000,000
Sums due by Government to savings banks	469,579,000
Sinking fund annually.....	48,886,000
Interest of floating debt.....	18,000,000
Expended on Public Works...1,606,039,000	
Repaid, or due by Companies 1,069,000,000	
Remained due by State.....	586,839,000
Total public debt of all sorts.....	8,095,041,000
Cash in Treasury on 24th February, 1848..	192,488,000
In Bank of France belonging to Treasury..	125,644,000
Expenditure of 1847.....	1,446,000,000
Revenue of ditto.....	1,391,276,000
Deficit.....	54,000,000
—Rapport par M. Goudoulioux, Ministre de Finance, March 7, 1848. <i>Ann. Historique</i> , 1848, p. 187-142.	

but submissively. They neither desired the change nor were very averse to it; they were simply indifferent. They had no loyal or chivalrous attachment to the Orleans dynasty: all they desired was to be allowed to live in peace, cultivating their little domains; and the chief ground of complaint that they had against the former Government was its expense, and the large deficit which every year was increasing in the Exchequer, to be filled up only by additional loans and taxes. They were told, however, universally, and for a few weeks believed, that the Republican Government would be so cheap that a very great reduction of their burdens would take place—nay, that at no distant period they would entirely cease. In their simplicity many believed this, just as the Reformers in Great Britain in 1831 did that, when “the Bill” passed, wages would be doubled, and prices halved. The additional sum raised by the 45 per cent. was 190,000,000 francs, and this fell almost entirely on the little proprietors. It may be conceived what a sensation the imposition of this addition to their taxes made among a body of peasant proprietors, who had not yet recovered from the general distress produced by the failure of the crops in 1846. But when, in addition to this, they learned that this formidable increase of their burdens had been laid on to support an army of a hundred thousand revolutionists in Paris, who were paid 200,000 francs a day for doing nothing, their indignation knew no bounds, and the fatal truth flashed upon them that the Revolution, made by the mob of the capital, would be turned only to its advantage and to their ruin. So universal were these feelings, that in the rural districts they soon came to supersede all other, and are to be regarded as the main cause of the general unpopularity and ultimate overthrow of the Revolution.¹

The time was now approaching when something definite required to be adopted by the Provisional Government in regard to the future constitution of the Republic. With this view the Government felt that it was necessary to convoke a National Assembly; but before that could be done, the basis required to be fixed on which the election of its members should proceed. In these moments of republican fervor, there could be no doubt of the principle which required to be adopted. The Convention of 1793 presented the model ready-made to their hands. The precedent of that year, accordingly, was followed, with a trifling alteration, merely in form, which subsequent experience had proved to be necessary. The number of the Assembly was fixed at nine hundred, including the representatives of Algeria and the other colonies, and it was declared that the members should be distributed in exact proportion to the population. The whole was to form one Assembly, chosen by universal suffrage. Every person was to be admitted to vote who had attained the age of twenty-one, who had resided six months in a commune, and had not been judicially deprived of his suffrage. Any Frenchman of the age of twenty-five, not judicially deprived of his rights, was declared eligible as a representative. The voting was to

29. Universal indignation at the increase of the direct taxes.

¹ Cass. i. 303-307; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 149-153; *Moniteur*, March 16, 1848.

30. Decree convoking the National Assembly. March 5.

be secret, by signing lists; and no one could be elected unless he had at least two thousand votes. The deputies were to receive 25 francs (£1) a day for their expenses during the sitting of the Assembly; and it was appointed to meet on the 20th April. This was soon followed by another decree, which ordered all prisoners for civil or commercial debts to be immediately set at liberty.¹

Before the elections could take place, however, the Republicans became aware of the extreme unpopularity of the régime in the Departments; and it was therefore deemed indispensable to postpone the meeting of the Assembly to a later period, and meanwhile to adopt the most vigorous measures to electrify the public mind, and restore the democratic ardor which the serious addition to the direct taxes had done so much to weaken. To effect these objects, a decree was issued which postponed the elections to the 23d April, and the meeting of the Assembly to the 4th May, the anniversary of the famous opening of the States-General in 1789. Meanwhile, to revive the drooping spirit of Republicanism in the Departments, and secure the return of a sufficient number of ardent and true democrats, a circular was sent round by M. Ledru-Rollin to the electors, to be distributed by four hundred commissioners, who, with ample salaries, were sent down to the Departments to bring the people to the desired way of thinking. Their reception, however, was by no means encouraging. In some places they were actually chased with hisses out of the villages; in most, their reception was cold in the extreme. The people listened to their ardent harangues in favor of the Republic with distrust and indifference; they could place no reliance on the promises of a Government which had begun its career by adding nearly a half to their direct burdens, and bestowing it on an army of idle workmen paid for doing nothing at the Ateliers Nationaux. The reports of the commissioners, upon the whole, were extremely discouraging, and for the first time began to open the eyes of the Government to what universal suffrage may lead when applied to a people of whom the great majority is composed of the holders of property.²

31. Assembly postponed to May 4, and elections to March 26.

April 23.

April 7.

2 Decree, March 26, 1848, *Moniteur*; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 19; *App. cap. l. 282, 290.*

The circular of Ledru-Rollin, issued on 7th April, was a remarkable document, as evincing the principles and tendency of the Republican Government, and the terrors with which it was already inspired. It set forth: "The Government can not, under pain of abdication or betraying itself, content itself with merely receiving and registering the votes; it must enlighten France, and labor openly to defeat the counter-revolution if it should attempt the impossibility of again raising its head. Is it that we would imitate the faults of those whom we have combated and overthrown? Far from it. They ruled by corruption and falsehood, we only desire to make truth triumph; they carressed egoism, we appeal to the generous sentiments; they stifled independence, we would give it the fullest development; they bought consciences, we would emancipate them. There is

nothing common between us. But it is precisely because their odious practices have profoundly corrupted the official class, that it is now necessary to speak loud and firmly to root out the seeds of error, and extirpate the calumnies so long spread through the country. Apostles of the revolution, we defend it by our acts, our words, our instructions. Vigilant and resolute against our enemies, we gain partisans to ourselves by making it known. Those only can fear who do not know it. Worthy missionary of the new ideas which are to rule the world, it is for you to prepare their pacific advent. This is to be accomplished by yourselves, your friends, your writings, your speeches. Shed abroad the light in whole volumes. Let the great and majestic figure of the Republic appear to every eye, regenerating humanity by its moral strength, effacing the distinction of classes, calling all the citizens to the realization of the political dogma of fraternity by liberating labor and intelligence from the fetters which restrain them, making of our admirable France the most free, the most powerful of nations.

"Citizen-Commissioners, what constitutes the grandeur of the duty of a representative is, that it invests him who becomes such with the absolute power to interpret and translate the interest and the wishes of all. He would be unworthy to hold it who should recoil before any of the consequences of the great principle of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. Liberty consists in the exercise of all the faculties which we have received from nature, governed by reason. Equality means the participation of all the citizens in the social advantages, without any other distinction but those arising from virtue and talent. Fraternity is the law of love, uniting men, and making men all one family. Thence follow the abolition of every privilege, the division of taxes in proportion to the fortune, a proportional and *progressive* tax on succession, a magistracy freely elected by the people, with the most complete development of the jury system, military service borne alike by all, *gratuitous and equal* education to all, the means of labor secured to all, the democratic reconstitution of industry and credit, voluntary association every where substituted for the disordered passions of egoism; and whoever is not prepared to sacrifice his repose, his life, his future to the triumph of these ideas, whoever does not feel that ancient society has perished, and that we must construct a new social edifice, would prove only a lukewarm and dangerous deputy. His influence would compromise the peace of France."³

Following up the same principles, another circular at the same time was issued by the Minister of Public Instruction to the voters, pointing out still more specifically on what description of persons the choice was desired by the Government to fall.

"The great error," says he, "against which the inhabitants of our agricultural districts must be

* This circular was immediately followed by another, betraying still more clearly the design of the Government to intervene to the utmost of their power in the approaching elections. It will be given at its proper date, which was 19th April.

¹ *Moniteur*, April 8, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 23, 24, *App.*

² Circular of M. Carnot, Minister of Public Instruction.

guarded is this: That in order to be a representative, it is necessary to enjoy *the advantages of education* or the gift of fortune. As far as education is concerned, it is clear that an honest peasant, possessed of good sense and experience, will represent the interests of his class in the National Assembly infinitely better than a rich and educated citizen having no experience of rural life, or blinded by interests at variance with those of the bulk of the peasantry. As to fortune, the remuneration which will be assigned to all the members of the Assembly will suffice for the maintenance of the very poorest. In a great assembly like that, the majority of the members discharge the functions of jurors. They decide affirmatively or negatively on the measures proposed by the élite of the members; they only require honesty and good sense; they judge, they do not invent." These sentiments, which went to leave the Assembly at the mercy of the revolutionists at Paris, excited the greatest alarm among all persons of sense or moderation, and first brought to light the schism which was every day becoming wider between the moderate party, headed by Lamartine, and the violent section led by Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc. A few days after these circulars appeared, a deputation waited upon M. de Lamartine, to represent the consternation with which they had been seized at the perusal of these alarming circulars, and he replied in terms which at once proved how divided the Government was within itself. "The Provisional Government," said he, "has authorized no one to speak to the nation *in its name*, and especially to speak a language superior to the laws. The Government, recognizing freedom of opinion, repudiates that worst sort of corruption, intimidation. It has deliberately resolved not to interfere, directly or indirectly, in the elections. I trust public opinion will be reassured, and not take in an alarming sense some words inconsiderately used by ministers, who often attach their signatures in haste."

1 Ann. Reg.
1848, 250;
Ann. Hist.
1848, 155,
156; Lam.
Mem. II. 117-
119.

Notwithstanding this formal disclaimer on the part of M. de Lamartine of any intention on the part of Government to overawe or influence the elections, the Minister of the Interior continued without any intermission the great work of securing a Radical majority in the Assembly. The Prefects were every where changed, and determined revolutionists placed in their stead; all offices in the disposal of Government—and their number exceeded 180,000—were filled with their partisans; and a change was made in the College of France in order to render it more completely the fountain of extreme opinions. Four members of the Provisional Government—M. de Lamartine, Armand Marrast, Garnier Pagès, and Ledru-Rollin—were appointed to the chairs from which the former occupants were expelled. In proportion as the time drew nearer for the elections, the efforts of the Government, or rather the Radical section of it, became more violent to secure a majority for the extreme liberal party. "Eighteen years of falsehood," said the *Bulletin of the Republic*, a semi-official paper, on the 15th April, "oppose to the government of truth obstacles which are not overcome in a day. If the elections do not achieve the

triumph of social truth, they will destroy it. If they become the expression of a caste, torn from the too confiding loyalty of the people, instead of proving the salvation of the republic, they will become its ruin. There is no other way for the people, *who have erected the barricades*, to achieve their salvation, but to evince *their determination a second time* in a manner which can not be mistaken. That extreme deplorable remedy France would not wish to force the people of Paris to have recourse to. France has intrusted to Paris a great mission; Paris is the advanced post of the republican ideas; Paris is the rendezvous of all the generous wishes, of all the moral force of France. If the social influences pervert the judgment or betray the wishes of the masses, the people of Paris believe and declare themselves identified with the wishes of the nation. Citizens! it must not come to this, that you are to be forced yourselves to violate the principle of your own sovereignty."

1 Bulletin de
la Repub-
lique, April
15, 1848;
Ann. Hist.
1848, 155,
156.

These extreme opinions and declamations not obscurely presaged an approaching convulsion, the more so that a part of the Provisional Government, at the head of which was M. de Lamartine, were at the same time laboring courageously and energetically to coerce the violent party, and direct the revolution into comparatively safe and pacific channels. The first act which evinced the objects of this section of the Government, and obtained the concurrence of the whole, was a most important and noble one—the abolition of the punishment of death in purely political cases. This great victory of humanity and justice over the strongest passions of excited and revengeful man was achieved by the Provisional Government in the very first moments of their installation in power, and when surrounded by a violent mob, loudly clamoring for the *drapeau rouge*, and the commencement of foreign war and the reign of blood. Whatever may be said of the tricolor flag making the tour of the globe, there can be no doubt that this great and just innovation will do so. To regard internal enemies, *provided they engage only in open and legitimate warfare*, in the same manner as external foes—to slay them in battle, but give quarter and treat them as prisoners of war after the conflict is over, is the first great step in lessening the horrors of civil conflict. To say that high treason is the greatest of all crimes, because it leads to the commission of all the others, affords no argument whatever for the retention of such a relic of barbarous times in civil conflict, unstained by personal crimes, murder, or robbery. War does the same; yet all the world has concurred in applauding, and all the civilized in adopting, a usage which has lessened so much the evils of external hostility. It is the highest glory of the Revolution of 1848 to have first openly avowed and solemnly promulgated this change, and the honor of it is not lessened by the reflection that, in the unstable condition of their own power, it was the interest of the Provisional Government to pave the way for such a system as might, in the event of defeat, tie up the hands of their successful adversaries. They had no security whatever that, in proclaiming this the rule of their own conduct, they would insure its adoption by

26.
Abolition of
the punish-
ment of
death in po-
litical cases.
February 25.

35.
Fresh meas-
ures of in-
timidation
of the Cen-
tral Govern-
ment.

their adversaries. On the contrary, the full merit of their noble and courageous conduct will not be appreciated unless it is recollected that, without guards or protection of any sort, they were, at the very time they passed this decree,

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 100; Lam. I. : L. Blanc, Pages, de la Révolution, 48, 49.

exposed to the hostility of a blood-thirsty faction, loudly clamoring for the restoration of the guillotine, a second reign of terror, and a forcible propagandism to spread revolution through foreign nations.^{1*}

To steer the infant republic in peace through a tempest impelling it so violently upon foreign nations was an undertaking requiring the highest capacity and resolution; but the courage and genius of M. de Lamartine, now aroused by the dangers by which he was environed, proved equal to the task. One of his first acts was to address a circular to the ministers of all foreign states, in which, amidst some sonorous and adroit expressions, calculated to flatter the vanity of the French, and conceal from them the important restraint upon their excesses which was about to be imposed, the great principle of non-intervention was, in substance, distinctly avowed. "The proclamation," said he, "of the French Republic is not an act of aggression against any Government known in the world. War is not a condition of the French Republic. It would accept, but does not seek to provoke it. But happy would France be if foreign powers should declare war against her, and thus compel her to grow in power and glory. The treaties of 1815 do not exist in right in the eyes of the French Republic; but war does not necessarily follow from that declaration. The territorial limits fixed by those treaties are the basis which, in point of fact, it is willing to take as the point of departure in its external relations

* "Cependant les chefs et les têtes de colonne des séditions pénétrant par moment jusque dans les corridors étroits et encombrés, où ils s'étouffaient par leurs propres masses. Ils harcelaient les membres du Gouvernement, ils ne cessaient de leur adresser les injonctions les plus impérieuses. 'Nous voulons le compte des heures que vous avez déjà perdues ou trop bien employées à endormir et à ajourner la Révolution,' disaient-ils, l'arme à la main, la sueur sur la front, l'écume sur les lèvres, la menace dans les yeux—'nous voulons le drapeau rouge, signe de victoire pour nous, de terreur pour nos ennemis. Nous voulons qu'un décret le déclare à l'instant à l'instant le seul drapeau de la République. Nous voulons que la Garde Nationale soit désarmée et remette ses fusils au peuple; nous voulons régner à notre tour sur cette bourgeoisie complice de toutes les monarchies qui lui vendent nos sueurs, sur cette bourgeoisie qui exploite les royautés à son profit, mais qui ne sait ni les inspirer ni les défendre. Nous voulons la déclaration de guerre immédiate à tous les trônes et à toutes les aristocraties. Nous voulons la déclaration de la patrie en danger, l'arrestation de tous les ministres passés et présents de la monarchie en fuite, le procès du Roi, la restitution de ses biens à la nation, la terreur pour les traîtres, la hache du peuple suspendue sur la tête de ses éternels ennemis. Quelle Révolution aux belles paroles voulez-vous nous faire? Il nous faut une Révolution qui ne puisse ni s'arrêter dans sa marche ni revenir sur ses pas. Etes-vous les Révolutionnaires d'une pareille Révolution? Etes-vous les Républicains d'une pareille République? Non, vous êtes comme votre complice aux vains discours, des Girondins de cœur, des aristocrates de naissance, des avocats du Tribunal, des bourgeois d'habitude, des traîtres peut-être. Faites place aux vrais Révolutionnaires, ou engagez-vous par ces mesures avec eux. Servez-nous comme nous voulons être servis, ou prenez garde à vous!' En parlant ainsi quelqu'un jetaient leur sabre sur la table, comme un gage qu'ils ne relèveraient qu'après avoir été obéis."—LAMARTINE, *Histoire de la Révolution de 1848*, I. 371, 372.

with other nations. But we say openly, if the hour of the reconstruction of some nationalities oppressed in Europe or elsewhere has been sounded by Providence—if Switzerland, our faithful ally since the days of Francis I., is invaded or menaced in consequence of the movement in her bosom, which promises to add additional strength to the league of democratic governments—if the independent states of Italy are attacked, or obstacles thrown in the way of their internal reforms, or an armed force intervenes to prevent them from forming a league among themselves for the security of their independence—France will consider herself entitled to interfere with arms to protect the legitimate efforts at reform and nationality in other people. She proclaims herself the intellectual and cordial ally of all rights, of all movements, of all developments in nations which are desirous of living under similar institutions. She will commence no underhand propagandism among her neighbors. She knows that no liberties are durable but those which arise spontaneously among nations on their own soil. But she will exercise, by the light of her ideas, by the spectacle of order and peace which she will present to the world, the only true and real proselytism—that of esteem and sympathy. This is not a declaration of war—it is the voice of Nature. It is not the herald of agitation to Europe—it is that of life."¹

¹ Moniteur, April 2, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 104, 105.

An opportunity soon occurred for manifesting in acts the sincerity of these pacific views; and M. de Lamartine then proved, in the most decisive manner, that toward Great Britain, at least, he had no intention of departing from his professions of non-intervention. The Irish revolutionists, never doubting that their efforts to shake off the yoke of England would meet with cordial sympathy from the Provisional Government of France, sent over a deputation, headed by Smith O'Brien, to invoke the aid of the great parent Democracy in establishing a Hibernian Republic in close alliance with it. They openly boasted that "they came to claim what they were sure to obtain—the assistance of fifty thousand French troops for Ireland." But Lamartine replied to the deputation: "The French nation is proud of the many historical recollections which unite them with the Irish people, and it will be always ready to evince that feeling by acts. But as to other encouragements, it is not suitable (*convenable*) either for us to give or you to receive them. I have said this already in reference to Belgium, to Germany, to Italy. I repeat it with reference to every nation which is engaged in disputes with its internal government. When one is not united by blood with a people, it is not allowable to intervene in its affairs by the hand. In Ireland, as elsewhere, we take no part but as lovers of justice, liberty, and public happiness. Any other line of conduct would be unsuitable for us in time of peace with other nations. We are at peace, and wish to remain so, with the whole kingdom of Great Britain, and not with a part of it only. We believe such a peace to be beneficial and honorable, not only to Great Britain and France, but to the entire human race. We will do no act, we will speak no word, we will address no insinuation, at variance with the principles of the re-

³⁸ Lamartine's answer to the Irish deputation.

² Normanby, I. 2:5.

ciprocal inviolability of nations which we have proclaimed, and of which the Continent is already reaping the fruits." The Irish deputation withdrew, violently chagrined at these words. In the evening, Smith O'Brien and his colleagues were loudly applauded at Blanqui's Club, ¹ *Moniteur*, April 4, 1848; the most violent in Paris, where the Lord Normanby, I. 290-294. speech of Lamartine met with unqualified condemnation.¹

There can be no doubt that, how adverse soever to the wishes and designs of the extreme revolutionists, Lamartine was perfectly sincere in these words. The lesson of 1814 and 1815 had not been lost upon his enlarged mind; and he was in an especial manner impressed with the belief that it was by preserving close the English alliance that the French Republic could alone hope to withstand the coalition of the Continental powers. His ideas, too, were essentially pacific. A devout optimist, he desired to found a republic which, by the force of reason and the example of progress and prosperity which it should exhibit to the surrounding nations, would, in peace and silence, work out the regeneration of the world. Toward the realization of this brilliant Utopian dream he felt that the co-operation of England, as the oldest and most powerful free state in existence, was indispensable; and he had no doubt that by its aid he would succeed in working out his visions of innocent and universal felicity. With Lord Normanby, the former ambassador at the Court of Paris, but who still remained, though not as yet formally accredited to the new government, he was on terms of the most cordial and confidential intimacy. They met daily; and Lamartine never ceased to express his confidence in the stability of the new order of things—his belief in his own power to restrain its excesses—and his entire trust in the wisdom and intelligence of the great

² Normanby, mass of the people now intrusted to him, and with the direct administration of affairs.²

Though the Republic, generally speaking, was received in silent submission in the provinces when the telegraph announced its establishment in Paris, yet in those places where the democratic spirit was peculiarly strong it was not inaugurated without very serious disorders. At Lyons it was proclaimed at eight at night, on the 25th February, by torchlight; and before midnight the incendiary torch had been applied to the religious and charitable establishments of the Croix Rouge, Fourvières, and Faubourg du Paix. Before morning they were in ashes, and the trembling inmates, with their weeping children, were turned, with scarcely any covering, adrift in a winter night on the streets. With singular infatuation, the furious mob threw themselves in an especial manner on the hospitals of the poor and the unfortunate, and destroyed these noble establishments. It would seem as if they were jealous of the influence which Religion might acquire by charity—wealth by beneficence. These disorders continued for several months, and at length acquired such a head as seriously to endanger the pacific relations of the Republic. A tumultuous army, estimated at thirty thousand men, comprising nearly the whole National Guard of Lyons and

the surrounding districts, assembled on the frontier of Savoy, near Pont Beauvoisin, in order to spread the revolution in the Sardinian States; and it was with great difficulty they were prevented from carrying their designs into effect.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 101, 102; Normanby, I. 174-181.

Delivered over to the rule of a tumultuous mob, the condition of Lyons for several months was miserable in the extreme; and though perfectly aware of these disorders, the Government did not venture to attempt their suppression. Domiciliary visits, under pretense of searching for arms, really for the sake of pillage, were universal; all persons suspected were at once seized, thrown into prison, and their effects despoiled; the jails were thrown open and the criminals let loose, their place being filled by the magistrates who had ventured to condemn them; the detached forts invaded, and a general thrown from his horse and massacred in open day. Barricades were erected, and preparations made for a desperate civil war, on the slightest appearance of resistance. In a word, Lyons resembled for long a city delivered over to the rule of a troop of savages; while on the Upper Rhine religious fanaticism appeared in a general persecution of the Jews, who were driven to seek refuge in the neighboring territory of Switzerland, where they were hospitably received. As if to furnish the strangest contrast to these excesses of European life, the Revolution was accepted in silence and fear by the half-civilized colony of Algeria; and the Duke d'Aumale addressed a noble proclamation to the inhabitants and the army—by both of whom he was much beloved—on taking his departure.²

^{41.} Miserable state of Lyons: Reception of the Revolution in Algeria.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 103.

But while M. de Lamartine, as Foreign Minister, was giving reiterated assurances of the pacific disposition of the French rulers, the Radical portion of the Provisional Government were preparing underhand an expedition into Belgium, in order to overthrow the throne of King Leopold, and establish a Republican régime in its stead. For this purpose, with the knowledge and connivance of M. Ledru-Rollin, as Minister of the Interior, an expedition was prepared in Paris, armed with muskets from the public arsenals, and furnished with funds from the public treasury, the object of which was to revolutionize Belgium, and from thence spread the flame of insurrection throughout Europe. In the inquiries made into the conduct of the Provisional Government by the Commission d'Enquête, the complicity of Ledru-Rollin with this expedition was clearly proved, and in fact, in his defense, he made no attempt to deny it. The first attempt was made on the night of the 24th and 25th March, when 800 Belgians, with 100 French, arrived at Quiévrain by the railway train: but the Belgian Government was on its guard; they were met by superior forces at the frontier, and prevented from entering the Belgian territory. Alarmed at this first attempt at armed propagandism, the Belgian Government strongly reinforced the frontier towns with troops on whom they could rely, and they were thus enabled to repulse a more formidable invasion which took place four days afterward. The troops employed on

^{42.} Ledru-Rollin's underhand attempt to revolutionize Belgium.

March 24.

March 28, 29.

this occasion consisted of 1500 men, partly Belgian revolutionists, and partly workmen from the Ateliers Nationaux, armed with muskets sent down from Paris by Ledru-Rollin. They set out at midnight from the neighborhood of Lille, where they had been encamped for some days, and crossed the frontier near Turcoing, firmly believing that they had only to call out "Vive la République" to be received with open arms by the whole Belgian troops and authorities. But they soon found themselves mistaken. Instead of shouts of fraternization, they were received with discharges of grape and charges of cuirassiers. In a few minutes they were defeated, and driven back across the frontier, with the loss of twelve killed and forty wounded. This ignominious repulse prevented any repetition of the attempt in that quarter; and M. de Lamartine, who really had no hand in it, gave the Belgian

Minister the most solemn assurances that the French Government was entirely a stranger to these "*ridiculous* manœuvres," which the Belgian Government were perfectly entitled to repel by force.¹*

While the Provisional Government was thus underhand seeking to revolutionize Belgium, M. de Lamartine was reiterating to a Polish deputation the most solemn assurances of their resolution not to intermeddle at all with affairs on the Vistula. Some days after the publication of his circular to foreign governments, he was waited upon by a deputation from the Polish refugees in Paris, requesting in the mean time arms and advances of money to enable them to take a part in the struggle which they described as approaching in Poland, and entreating that France would openly engage on their side. This, however, could only be done by attacking and forcing a passage through the Germanic Confederacy, which was a very formidable attempt, for they had 300,000 men on foot, which could easily be doubled in the event of a serious invasion. On this account, as well as because the cause of Polish independence had always warmly interested the French people, a great degree of importance was not without reason attached to the reception of this deputation by the Provisional Government. But M. de Lamartine was true to his principles. "The Republic," said he, "is republican without doubt. It announces this in the loudest terms to the whole world. But it is not at war, either openly or underhand, with other nations or existing governments, so long as these nations and these governments do not declare war against it. It

will neither commit, nor suffer to be committed, if it can prevent it, any act of aggression on the German nations."²

* "From the report of the *Commission d'Enquête*, it appears from records which can not now be disputed, as they can not be falsified, that the *Commissaires* were not considered sufficient for the purposes of disorganization, but that a great number of agents chosen by the most violent clubs, and who had sent in their names on a roving commission throughout France, were paid out of the funds of the *Minister of the Interior*. I see also that, in spite of all the assurances which I received at the time to the contrary from M. de Lamartine, the marauding expedition into Belgium was furnished with arms from the *arsenals of the State*, paid out of the funds of the *Minister of the Interior*, and directed by the agents of that Department."—NORMANBY, II. 140.

But although Lamartine, so far as he was concerned, was thus steady in resisting the war of propagandism to which the more violent portion of the cabinet and the whole clubs were so strongly inclined, he yet saw the necessity of largely augmenting the military force of the country, in order to be in a situation to repel any attack, and maintain a respectable position among the European powers. It was a farther reason for making a great addition to the army that it would furnish, in a creditable way, bread to many of those who were thrown out of employment, and in some degree lessen the weight of the Ateliers Nationaux. With this view, by a decree of the Provisional Government, the army was ordered to be raised from 370,000 to 580,000 men; and in the course of the year, 530,000 men were actually enrolled. Alarming, however, as this great augmentation of the military establishment was to reflecting men, the necessity of the case was so obvious that it excited very little attention, and passed without opposition.¹

In the midst of this universal excitement and fever, a very serious run took place on the savings banks, and these establishments soon found that they were unable to pay the deposits in specie. They were not a little embarrassed what to do, for the holders of their deposit-receipts formed no inconsiderable part of the working classes, whom it was of the last importance at all hazards to prevent from breaking out into a second revolution, or helping themselves to their neighbor's property. They determined in consequence on the only measure which, in the circumstances, was practicable—viz., a suspension of cash payments on all deposits above 100 francs (£4). A decree, accordingly, was issued, which, setting out with the preamble, that "the most sacred of all properties is the savings of the poor, and that it is not by words but deeds that the Government must show the good faith with which they meet the trust reposed in them by the working classes," proceeded to declare that out of 855,000,000 francs deposited in the savings banks, only 65,702,000 were forthcoming, and that the remainder, consisting of 286,548,000 francs, should be paid in Treasury bills *at par*, when they had already sunk *fifty per cent.* in value; or in Rentes *at par*, when they were down at 72! This was an evident and shameful evasion of their promises, and spoliation of the poorest and most frugal portion of the people. But such was the general panic, that the holders were glad to put up with the loss of half their property, as a salvage paid for the remainder.²

From the commencement of the revolution the Provisional Government were extremely solicitous to obtain the recognition of their authority by foreign States, and especially Great Britain. The first power which took the decisive step was America: Mr. Rush, the Minister of the United States, did so on the 28th February. On the same day the Ministers of some of the republics in South America sent in their recognition of the new government. As it was a provisional one only,

44.
Military preparations of the Provisional Government.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, I:3, 124.

45.
Suspension of cash payments by the savings banks. March 27.

² Decree, Mar. 27, 1848. *Moniteur*; Ann. Hist. 1848, 144, 145.

46.
Recognition of the French Republic by America and Great Britain. February 28.

the British Cabinet could not, in the first moments of uncertainty, venture on an official recognition; but on the 28th February, Lord John Russell said in the House of Commons, in answer to a question by Mr. Hume, that the British Government had no intention of intervening in any form of government which the French nation might think fit to adopt, nor

of taking any part in its internal affairs; and in a few days after, Lord Palmerston said in the House, in answer to a question by Mr. Monckton Milnes, that although diplomatic usages prevented the Cabinet of London from formally accrediting any diplomatic ministers to merely provisional governments, yet as soon as that of France was changed by the National Assembly into a definitive Government, an ambassador would be formally accredited to the French Republic, and that in the mean time Lord Normanby would enter into amicable relations with the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. This example was immediately followed by a declaration to a similar effect from

Prussia and Belgium; while in Switzerland the intelligence of the revolution at Paris was received with the warmest enthusiasm. Lord Normanby and M. de Lamartine immediately entered into the most friendly and confidential communication; and the latter gave a convincing proof of the generous feelings with which he was inspired, by not only remitting a considerable sum for the use of the exiled royal

family, but assuring Lord Normanby that, although to appease the public mind, the Government had been obliged to consent to the whole property of the Orleans family being put under sequestration, yet they had no intention of confiscating it, but intended only in the mean time, and for the sake of preservation, to put it under public management.¹

But while the wise and pacific language of M. de Lamartine, joined to the sage conduct of the European powers, was thus tending to deprive the Revolution of its greatest external dangers, at least in the outset of its career, the apprehensions of the extreme democrats, headed by M. Ledru-Rollin, were preparing perils of a still more serious kind in the interior. Although their victory had been so easy and complete, this party were haunted by perpetual apprehensions of a reaction. Profoundly ignorant of the rural population of France, and judging of them by the ambitious and impassioned mob of Paris, they had, in an evil hour for themselves, but in undoubted conformity with their principles, declared for universal suffrage, and solemnly fixed the election of the National Assembly on that basis. But hardly was the ink dry of the decree which took this decisive step than they became aware that they had committed what would in all probability prove a fatal mistake: that the great majority of the rural inhabitants, so far from favoring the despotism of the Parisian mob, were decidedly opposed to it; and that, in the present temper of men's minds, an assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all France, so far from establishing the republic and their own power, would destroy both. Devoured by this apprehension,

Ledru-Rollin was indefatigable in his endeavors to rouse the rural population, and by every means at his command, whether intimidation, influence, or corruption, to mould them to the election of representatives of the most extreme democratic character. For this purpose, four days after the publication of his first circular to the commissioners, already given, he sent round a second address to them, conceived in still more violent terms, and pointing out the means by which the designs of the Provisional Government might be realized. Its terms are extremely curious, and highly characteristic of the extreme of democratic government.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 116.

"Your powers," said he, "are unlimited. Agents of a revolutionary Government, you are revolutionary also. The victory of the people has imposed on you the mandate to proclaim, to consolidate their work. To accomplish that task, you are invested with their sovereign powers; you are responsible to no power but that of your own conscience; you are bound to do what the public safety requires. Thanks to our feelings, your mission does not require any thing terrible. Hitherto you have encountered no serious resistance, and you have been enabled to remain calm in the consciousness of your strength. But you must not permit yourselves to be deluded as to the state of the country. *The republican feelings require to be warmly excited*, and for that purpose political functions should be intrusted only to zealous and sympathetic men. Every where the prefects and sub-prefects should be changed. In some lesser localities the people petition to have them continued. It is for you to make them understand that we can not preserve those who have served a power whose every act was one of corruption. You are invested with the authority of the Executive; the armed force is therefore under your orders. You are authorized to require its service, direct its movements, and in grave cases even suspend its commanders. You are entitled to demand from all magistrates an immediate concurrence: if any one hesitates, let me know, and he shall instantly be dismissed. As to the irremovable magistracy, watch carefully over them: if any one evinces hostile dispositions, make use of the right of dismissal which your sovereign power confers. But, above all, the elections are your great work; it is they which will prove the salvation of the country. It is on the composition of the Assembly that our destinies depend. Unless it is animated with the revolutionary spirit, we are advancing straight to a civil war and anarchy. Beware of those double-faced men who, after having served the king, profess themselves willing to serve the people. These men deceive you; never lend them your support. To obtain a seat in the National Assembly the candidates must be clear of all the traditions of the past. Your rallying-cry should be every where, 'New men as much as possible, sprung from the ranks of the people.' It is for the working men to continue the revolution; without their aid it will be lost in Utopian theories, or stifled under the heels of a retrograde faction. Enlighten the electors: repeat to them without ceasing that the reign of men and of the monarchy is at an end.² You may

^{4S.} Its terms.

^{47.} Renewed violent circular of the Minister of the Interior.

March 12.

² Moniteur, March 18, 1848; Normanby, i. 220, 221.

then see how great are the duties with which you are intrusted. The education of the country has not yet commenced; it is for you to guide it. Let the day of the election be the final triumph of the revolution."

Invested with these supreme powers, the commissioners were not slow in exercising their authority. Not only nearly the whole of the subordinate magistracy, but many of the supreme judges, were dismissed by them.

At Paris the Presidents of the Court of Cassation, the *Cour des Comptes*, and the Court of Appeal, who were not deemed sufficiently pliant, were deprived of their situations; and a great many of the highest legal functionaries in the provinces immediately shared the same fate. Nay, so far did the determination of the revolutionists go to render the courts of justice mere instruments of their will, that by a solemn decree *all judges*, not excepting those of the highest judicatories, were declared to hold their situations during pleasure only. It could hardly be conceived to what an extent the efforts of Government were carried during the critical period which intervened before the elections. Not content with sending down one commissioner to each district, a second was soon after dispatched, to stimulate the efforts of the first; and in many cases a third, to see what they were both doing. In some instances, as at Bourges, as was afterward judicially proved, a fourth was added, who set out with the principle: "The poor are in want of bread; we must take the plate of the rich to furnish them with it." Not content with the authorized commissioners of Government, a perfect army of agents was dispatched from the clubs over all France to join in the same work, all paid by funds secretly provided by the Minister of the Interior.¹

When such elements of discord existed, not only in the State, but in the Provisional Government itself, it was only a question of time when an open rupture was to take place between them. It was brought on, however, somewhat sooner than had been expected, by an ordonnance of Ledru-Rollin, published on 14th March, ordering the dissolution of the flank companies, or *compagnies d'élite* as they were called, of the National Guard, and the dispersion of their members, without distinction or equipment, among the ordinary companies of the legion. The object of this was to destroy the exclusive aspect and moral influence of these companies, which, being composed of the richer class of citizens, formed the nucleus of a body which naturally inclined to conservative principles, and might impede the designs of the extreme revolutionary party. To "democratize," as it was called, the whole body, the decree ordered these companies to be dispersed among the others, and the whole to vote together for the election of the officers, which was to take place in a few days. As the National Guard of Paris, which had been reorganized on the principle of admitting every one, without distinction, who could shoulder a musket, constituted a body of nearly 200,000 men, any measure affecting their composition or government was a most important matter; and this

decree, which threatened to swamp the whole respectability and intelligence of the body by its indigence and ignorant violence, excited the greatest discontent among the companies threatened with dissolution. A meeting, accordingly, was held of their officers, when it was resolved to have a grand military demonstration, to ward off, if possible, the threatened blow. The project originated with the staff of the Second Legion, which was the most conservative of the whole body, and it was readily embraced by that entire legion and a considerable part of the others. It was resolved to assemble on the following day in strength, and proceed in uniform, but without arms, to the Hôtel de Ville, to demand a repeal of the obnoxious decree. At one in the forenoon of the 16th, accordingly, 25,000 men of the *compagnies d'élite* marched to the Place de Grève, and soon began to fill all the approaches to the Hôtel de Ville.¹

How formidable soever this demonstration was, both in appearance and reality, it failed in its object from want of unity in design and vigor in execution in those intrusted with its direction. Without arms or any settled plan of procedure, the flank companies constituted only a well-dressed mob, exposed by their uniform and equipments to the jealousy and dislike of the immense majority of their fellow-citizens. Several of them were obstructed and forced to turn back, before reaching the place of rendezvous, by armed mobs or other bodies of the National Guard, who had obtained intelligence of their designs. Those who did reach the Hôtel de Ville found the approach to it occupied by an immense body, who were calling out, "Vive Ledru-Rollin!" and singing the "Marseillaise." It was evident the design had got wind: the demonstration had failed of its moral effect, and could be rendered successful only by force, for which, without arms, they were not prepared. Lamartine was loudly cheered as he passed through the ranks on his way to the Hôtel de Ville; but Ledru-Rollin was as vehemently applauded by the still more numerous body which encircled the building, and prevented the deputation of the flank companies from obtaining an entrance. After waiting two hours in impotent silence, the *compagnies d'élite*, seeing the multitude which opposed their progress hourly increasing, at length obeyed the voice of M. de Lamartine, who entreated them, and General Courtais their commander, who ordered them, to retire. They withdrew, accordingly, at four o'clock, amidst the derision and hisses of the multitude, covered with the obloquy with which an unsuccessful demonstration never fails to invest those by whom it has been attempted. General Courtais next day issued an order of the day, in which he stigmatized the *compagnies d'élite*, who had taken part in the demonstration, as "mised men, who were the instruments of impotent wrath, so different from the people who suffer, but await."²

The real meaning of these words was made manifest on the following day. For some time past a great demonstration had been in preparation, emanating from the Socialists of the *Lax-*

49.
Immense efforts made to control the elections.

1 Cassagnac, i. 339-341;
Ann. Hist. 1848, 129;
Lam. II. 192, 193; Normanby, i. 235, 236.
51.
Demonstration on March 16, and its failure.
1 Proceed.
Bourges, 32; same work, all paid by funds secret-
Ann. Hist. 1848, 127.
ly provided by the Minister of the Interior.¹

50.
Decree dissolving the flank companies of the National Guard.

March 14.

2 Lam. II. 201-205; Cam. I. 341, 343, 344;
Ann. Hist. 1848, 129.

embourg, and intended to force the Government into the immediate appointment of a Minister for "the Organization of Labor," and into the measures for equalizing and raising wages, and providing State employment for all, which M. Louis Blanc and the commission which sat there had for a fortnight been promising. The demonstration had been fixed for the 17th; but it was rendered much more formidable and imposing by the failure of the counter-display on the preceding day, which united in it many ambitious and unscrupulous characters who were not originally intended to have formed part. Louis Blanc, Albert, and their colleagues at the Luxembourg, had projected the movement, and Ledru-Rollin had assented to it—the former, from a desire to have Socialism fully established before the National Assembly met; the latter, because he feared that without some great additional stimulus its spirit would not be so democratic as he wished. But, unknown to these leaders, other ambitious spirits combined to take advantage of the projected movement. The design had got wind; the clubs were in motion; and Blanqui, Cabet, and Raspail, decided and ardent democrats, who acted for themselves, and took directions from none, had roused the whole republican strength of the capital, in order to effect a movement which might overawe the Provisional Government, and possibly establish themselves in their room. At ten in the morning a few men entered the Boulevards, shouting "Ça ira!" which speedily assembled a crowd, who repeated it; and a placard was quickly posted through the city, which bore: "The people watch with jealousy manifestations against those of the Government who have given so many pledges to the Revolution. We await with confidence the realization of the promises of Government. The people have shed their blood in defense of the Republic; they are ready to do so again."

At noon the mob, which by this time had swelled to an enormous multitude, advanced in silence and military rank toward the Hôtel de Ville, which was only protected by three battalions of the Civic Guard. Their appearance is thus described by an eye-witness: "Every minute the Provisional Government went to the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville, from whence the column might be seen approaching. At length it made its appearance. The front of the body was composed of five or six hundred of the élite of the clubs of Paris, marching in military order under the guidance of their most renowned orators. They advanced forty abreast, with their hands held together after the fashion of a religious procession, and round each group a long tricolor or red scarf was bound like a vast girdle. In front of each company were three men and a woman, who bore red flags, the well-known emblems of a bloody revolution. Their appearance excited terror, and in some places indignation, in the mob who surrounded them. Behind this organized procession of the clubs came thirty or forty thousand workmen, grave in aspect, decently clothed, saddened in expression, who seemed oppressed by the calamities of their situation."

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This immense crowd inundated the whole Place de Grève, and extended from the Hôtel de Ville along the quays to the Champs Elysées. By one o'clock it was evident that above a hundred and twenty thousand men were collected. "When I saw the procession advancing from the balcony of the Hôtel de Ville," says Louis Blanc, "my eyes filled with tears of joy." Their approach brought to light the violent dissensions in the Provisional Government. In the fullness of his heart at what seemed his approaching triumph, Ledru-Rollin said to his colleagues: "Do you know that your popularity is as nothing to mine? I have but to open that window and call upon the people, and you would every one of you be turned into the street. Do you wish me to try?" rising and moving toward the window. Upon this, Garnier Pagès walked up to him, drew a pistol from his pocket, placed it at Ledru-Rollin's breast, and said: "If you make one step toward that window, it shall be your last." Ledru-Rollin paused a moment, and sat down.

When this formidable demonstration reached the railing in front of the Hôtel de Ville, they found the gates closed, and Colonel Rey, the officer in command, refused them admittance. At the request of Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc, however, it was agreed to admit a limited number within the barrier to state what their wishes were. When the deputation entered, the members of the Government rose up, and remained standing while the discussion, which continued several hours, lasted. The sight of their faces, however, considerably abated the satisfaction of the extreme portion of the Government. In addition to those whom they expected, and who were in their interest, Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc beheld a number of others who were unknown to them, but who, being in the train of Blanqui, Sobrier, Raspail, Lacambre, and others, known to be extreme Revolutionists, were sufficient to inspire serious apprehensions. The secret was out: this violent party had adopted the movement as a means of overawing even the most democratic of the Provisional Government, and it was directed not less against Ledru-Rollin and Louis Blanc than Lamartine and Garnier Pagès. A sense of this common danger produced a unanimity in the Government which could not otherwise have been witnessed. They were all agreed in combating or evading the demands of the deputation. Blanqui explained them, and they were—the postponement of the elections, the immediate and perpetual removal of all troops from Paris, the implicit obedience of the Government to the voice of the people as expressed by the clubs, the postponing of the meeting of the Assembly to the 31st May—in fine, the entire surrender of the Government to the people of Paris, without any regard to the wishes of the remainder of France. The orator concluded with demanding, in a menacing tone, the immediate concession of these requisitions without a moment's delay.

Loud applause from the followers of the deputation, accompanied with the most menacing

Lam. ii. 207, 208.

Moniteur, March 18, 1848, and L. Blanc, c. xi.; Normanby i. 289; Lam. ii. 208.

54.

Interview of the Clubs and the Government.

Moniteur, March 18, 1848; L. Blanc, c. xi.; Garnier Pagès d'Hist. 90, 98; Lam. ii. 212-214.

gestures, followed these words; and eight hundred men, who crowded the hall and surrounded the orator, seemed ready to exterminate the Provisional Government, who, unarmed and defenseless, constituted yet the sole remaining political strength of France. But the members of it, seeing that their very existence was at stake, were united and firm. Ledru-Rollin spoke with ready and nervous elocution; Lamartine was not wanting to his great reputation for courage and eloquence; and Louis Blanc openly combated a movement which he himself had originated. At length, wearied with an altercation of four hours, and disconcerted by the union of the Provisional Government, which they had not expected, the deputation, with their followers, withdrew at five o'clock. As they went out, a man, pale with indignation, went up to Louis Blanc, and said, "Then you, too, are traitors—you!" The whole procession marched past the Hôtel de Ville in silence and military order, and directed its steps across the centre of the city to the Column of the Bastille. The streets were crowded, but silent; the citizens, in terror, awaited the event. Before nightfall a hundred and fifty thousand men had passed in procession.¹

Although, by their unlooked-for union and resolution, the Provisional Government had surmounted this great danger, its effects were very visible, though very different, in Paris and the Departments. In the capital nearly the whole elections, both of the officers of the National Guard and for the Assembly, were in favor of the extreme democratic party, and the case was the same in the principal towns of the Departments. But in the rural districts it was very different. There the reports of the proceedings on the 17th March, and the open attempt made by the mob of Paris to dictate their own terms to the Government, and through it to all France, excited the most unbounded indignation. The determination, also, of the Paris mob to make Government entirely subservient to their own purposes, had appeared in the decree regarding the hours of labor, which fixed them at ten hours a day in Paris, and

eleven in the Departments. The result was that the elections in the Departments of the officers of the National Guard generally went against the extreme candidates; and as this augured ill for the elections for the Assembly, it was resolved to have, not a demonstration, but a regular assault on the Government, before the elections, which stood for the 22d April, should come on. In anticipation of that event, the clubs redoubled their activity. The most powerful of them, called the "Club of Clubs," took possession of one of the police-offices in the Rue de Rivoli, where they were furnished with five hundred muskets and thirty thousand cartridges by the Minister of the Interior; while M. de Lamartine, hoping to avert the tempest by concession, not only lavished his flatteries and caresses on Barbès, Cabet, Caussidière, and Sobrier, but, by his own admission, offered a diplomatic situation to Blanqui himself.²

The object of the conspirators was to obtain a farther adjournment of the elections, in order to gain time for the more thorough diffusion of extreme ideas among the people in the country, and to remodel the Government so as to retain none in power but the most ardent republicans. The dictatorship was to be bestowed on Ledru-Rollin, Louis Blanc, Albert, and Caussidière. By this means a Socialist majority would be secured in the executive, and the entire realization of the dreams of the Luxembourg rendered certain. For some days before that appointed for the insurrection the most alarming rumors were in circulation, and the Minister of Police formally warned the Minister of the Interior of the impending danger. Ledru-Rollin, however, it may readily be believed, was in no hurry to take measures against a state of things which he was underhand promoting, and from which he hoped to profit; the clubs continued their defiant attitude, and the preparations for the insurrection continued without intermission, and with scarcely any concealment. A design was formed for blowing up the Hôtel de Ville, which was only prevented from being carried into execution by the barrels of powder being discovered a few hours before the explosion was to have taken place. Meanwhile Lamartine, who well knew he would be the first victim of the insurrection if it proved successful, burned his secret papers on the night of the 15th, and prepared for the worst.³

But while Ledru-Rollin was awaiting the reward of his underhand intrigues with the clubs against his colleagues, another still more formidable insurrection was preparing at the "Club of Clubs," the object of which was to destroy his own ascendancy and establish that of Blanqui instead. These new conspirators did not propose to exclude the Minister of the Interior from the dictatorship, but to give him so many colleagues as should throw him into a minority, and render him powerless. But when the proposed members were brought together, Ledru-Rollin refused to act with Blanqui, who on his side was equally determined not to belong to a Government which contained Ledru-Rollin. The fact was, that the latter had found in the archives of the Minister of the Interior a document which proved that Blanqui had been on secret terms with the Government of Louis Philippe, and furnished it with all the details of the Liberal conspiracies in 1846, and the knowledge of this naturally made them mutually suspicious of each other. The other conspirators did their utmost to reconcile the rival chiefs, but in vain; and at midnight on the 15th they left Ledru-Rollin with these words: "Well, since you don't choose to go with us, you shall be thrown out of the window to-morrow with the others. Reflect on this: we are in a situation to make good our words."⁴

Threatened in this manner with instant destruction by his former allies, Ledru-Rollin, after passing the night in the most cruel uncertainty, at length resolved to throw himself on M. de La-

¹ Moniteur, Mar. 18, 1848; Louis Blanc, *Pagès d'Hist.* c. xl. 90-94; Lamartine, ii. 213, 214.

² Lam. ii. 314-319; Cass. i. 353-355; Ann. Hist. 1848, 159, 161.

³ Fresh conspiracy against Ledru-Rollin.

⁴ Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête, July 8, 1848; Reg. Gov. Prov. c. xl.; Cass. i. 354, 355; Lam. ii. 313, 314; Moniteur, April 17; L. Blanc, *Pagès d'Hist.* 111, 112.

martine, and reveal every thing. He went to him accordingly at daybreak, and informed him of the designs of the conspirators and the imminence of the danger. "In a few hours," said he, "we shall be attacked by one hundred thousand men. I have

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Measures of
Lamartine
and Ledru-
Rollin to meet
the danger.

come to concert measures with you, as I know your resolution, and that extremities do not disturb it." "In that case," said Lamartine, "there is not a minute to lose. Set out instantly and summon the National Guard; your situation as Minister of the Interior gives you a right to do so. I will fly to gain the three battalions of the Garde Mobile, who may be in a state fit for action. I will shut myself up in the Hôtel de Ville, and there await the first brunt of the assault. One of two things must happen—either the National Guard will refuse to turn out, and in that case the Hôtel de Ville will be carried, and I shall die at my post; or the rappel and the fire of musketry will bring the National Guard to the support of the Government attacked in my person at the Hôtel de Ville, and then the insurrection, placed between two fires, will be stifled in blood, and the Government delivered. I am prepared for either result." Ledru-Rollin acquiesced in this plan, and set out professedly to give orders to beat the rappel to collect the National Guard, while Lamartine flew to the head-quarters of the Garde Mobile to bring them forth to the combat. They at once agreed to turn out under their brave general, Duvivier, to whom they were extremely attached. After this Lamartine went to the head-quarters of the National Guard, desiring General Courtais to beat the rappel; but he refused, and would only consent to allow fifty men to be summoned from each battalion, and positively declined to furnish them with cartridges; upon which Lamartine, in despair, returned to the Hôtel de Ville.

¹ Lam. II. 317, 318; Cass. I. 356, 357; Ann. Hist. 1848; Normanby, I. 322-324.

But, fortunately for France, chance had at that moment brought a man to the Hôtel de Ville equal to this crisis, and whose decision and courage proved the salvation of the Government. General Changarnier, who had been appointed by Lamartine Minister at Berlin, had called that morning at the hotel of the latter in order to receive his last instructions, and he was then informed by Madame Lamartine of the extreme danger of her husband, and the critical position of affairs at the Hôtel de Ville. Thither accordingly he immediately hastened, and found Lamartine and Marrast there. The first question Changarnier asked was whether the National Guard had been summoned, and upon Lamartine replying in the negative, he persuaded Marrast that it was his duty as Mayor of Paris to call them out when the public tranquillity was threatened. Marrast acquiesced, and twelve horsemen were instantly dispatched to the twelve sub-mayoralities of Paris, with orders to beat the rappel. But during these arrangements and hesitations much precious time had been lost; the insurgents, in great strength, were not far distant, and the Garde Mobile had not yet arrived. At length they made their appearance, though only three battalions of four hundred men each; and Changarnier, who at

once took the entire direction of the defense, wisely withdrew them within the building, the doors and windows of which were strongly barricaded. Still the rappel was not heard in the streets; it was evident some hours must elapse before even the first battalions of the National Guard could arrive; and all Lamartine's firmness and Changarnier's military skill were required to avert the catastrophe, for the heads of the enormous column of the insurgents were already beginning to appear.

¹ Lam. I. 320, 321; Cass. I. 353, 357; Ann. Hist. 1848, 161; Normanby, I. 324, 325, 333.

For two hours longer the inmates of the Hôtel de Ville remained shut up in the building; and though the rappel had been heard, no part of the National Guard had yet arrived. All seemed lost, for the insurgents had already entered the Place de Grève, and occupied all the opposite end of the square. A battalion of volunteers arrived at this critical moment, and were harangued by Lamartine, who throughout evinced the greatest courage. Meanwhile a column of thirty thousand insurgents met at the Louvre two regiments of the National Guard, commanded by General Courtais; he allowed part to pass, and then, pushing forward his men in double-quick time, interposed them between that part and the remainder. This retarded the advance of the head of the column, and its leaders were perplexed by not seeing at the windows of the Hôtel de Ville the expected signals, and by the seizure of a *fourgon* containing fifteen hundred loaded muskets, which Changarnier had detected near the building, disguised under the appearance of a holiday wagon. Soon after, the heads of the columns of the National Guard were seen on the left bank of the Seine, and, passing over the bridges in double-quick time, they debouched into the Place de Grève, and, drawing up in close column in front of the Hôtel de Ville, presented an impenetrable barrier to the insurgents. The victory was now gained, and the insurgents were obliged to submit to the humiliation of advancing with their petition without arms, in single file, through the armed battalions. Before nightfall it was rendered complete by the arrival of the National Guard in such numbers that before dark one hundred and thirty thousand men were assembled round the building. Then, and *not till then*, L. Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, and the other members of the Government, who had either been intimidated or in secret favored the insurrection, came to the Hôtel de Ville. They had all passed the day, *far from danger*, in the hotel of the Minister of Finance. The meeting between them and Lamartine was so stormy that it was evidently only a question of time when the Provisional Government should fall to pieces from its own divisions.

² *Moniteur*, April 19, 1848; Lam. I. 328-331; L. Blanc, c. xiii. 118, 121; Normanby, I. 324-326; Ann. Hist. 1848, 161.

When dissensions so violent were shaking not only the capital but the Provisional Government itself, it was not to be supposed that the provinces should escape without convulsions. They broke out with peculiar severity in the manufacturing towns, where the greatest efforts had been made to spread Socialist principles, and the prevailing distress insured them the most ready reception. Anxious to

62.
Disorders at
Rouen and
other pro-
vincial
towns.

avert them, the prefect of Rouen, M. Deschamps, on 10th March, yielded to the solicitations which, on such occasions, are so often addressed to those in authority, and imprudently issued a tariff, fixing the operatives' wages at certain rates, according to their supposed capacities and the necessities of their situations. The consequence might have been foreseen: the master manufacturers, unable, from the general depression, to pay the sums fixed, dismissed their workmen, and closed their doors. Upon this the public agitation rapidly increased; tumultuous crowds assembled in the streets, shouting, "Vive Deschamps! à bas les capitalistes!" A strong body of troops, which soon after arrived, restored order at the time, but the workmen remained idle, suffering, and in sullen discontent. This ill-humor was at first vented on a body of four thousand English workmen, who, in defiance of Lord Normanby's remonstrance, were forcibly ejected, and sent back to England without any of the sums they had deposited in the savings bank; and at length the general indignation rose to such a pitch that barricades were run up in all the densely-peopled parts of the town, which were stormed by the troops of the line, not without serious slaughter on both sides. Similar disorders took place about the same time, and were suppressed by the like sanguinary measures, in Elboeuf, Nantes, Nîmes, and several other places; while at Limoges the tumult was so violent that the polling-office was stormed when the elections were going on—five hundred national guards, sent to suppress the tumult, were surrounded and disarmed—and a provisional government appointed, which for some time ruled the town and surrounding district.¹

April 27. Anxious to improve the victory which they had gained in the capital, the members of the Provisional Government agreed on a grand military demonstration in Paris, and for this purpose assembled together not only the whole national guards of the city and *banlieu*, but large bodies of regular troops from the towns and Departments in the neighborhood. The day was fixed for the 21st April; it proved uncommonly fine, and the military force assembled was of unparalleled magnitude, and, if it could all have been relied on, might well have inspired the Provisional Government with the consciousness of invincible strength. The Provisional Government and Ministers took their stations at day-break at the arch of the Etoile to see the troops defile before them, and from thence the eye wandered over a sea of helmets, bayonets, guns, and standards, which filled the whole avenue of the Champs Elysées, the gardens of the Tuileries, with the quays and principal streets beyond them. Every thing wore a joyous aspect; the bayonets of the soldiers were decorated with ribbons, the touch-holes of the cannon ornamented with flowers; universal satisfaction and enthusiasm seemed to prevail; and before eleven at night, when the procession ceased, three hundred and fifty thousand armed men had passed, and fifty thousand more were obliged to be put off to the following day. Yet amidst all "this pomp and circumstance of glorious war," there were many symptoms which were of a more dubious character, and awakened mournful presentiments in the

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 165, 171.

63.
Grand review in Paris.
April 21.

minds of the beholders. Already the division between the rural National Guard and those of the metropolis was painfully conspicuous: cries of "Vive la République!" were heard from the latter, but those of "Vive Lamartine! à bas les Communistes!" broke from the former. Amidst all the seeming unanimity the seeds of future intestine war were very apparent, and beyond the magnificent display, intended to foreshadow the eternal duration of the Republic, the eye could already discern the prognostics of its fall.¹

The elections came on amidst this tumult of contending hopes, fears, anxieties, and interests; and although they were of course materially affected

64.
The elections.

by the influence of particular plans or men, yet upon the whole one broad line of demarkation separated them. Generally speaking, the cities returned democratic and the provinces conservative members. All returned were of course, or rather professed to be, republican; and the disposition among the latter almost universally was to support the Provisional Government as the last remaining barrier between the country and the usurpation of the Parisian Communists. But the majority were far from being inclined to support the republican as the ultimate form of government in France. They regarded the Revolution in Paris as a mere surprise, in promoting or resisting which the country had taken no share. They supported the Provisional Government because it was in possession of Paris, and in the mean time there was nothing better to support; but they sighed for the period when a government might be established more in unison with the wishes, and suited to the circumstances, of the country. Lamartine was the universal hero both with the conservative party in the towns and nearly the whole rural electors; he was the champion of order against the disorganizing doctrines of the Socialists, and their attempted despotism over France; and his popularity was proved by his being spontaneously returned by ten electoral districts besides that which he selected for his seat in Paris.² The following is the

account which he has recorded of his popularity at this period: "The National Assembly was almost throughout inspired by the desire of public safety. The name of Lamartine issued ten times from the electoral urn, without his even knowing that he had been put up as a candidate. Had he said a word, expressed a desire, given a sign, he would have been elected in eighty Departments. His popularity was without bounds at Paris, in France, in Germany, Italy, America. In Germany his name was synonymous with peace; in France it was a guarantee against terror; in Italy it was the symbol of hope; in America it was identified with the republic. He had in truth at that moment the sovereignty over European thought. He could not move a step in the streets without receiving acclamations. They followed him to his dwelling, they interrupted his slumbers. Twice at the opera, when he was recognized, the audience suspended the performance and stood up. France personified in him its joy to have again obtained a government." Such is Lamartine's own account of his popularity at this period; probably it will be somewhat impaired in future.

¹ Lam. ii. 337-339; Normanby, i. 335, 336.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 170, 171; Lam. ii. 342.

times by his being himself the party who proclaimed it.*

The National Assembly met on the 4th May, the anniversary of the meeting of the States-General in 1789. The Provisional Government had decreed that the deputies should all appear in a particular costume, of which a *gilet à la Robespierre* was the most conspicuous part. But the good sense of the deputies disregarded the injunction, and one only, Caussidière, appeared in the prescribed dress. Audry de Puyraveau was the first chairman, and Dupont de l'Eure opened the proceedings on the part of the Provisional Government. "You are about," said he, "to form a new government on the sacred base of democracy, and to give to France the only constitution which suits it, the republican constitution. Faithful to our origin and our convictions, we have not forgotten to proclaim the Republic in February. To-day we inaugurate the National Assembly by the only cry which should rally it, 'Vive la République.'" Loud cries of "Vive la République" were heard upon this; but they proceeded chiefly from the galleries, and were at length re-echoed from the Left only. The Centre and Right remained nearly silent, and they formed the decided majority of the Assembly. It was already evident that the majority of the Assembly, though neither royalist nor reactionary, was as moderate as a Legislature elected under such circumstances could possibly be. The meeting was held in a wooden building, erected in the courtyard of the former palace of the Chamber of Deputies, as the old edifice was wholly unable to contain the enlarged number of deputies, which was 900. About 620 were present, and the reception of the Provisional Government was extremely cold. The circumstance of the Assembly holding its meetings in a temporary building was regarded by many as ominous of the duration of the constitution they were called together to frame. There was none of the enthusiasm of 1789 on this occasion. Then all was hope and confidence in the coming regeneration of society by the establishment of government on a popular basis. Now experience

had chilled these hopes, and the general feeling was a desire to extricate the country as quickly as possible from the dangers with which it was surrounded.

On the day following, the election of a president took place, when M. Buchez, joint-mayor of Paris, was chosen by 329 votes out of 727 which were presented. On the 6th the Provisional Government solemnly resigned their authority into the hands of the Assembly, and each of them rendered an account of his stewardship in the department committed to his direction. That of M. de Lamartine was

* The votes given in the Department of the Seine to the different candidates were as follows, which probably pretty fairly represent their respective popularities—viz.: Lamartine, 259,800; Dupont de l'Eure, 245,083; François Arago, 243,640; Garnier Pagès, 240,890; Armand Marrast, 239,160; Marie, 225,776; Crémieux, 210,699; Beranger, 204,271; Carnot, 195,608; Bethmont, 189,252; Duvivier, 182,175; Cavaignac, 144,187; Buchez, 135,678; Caussidière, 133,775; Albert, 133,041; Ledru-Rollin, 131,587; Flocon, 121,864; Louis Blanc, 121,140.

remarkable, as containing his views on the external policy of the Republic. "Our system," said he, "is that of democratic truth, which will gradually enlarge itself into faith in universal social brotherhood. Our vital air is the breath of liberty in every free state in the universe. Three months have not yet elapsed since it was established among us; and if democracy must have its thirty years' warlike Protestantism at this moment, instead of marching at the head of thirty-six millions of men, France, counting among its allies the free states of Switzerland, Italy, and the emancipated people of Germany, is already at the head of eighty-eight millions of confederates and allies! What victory could equal to the Republic such a confederacy, conquered without shedding one drop of blood, and cemented by the conviction of our disinterestedness? France, on the fall of royalty, rose up from its abasement, as a vessel loaded with a foreign weight rights itself when it is removed. Such, citizens, is the exact position of our exterior affairs. The prosperity and glory of that situation is entirely owing to the Republic. We accept the whole responsibility connected with it; and we congratulate ourselves upon having appeared before the representatives of the nation, with its grandeur secured, with its hands full of alliances, and unstained by human blood."

The first serious care which awaited the Assembly was the appointment of an Executive Commission to supply the place of the Provisional Government which had resigned, until a constitution could be framed and agreed to, and a regular administration appointed. It was agreed that the nomination of the ministers should be intrusted to a commission of five members of the Assembly. Of course the appointment of them became an object of the very highest importance, rousing into activity all the ambitions and passions of the members. Such was Lamartine's vanity and confidence in his popularity, that he never doubted that the first place in this important commission would be conferred upon himself. When informed by M. Marrast, on occasion of the previous election, of his position at the head of the poll, he said in the pride of his heart, "Then I am a head taller than either Alexander or Cæsar." But his fall was at hand. In order to secure his nomination, he entered into a coalition with Ledru-Rollin and Marie, with whom he had so recently been literally on terms of daggers-drawing, and whose principles, he well knew, were utterly inconsistent with any thing like regular government. On the 9th May he made a strange ambiguous speech, in which he declared that "between him and his former colleagues the differences were more apparent than real," and concluded with openly supporting M. Ledru-Rollin. The result at once showed how completely he had mistaken the temper of the Assembly. When the votes were counted, instead of being, as he expected, at the head of the list, he was fourth, and next to Ledru-Rollin! Lord Normanby had warned him, in the most earnest terms, of the danger which he ran

* The numbers were—Arago, 725; Garnier Pagès, 715; Marie, 702; Lamartine, 643; Ledru-Rollin, 453.—*Moniteur*, 10th May, 1848.

by entering into the coalition; but he was deaf to his representations, saying, he knew he would "be damaged at the moment, but that it would be a three weeks' wonder, and then his reputation would become higher than ever." The event has proved that he was mistaken; he has never recovered the injury inflicted on his character by this unprincipled coalition. He has entered, in his *History of the Revolution*, into a labored vindication of his conduct, but in vain; and, like

Sir R. Peel, he remains an enduring monument of the eternal truth, that dereliction of principle on a vital question, however speciously supported, never fails to be fatal to the reputation of public men.¹

But there were other ambitions besides that of Lamartine which were disappointed by the election of the five members of the Executive Commission. Neither Louis Blanc nor Albert,

neither Blanqui, nor Barbès, nor Raspail, were to be found in it, although the first two were members of the Assembly, and eligible to a place. They had resigned their situations as President and Vice-President of the Commission of the Luxembourg; and on the day following Louis Blanc brought forward a distinct motion to have the Commission reappointed, under the direction of a "Minister of Progress and Labor," which situation he made no attempt to disguise was suited for himself. In this oration he characterized himself as the martyr of his love for the people, and drew a picture, in the most lugubrious terms, of the condition of industry in France, literally in the last agonies of dissolution. He was far from being supported, however, in his demand for a Minister of "Labor and Progress;" and the finishing-stroke was given to his *éloge* of the former Commission by the ironical observation of M. Peupin, formerly delegate of the watch-makers: "I am far from blaming the Commission of the Luxembourg, and they would err greatly who say that it has been in fault. *Can those be culpable who have done nothing?*" Instead of appointing Louis Blanc Minister of Progress, the Assembly, on the motion of M. Arago, named a commission, of which he was only a member, to inquire into the condition and sufferings of the working classes. On the day

following, the various offices of Government were filled up by persons for the most part not very eminent, and apparently selected chiefly for their negative quality of not belonging to either of the extreme parties.*

The truth was now apparent even to the most obtuse among the republicans, that they were in a decided minority in the Assembly. *Democracy in France had been extinguished by Universal Suffrage*—a strange result, wholly unexpected by the great majority of the revolutionists, but by no means surprising when the fact is recollected that above ten millions of landed proprietors existed in that country, most of whom were inspired with the most

mortal apprehensions of the Parisian communists. "*The republican sentiment*," says Lamartine, "*is weak in France*. Such as it is, it is ill represented in Paris and the Departments by men who inspire horror and aversion to the Republic among the rural population. *The Republic is a surprise*, which we have, almost by a miracle, turned to good account, by the wisdom of the people of Paris, and by the character of moderation, clemency, and concord which we have impressed upon it. But impressions are brief and short-lived among all people, and most of all in France. Hardly will the majority of the population which has thrown itself, under the enthusiasm of fear, into the arms of the Revolution, have recovered its natural tone of mind, than it will turn against those who have saved it, and accuse the Republic. Then, if there are no republicans of old date in the Republic, or if the republicans are few in number, and divided in presence of their common enemies, it is all over with the Republic. And if the Republic, the sole existing asylum of society, falls before the returning monarchical ideas or used-up monarchical institutions of the country, what will become of France?"²

Sensible that the National Assembly elected by the universal suffrage of all the country by no means answered their purposes, the Socialists and extreme revolutionists conspired to overturn it. They had expected to become a

tyrant majority; they had no intention of sinking into a tyrannized-over minority. The domination of the clubs of Paris, the establishment of the Socialism which had been preached at the Luxembourg, and universal war with Europe, were their ulterior objects. Blanqui, Raspail, and Cabet, the three principal leaders of the clubs, were highly discontented, for they had not succeeded even in getting seats in the Assembly; Louis Blanc and Albert were equally chagrined, for they were not members of the Executive Commission. They had strong hopes of being supported by Ledru-Rollin, for the *Bulletin of the Republic*, No. 16, published under his auspices, had announced the "determination of the people of the barricades to adjourn the decisions of a false national representation, if the returns did not secure the triumph of Socialism."³ The better to unite these different parties together, it was resolved

to take a ground on which they could all coalesce, and with this view they selected the presentation of a petition in favor of Poland, and for the immediate declaration of war against Germany. They openly boasted that the petition should be presented by a hundred thousand men. The Assembly feeling, in Lamartine's words, that a petition so presented was "not a petition but a menace," passed a decree forbidding the presentation of petitions at their bar. Upon this the whole clubs were in motion, and it was resolved to have

a grand demonstration on the 15th.⁴ There was no concealment of the designs of the conspirators; the Assembly were perfectly aware they were to be the objects of attack. But the Executive Commission was weak from distraction of opinion, the National Guard divided, the new min-

* The ministry stood as follows: Justice, M. Crémieux; Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide; War, M. Charras; Navy, Admiral Lacy; Interior, M. Recurt; Finances, M. Duclerc; Public Works, M. Trélat; Public Worship, M. Béchamont; Commerce, M. Flocon; Public Instruction, M. Carnot.—*Moniteur*, May 11, 1848.

¹ Larivière, *Hist. de l'Assemblée*, liv. I. c. 6; Cass. I. 391, 392; *Moniteur*, May 14, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 182-185.

² *Bulletin*, No. 16.

³ May 12.

⁴ Preparations for the insurrection of May 15.

^{68.} Extreme discontent of the Socialists.

¹ Lam. II. 405, 406.

^{70.}

isters wholly ignorant of the mode of governing men, and no adequate preparations were made to meet the danger. It came accordingly, and all but overturned the Government, and with it the Republic.

M. Walewski, the deputy to whom the advocating the cause of Poland had been committed, was speaking in favor of an armed intervention, by declaring of war against the German Confederation, when an alarm was heard that the Assembly was threatened, and in danger of being forced. It was not that there were no troops to protect them: there were plenty, but no one would take upon himself the responsibility of giving the order to resist. General Courtais was at the head of several regiments of the National Guard in front of the Madeleine, but he was irresolute, and was persuaded to let the procession, which consisted of fully fifteen thousand persons, pass through his armed bands. Two battalions of the Garde Mobile were stationed on the Pont de la Concorde, over which the procession required to pass to reach the Assembly, but they had no orders, and their officers, hearing what General Courtais had done, allowed the multitude to pass. An immense crowd now surrounded the rails forming the defense of the Palais du Corps Legislatif, loudly demanding admission, which a battalion of national guards intrusted with that post refused. In vain Ledru-Rollin, who came out to harangue them, endeavored to obtain a hearing: he was received with a few cheers, drowned in a storm of hisses. Lamartine was next sent for, but even his voice failed of effect: he was hooted down with cries of "*Assez joué de la Lyre; mort à Lamartine!*"* In a few seconds the rails were passed, the gates of the barrier forced, and a furious crowd inundated the first court at the foot of the columns. Seeing this, Lamartine, and a few of the deputies who were with him, retired within the second rail, saying, "Reason is no longer heard: to arms! let us defend ourselves!" The inner court was occupied by a battalion of the Garde Mobile, which fixed bayonets, and seemed disposed to do its duty. But at that critical moment an order arrived from General Courtais to *unfix bayonets* and return them to their scabbards. No longer resisted, the multitude now broke in tumultuous bodies into the hall where the Assembly was sitting; and the galleries being soon filled, those

* Normanby, i. 391-398; Lam. ii. 422-424; Cass. i. 392, 393; Moniteur, May 16, 1848; Ann. ii. 1848, 185, 186.

In truth, all was lost, if the case had rested upon the resolution of the Government, or its ability to defend itself. In the front rank of the petitioners stood M. Barbès, who said, amidst deafening shouts, "Citizens, you have come here to exercise your right of petitioning: you have done well to enforce that right, and it now lies with you to take effectual measures to prevent it from

* "We have had enough of the lyre; Death to Lamartine!"

ever again being contested. The duty of the Assembly is to take into consideration what you demand; and as the wish which you have expressed is precisely that of all France, the Assembly *will have to decree what you demand*. The Assembly has heard your demands: it must obey them; but to avoid the appearance of restraint, it would be well that you should now retire." But having once got possession of the hall, the insurgents were in no hurry to withdraw, and it soon appeared that the vast majority were set upon objects of more pressing importance than the restoration of Poland. "The real friends of the people," exclaimed Blanqui, "have been systematically excluded from the Assembly and the Government." Lists were handed down for the inscription of the names of those who were ready to fight in behalf of Poland: only four signed the paper. "We have other things to do," cried they on all sides; "we have had enough of Poland!" A furious crowd surrounded M. Buchez, the President, threatening him and the whole Assembly with instant death, unless he signed orders forbidding the *rappel* to be beat, and enjoining the National Guard not to act. He long resisted; but at length, with the dagger at his throat, he yielded. Upon this the tumult increased to a frightful degree, and all order or respect to the Assembly was lost. M. Barbès was again forced into the tribune, to state their new demands. "I insist," exclaimed he, "that a forced tax of a milliard (£40,000,000) should be laid upon the rich, and that whoever gives orders to beat the *rappel* should be declared a traitor to the country." "You are wrong, Barbès," cried a voice from the crowd; "*two hours of pillage* is what we want." Wearied at length with these endless and varied demands, which, from the clamor and noise, could neither be put nor considered, one of the most violent of the insurgents, named Huber, was carried on the shoulders of his comrades to the tribune, from whence he said, in a stentorian voice, "In the name of the people, whose voice the Assembly has refused to hear, I declare the Assembly dissolved." Loud applause followed these words, which were immediately succeeded by a dozen men scaling the President's chair, and dragging him from his seat. In confusion and utter dismay the Assembly rose up, and, following its chief, abandoned the hall.

¹ Moniteur, May 16, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 187, 188; Lam. ii. 423-428; Cassagnac, i. 324-327; L. Blanc, Pages d'Hist. 160-162.

Having thus dissolved the Assembly, the insurgents proceeded to nominate a new Provisional Government. The persons first appointed were Barbès, Louis Blanc, Ledru-Rollin, Blanqui, Huber, Raspail, Caussidière, Etienne Arago, Albert, Lagrange. This list, however, was deemed not sufficiently Socialist; and a new one was read out, and agreed to by acclamation, which embraced Cabet, L. Blanc, Pierre Leroux, Raspail, Considerant, Barbès, Blanqui, Proudhon. The preponderance of the Communist element was very clear here, and several voices called out, "There are too many Socialists." The Government, however, was agreed to, and the whole proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville, preceded by a hideous mob shouting, "The Assembly is dissolved; long live the Revolutionary Government! long live Barbès!" The

^{73.} The New Provisional Government appointed.

procession, swelling as it advanced, passed without obstruction before the Prefecture of Police, and took possession of the Hôtel de Ville, where the Government was formally installed. But meanwhile Lamartine had dispatched several trusty messengers to the battalions of the National Guard who were most likely to prove faithful, to hasten to the deliverance of the Assembly. At length, about four o'clock, the welcome roll of a drum was heard on the other side of the Seine, and soon the bayonets of a corps of national guards were seen crossing the Pont de la Concorde at the *pas de charge*. In an instant the Hall of the Assembly was cleared, and the rude intruders chased out of the doors and windows. They fell back upon the Hôtel de Ville, where the Insurrectionary Government was established, and the principal strength of the rebels was to be found. Preparation for a desperate resistance had been made, and four pieces of artillery were brought up before the infantry, in order to breach the walls of the building before an assault was made. The moment was terrible; but the hearts of the insurgents failed them at the decisive moment: they evacuated the

¹ *Moniteur*, May 16, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 188, 189; *Lam. II.* 442-453; *Cass. I.* 398, 399.

building when they saw the guns pointed against it; and it was taken possession of without resistance by the forces of the Government. Seventy-two prisoners were made on the spot, among whom were Barbès and Albert.¹

Three thousand of the insurgents, all armed, shut themselves up in the Prefecture of Police, where they prepared to resist; but next morning they surrendered to six thousand of the National Guard, which were brought against them. The whole members of the Insurrectionary Government were arrested, and conducted to Vincennes. General Courtais, whose conduct at the head of the National Guard had been more than doubtful, was dismissed, and succeeded by General Clement Thomas; and Caussidière, after some hesitation, resigned the situation of head of the police, and was succeeded by M. Trouve-Chauvel. The battalions of the Garde Républicaine, which had universally failed in their duty, were purged of their most disaffected members, and reduced to something like military order and obedience. General Cavaignac, who had arrived from Algeria, received the portfolio of Minister of War. Finally, the entrance of great numbers of national guards from the neighborhood of the capital, all animated with the strongest indignation against the Parisian Socialists, enabled the Government to take the decisive step of closing the clubs, which was done on the succeeding days, not without violent resistance and some bloodshed. A commission was appointed to make inquiry into the insurrections of the 16th April and 15th May, which immediately commenced

² *Commission d'Enquête*, *passim*; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 190, 191; *Lam. II.* 452, 453; *Caussidière*, II. 217-220.

its labors, and published a report under the title of "*Rapport de la Commission d'Enquête*," containing a vast deal of information on the subject, and more authentic evidence on the effects of the revolution than any other collection in existence.²

The facts brought out by the *Commission d'Enquête* appeared so strongly to implicate M.

Louis Blanc, that the *Procureurs-General*, MM. Portalis and Landaries, demanded permission from the Assembly to institute a formal accusation against him. The question was warmly debated; but at length, by a majority of 869 to 837, they negatived the demand. It appeared from the evidence that, though Louis Blanc had been borne on the shoulders of the people from the Hall of the Assembly to the Hôtel de Ville, and there named one of the insurrectionary government, yet he was, in truth, hardly a free agent on the occasion, and that he was implicated in the rebellion rather from the doctrines he had promulgated at the Luxembourg than from immediate accession to the attack on the Assembly. But in truth, even if the case had been otherwise, they were too well aware of the strength, at least in Paris, of the party of which he was the head, and the insufficiency of their means of resistance, to venture on the prosecution which was demanded. Meanwhile the disorders in the provinces continued without abatement. At Lyons, on the 18th May, a furious mob arose, demanding the instant liberation of the prisoners who had been arrested on occasion of the tumults in February. The prefect, unable to withstand the violence with which he was threatened, was obliged to sign an order for their liberation; and they were immediately carried in triumph to the Croix Rouge, where barricades were constructed, and a sort of provisional government established. Surrounded by so many and such serious dangers, the Assembly still strangely kept their eyes fixed on those which were passed, and by a majority of 632 to 68 adopted a law, proposed by the Executive Commission, banishing forever the younger branch of the house of Bourbon, as the elder branch had already been, from the French territory.¹

But the Government soon found that they had more serious causes of disquietude than the dread of a reaction, and more formidable competitors for power to contend with than the princes of the house of Orleans. Among other persons who were brought forward as candidates for a seat in the Chamber in the elections coming on in June was one whose name spoke powerfully to every heart in France, LOUIS NAPOLEON. A placard, recommending him to the electors of Paris, bore these ominous words: "Louis Napoleon only asks to be a representative of the people; and he has not forgot that Napoleon, before being the first magistrate of France, was its first citizen." His name was heard in various groups on the Boulevards at night: "Vive l'Empereur!" broke from the masses as often as "Vive Barbès!" "Vive la République démocratique!" Alarmed at these appearances, M. de Lamartine, taking advantage of a report, which was afterward proved to be false, that the commander of the National Guard had been fired at from a crowd which was raising cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" proposed to the Assembly to renew against Louis Napoleon by name the general decree of banishment against the princes of the family of Bonaparte passed in 1832. "We will never," said he, "permit France to degrade herself, as

^{75.} Subsequent proceedings of the Assembly. June 5.

¹ *Moniteur*, May 22, 27, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 193-199.

^{76.} Commencement of an agitation in favor of Louis Napoleon.

June 12.

was the case in Rome during the days of the Lower Empire, when the Republic was bought by a name shouted by a few noisy conspirators." These words produced at first a great impression; but ere long it wore off, and in the end the project of banishment was negatived by a majority of two to one. Louis Napoleon, in consequence, was permitted to remain on the roll of candidates, and he was simultaneously elected by the Departments of the Seine, the Yonne, the Sarthe, and the Charente-Inférieure. He notified his acceptance of the charge in a letter, some of

the expressions in which singularly contrast with his subsequent career, but he afterward declined to take his seat, from a desire to avoid causing dissension in the Republic.¹*

The elections for the Assembly in June were very remarkable, as evincing the steady and now uninterrupted growth of reactionary principles in the greater part of the country. The former repugnance to the statesmen who had served in the Chamber of Deputies under Louis Philippe was fast wearing away, and a dread of the rashness of inexperienced men succeeding in its place. Then were, for the first time since the Revolution, returned to the Assembly M. Thiers, M. Victor Hugo, Charles Dupin, General Changarnier, General Rulhières, M. Molé, Marshal Bugeaud, M. A. Fould, M. Rivet. M. Molé was sought after in his retreat by the electors of the Gironde, and forced to accept their representation. On the other hand, the electors of Paris returned MM. Causidière, Proudhon, Pierre Leroux, and Lagrange—that is to say, the chiefs of Socialism. Every thing thus conspired to indicate a terrible struggle between the country and the metropolis, which, although it might begin in the Assembly, would to all appearance terminate in the streets. And in the presence of this evidently approaching danger, it was melancholy to see the pitiable state of weakness to which the executive Government was reduced. Formed by an avowed coalition of men of the most diametrically opposite opinions, its members had lost the weight of individual character without having gained the force of united action. The Socialists were determined on an insurrection against the Assembly, which they now saw was decidedly opposed to their demands; and the Executive Commission, divided in itself, felt so unequal to meet it that Lamartine strongly advised them to resign, which shame at the thought of retreating in presence of danger alone prevented them from doing.² In

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 204, 205; Lam. ii. 469, 470; Cass. i. 401, 402; Causidière, ii. 276-284.

* "Your confidence imposes on me duties which I shall know how to discharge. Our feelings, our interests, our wishes, are the same. A child of Paris, now a representative of its inhabitants, I will unite my efforts with those of my colleagues to re-establish order, credit, industry, to secure external peace, consolidate democratic institutions, and mutually conciliate those interests which now appear hostile, because they suspect each other to run counter, instead of conspiring to one end—the prosperity and glory of the country. The people have been free since the 24th February; they can now obtain every thing without having recourse to brute force. Let us rally round the altar of our country under the standard of our country, and let us give to the world the great example of a people who regenerate themselves without violence, without civil war, without anarchy."—*Ann. Hist.*, 1848, p. 208.

the mean time, every precaution was taken to protect them from insult; and the strange spectacle was exhibited to the world of a sovereign Legislature, elected by universal suffrage, deliberating under the protection of cannon pointed against its own constituents.*

Meanwhile the state of the finances was daily becoming more alarming, and France was beginning again to experience the bitter truth that the inevitable effect of revolutions is at once to diminish the revenue and enormously increase the expenditure. In the sixty-nine days which had elapsed between the fall of Louis Philippe and the installation of the National Assembly, the Provisional Government had opened extraordinary credits to the amount of 206,183,035 francs; and such was the necessitous state of the Treasury, notwithstanding the addition of 45 per cent. to the direct taxes, that the only resource which remained to M. Duclerc, who had succeeded M. Garnier Pages as Finance Minister, was a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs, and then to cut down woods to the extent of 25,000,000 francs, and alienate lands belonging to the State or the Crown to the extent of 200,000,000 more! Immense as these sums were, they did not embrace the whole obligations incurred by the State in consequence of this most disastrous Revolution; for the Bank of France had already advanced 245,000,000 francs to the Provisional Government, making, with M. Duclerc's fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs, no less than 395,000,000 francs, or nearly £16,000,000 sterling of debt already incurred from its effects. The fearful shortcoming of the indirect taxes, which in the course of the year fell off 150,000,000 francs, the enormous charges of the Ateliers Nationaux, and the great increase of the army, were the chief causes of this most disastrous state of things. The men receiving wages at the Ateliers Nationaux were now 118,300, and their cost was 250,000 francs a day. Of this immense multitude not more than two thousand were actually employed in any species of labor, the remainder being paid for doing nothing, or holding themselves at the beck of the leaders of the clubs to assemble in multitudes, in order to overawe the Government.¹

It was impossible that such a state of things could continue, and yet it was equally evident that it could not be terminated without a desperate struggle; for the paid workmen, who were for the most part able-bodied and armed, were determined not to relinquish the advantage they had gained. In order to derive some advantage from this immense mass of idle workmen, M. Leon Faucher, in the end of May, brought forward a proposal for employing a certain number of the men in the formation of the lines of railway which had been in progress when the Revolution broke out. At the same time, some regulations were laid down for correcting the abuses so prevalent in the drawing of pay, and M. Emile Thomas, the superintendent,

* The votes for these new candidates were as follows in the Department of the Seine: Causidière, 146,400; Moreau, 126,889; Goudchoux, 107,097; Changarnier, 105,550; M. Thiers, 97,894; Leroux, 94,375; Victor Hugo, 86,066; Louis Napoleon, 84,426; Lagrange, 78,682; Boissel, 77,247; Proudhon, 71,004.—*Moniteur*, June 12, 1848.

who had connived at them, was sent under the surveillance of the police to Bordeaux. The committee to whom the matter was reported recommended that the workmen who had not been domiciled more than three months in the Department of the Seine should be sent to their respective homes, to be employed in such productive labor as could there be found for them;

and the Assembly, adopting this report, June 10. passed several decrees for enforcing the removal of a certain number of the workmen to various railway works. Victor Hugo, the celebrated novelist, albeit a decided Liberal, who had obtained a place in the Assembly, said on this occasion: "The Ateliers Nationaux were necessary when first established; but it is now high time to remedy an evil of which the least inconvenience is to squander uselessly the resources of the Republic. What have they produced in the course of four months? Nothing. They have deprived the hardy sons of toil of employment, given them a distaste for labor, and demoralized them to such a degree that they are no longer ashamed to beg on the streets. The Monarchy has its idlers; the Republic has its vagabonds. God forbid that the enemies of the country should succeed in converting the Parisian workmen, formerly so virtuous, into lazza-

roni or prætorians. When Paris is in agony, London rejoices; its power, riches, and preponderance have tripled since our disturbances commenced."

These measures excited the most violent discontent among the workmen; and an insurrection was openly talked of, which was first fixed for the 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile. But the measures directed against the Ateliers Nationaux brought matters to a crisis at an earlier period. On June 20, M. Leon Faucher, on the part of the committee to whom the matter had been intrusted, reported that 120,000 workmen were now paid daily at the Ateliers Nationaux, and 50,000 more were demanding to be admitted. Horror-struck at this prospect, he saw no resource but a fresh loan of 150,000,000 francs by the Government, to set in

motion in the provinces the industry so fatally arrested by the Revolution; but to this the Finance Minister made the strongest possible objections. Thus, between the two, nothing was

done; and meanwhile the paid workmen and Socialists, encouraged by the leaders of the clubs, made open preparations for insurrection, and resolved to resist any attempt at removal. "We must not go," said they; "they are about to destroy the Republic."

It was all very well, however, as a figure of speech to declaim on 100,000 armed men as ready to support the democratic and Socialist Revolution; but when the contest commenced, it was found that the actual number who could be relied on was much less considerable. Altogether it was computed that from 25,000 to 30,000 would come forth to support the insurrection, composed of 12,000 liberated convicts, 6000 of the most determined from the Ateliers Nationaux, and 8000

or 10,000 from the secret societies and clubs. On the other hand, the forces Government had nominally at its disposal were much more considerable. There were 20,000 regular troops in the barracks of Paris, with ample artillery and cavalry; 15,000 in the neighboring towns; and the National Guard in the metropolis and the *banlieu* had already turned out, for a review, forces said to amount to 300,000 men. But though abundantly ready to come forward on days of holiday parade, it was very doubtful how far the majority of these would act when shots were to be fired in anger; and it was well known that a large proportion of them were in secret inclined to the insurgents, and would, if the contest appeared at all doubtful, in all probability join them. A similar disunion pervaded the executive, and no united action could be expected from a directory in which such opposite characters as Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, and Marie held the reins of power. On the other hand, the insurgents, impelled by necessity and in dread of starvation, were united and desperate, and obeyed leaders of no small military ability, invested with that absolute power with which mutineers never fail to invest those whom for a time they have placed in command. Thus, though in appearance unequal, the contest was in reality more evenly balanced than might be supposed; and at any rate, the most desperate conflict which had occurred since the first beginning of the troubles in 1789 was evidently approaching, and it was much to be feared that any serious reverse at first would throw all the waverers into the arms of the insurgents, and in all probability consign France to the sanguinary rule of a Red Republic.¹

Hostilities commenced at nine at night on the 22d of June by the assembling of crowds on the quays, from the bridge of Notre Dame to the Hôtel de Ville, and the placarding of an address calling on all Frenchmen to sign a petition to the National Assembly on the "organization of labor." At the same time, a brigade of the workmen which had been sent to Corbeil returned, contrary to orders, to Paris, and stationed themselves in the Place of the Bastille and at the Barrier du Trône, calling out, "Vive Napoleon!" "Vive l'Empereur!" "A bas Marie!" "Nous resterons!" During the whole night the workmen of the Ateliers Nationaux remained in the streets, and their leaders and the orators from the clubs harangued them without intermission. Every leader had his post assigned to him. The organization of the insurrection corresponded exactly to that of the brigades of the Ateliers Nationaux. The whole were under the powerful and able direction of the Société des Droits de l'Homme, which had reconstituted itself in defiance of the Government on the 11th June. Early on the morning of the 23d the erection of barricades commenced, and proceeded with a rapidity, order, and consistency which evidently bespoke a long-laid plan. Nearly the whole population, men, women, and children, in the disaffected districts, which comprised a full half of the city, were employed on these works, which sprang up as if by enchantment, and soon appeared of stupendous magnitude. Before noon nearly one half of Paris, comprising all lying to

¹ Moniteur, June 21, 1848; Cass. I. 401, 402; An. Reg. 1848, 283.

^{80.} Measures against the Socialists, and general discontent among them.

June 20.

² Moniteur, June 21, 1848; Cass. I. 401, 402; Com. d'Enquête, Dep. de M. Carlin; Ann. Hist. 1848, 217, 218.

^{81.} Forces on both sides.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 217-220; Lam. II. 473-480; Cass. I. 407; Commission d'Enquête, Dep. de M. Carlin.

^{82.} Commencement of the insurrection. June 23.

June 23.

the eastward of a line drawn from the Pantheon to the Château d'Eau, was covered with barricades. Two strong ones were erected at the Porte St. Denis, one at that of St. Martin, one at the entry of the Faubourg du Temple, four in the streets leading to the Hôtel de Ville, one of stupendous magnitude at the entrance of the

Faubourg St. Antoine, and thirty
1 *Moniteur*, June 24, 1848; in the neighborhood of the Isle An. Hist. 1848, of St. Louis, the Faubourg St. 219-221; Lam. Jacques, and the Faubourg St. Marceau.¹

During all this time nothing whatever was done on the part of Government to interrupt these preparations. The truth was, they had not, in the outset, the means of combating the insurrection over the immense surface

over which it extended. General Cavaignac, in whom, as Minister at War, the supreme command was invested, had only at his disposal 23,000 infantry and 2000 horse, of whom not more than 20,000 of both arms could be calculated upon as effective. The *générale* was immediately beat in all the streets; but the National Guard was very backward in answering the call, and many of them, as well as some of the Garde Mobile, were to be seen in the ranks of the insurgents. Orders were sent off immediately to four regiments at Versailles and Orleans to come to Paris; telegraphic messages to the same effect were dispatched to those stationed at Lille, Metz, and Rouen, and even a division of the Army of the Alps was ordered to the capital. But some time must necessarily elapse before even the nearest of these troops could arrive, and meanwhile every hour was precious; something required to be done instantly to stop the progress of the insurrection. But Cavaignac was too old and too good a soldier not to know the extreme hazard of involving troops in insufficient numbers in the narrow streets of an insurgent capital, and too much experienced in revolutions not to be aware of the ruinous results which might ensue from the defeat or capture of even an inconsiderable body of regular soldiers. He positively refused, therefore, to divide his forces, or act on any extended scale before the reinforcements came up. In this opinion he was strongly supported by Lamartine. "Do not deceive yourselves," said he to the other members of the Provisional Government; "we do not advance to a strife with an *émeute*, but to a pitched battle with a confederacy of great factions. If the Republic, and with it society, is to be saved, it must have arms in its hands during the first years of its existence; and its forces should be

disposed, not only here, but over the whole surface of the empire, as for great wars which embrace not only the quarters of Paris, but the provinces, as in the days of Cæsar and Pompey."²

Cavaignac kept his regular troops in reserve the whole of the 23d, and devoted himself to the organization of his forces as for a serious campaign. He divided his men into four columns, which were placed under the orders of Generals Lamoricière, Duvivier, Damesne, and Bedeau. The first of these took post near the Porte St. Denis and Porte St. Martin, pre-

pared to combat the insurrection in the northern parts of the city; the second was intrusted with the defense of the Hôtel de Ville, the general head-quarters of the Government, but which was threatened with an attack on every side; the third was stationed on the Place Cambray and the Bridge St. Michel; and the fourth was to support General Damesne in the quarter of the Pantheon and the Faubourg St. Marceau. The insurgents, on their side, were also divided into four columns of five or six thousand men each, supported by an immense body of tirailleurs and detached musketeers. Their efforts were mainly directed to gain possession of the Hôtel de Ville, and one corps was strongly posted in all the narrow streets and houses adjoining it, where cavalry could not act, and artillery could not be introduced. The second had its head-quarters in the Pantheon, and occupied all the streets stretching from thence to the Pont St. Michel and the Seine. The head-quarters of the third were in the hospital of Clos St. Lazare, and stretched to the north as far as the Faubourg du Temple; while the fourth had constructed a gigantic barrier on the Place of the Bastille, and occupied the whole streets as far as the Église St. Gervais, behind the Hôtel de Ville.¹

The first hostilities commenced on the evening of the 23d, when the National Guard, though unsupported by troops of the line, attacked and carried the barrier at the Porte St. Martin. This was followed by an assault on that of the Porte St. Denis, where a

most desperate resistance was experienced, and where the enthusiasm of the people was evinced by several women combating on the work, one of whom fell pierced by several balls. But these posts, though carried at the time, were all retaken by the insurgents in the night. On the morning of the 24th, matters looked very serious, and the Assembly, which had endeavored to ignore the danger, was forced to recognize and take measures to avert it. The inefficiency of the Executive Commission, and the distrust they had inspired in the National Guard, having become painfully conspicuous, a motion was made at noon on the 24th to confer absolute power on a Dictator, and General Cavaignac was suggested and approved almost unanimously. Some hesitation having been expressed as to the mode of doing this, and the authority to be conferred, M. Bastide cut the discussion short with these words: "If you hesitate, in an hour the Hôtel de Ville may be taken." The appointment was immediately passed by acclamation; and such was the confidence which it inspired, that in two hours after it was known twenty thousand additional men appeared in the ranks of the National Guard. The Executive Commission, finding themselves thus superseded, resigned their appointments, and absolute uncontrolled authority was vested in the Dictator.²

The effects of this great change were soon apparent. Immense was the difference between the hesitation and disunited action of five civilians in presence of danger, and the decided conduct of one single experienced military chief. The first object was

¹ *Moniteur*, June 25, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 221, 228, 229.

² First combats, and appointment of Cavaignac as Dictator.

June 24.

² *Moniteur*, June 25, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 227, 228; Normanby, ii. 85; Lam. ii. 474, 475.

³ Subsequent actions.

to repel the enemy from the vicinity of the Hôtel de Ville. The task was no easy one, for the streets around it swarmed with armed men; every window was filled with tirailleurs, and from the summit of barricades, which were erected across the narrow thoroughfares at every hundred yards, streamed a well-directed and deadly fire of musketry. At length, however, after a dreadful struggle, the nearest streets were carried, and the Hôtel de Ville put for the time in a state of comparative safety. The attack was next carried into the adjoining quarters of the Église St. Gervais and the Rue St. Antoine, while General Lamoricière pushed on toward the Faubourg St. Denis, and then, wheeling to his left, commenced an assault on the Faubourg Poissonnière. The combat here was long and bloody, and at the end of three hours' fighting the progress made was far from considerable. The insurgents defended each barricade as it was attacked as long as possible, and when it was about to be forced they quickly retired to the next one in the rear, generally not more than one or two hundred yards distant, which was stubbornly held in like manner; while upon the column which advanced in pursuit a heavy and murderous fire was directed from the windows of the adjoining houses. In vain Cavaignac threatened to bring up mortars to throw bombs into the houses behind the barricades if they

1 *Moniteur*, June 25, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 231-233; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 285. were not abandoned; this threat had no effect; and it was only late in the afternoon that the Place Lafayette was carried, and that with very heavy loss to the assailants.¹

While this conflict was raging, General Bédou was engaged in a fearful strife in the Faubourg St. Marceau; but, after sustaining great loss, he at length succeeded in carrying the barricades of the Rue Mouffetard as far as the Jardin des Plantes. General Lamoricière experienced in his progress the most formidable resistance in the Rue St. Maur, where a barricade had been constructed of such magnitude and strength that it long repelled all attacks of the infantry. Cavaignac, who hastened to the spot, brought up a gun, but the fire from the barricade and windows was so heavy that in a few minutes all the artillerymen and horses were struck down. A second piece was brought up, but with the same results. Bombs were then thrown from a little distance, and while they were exploding an assault was made on the barricade, and after a frightful slaughter on both sides it was carried, and the defenders put to the sword. At the same time General Foucher received orders to attack five barricades, erected near the barrier of Belleville, which mutually supported each other. He did

2 *Moniteur*, June 25, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 234, 235; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 286. so, and was wounded, as well as General François, in the attack; and although it was made and supported with the utmost resolution, two only of the barricades were taken.²

These bloody conflicts decided nothing; and success was so equally balanced, and the loss, especially in officers, so severe, that it was difficult to say to which side victory would ultimately incline. Real success was first gained at one in the afternoon of the 24th, when prepara-

tions were made for storming the Pantheon. General Damesne, who commanded, did not trust on this occasion to his infantry, however numerous and resolute, but brought up his heavy guns, which battered the splendid edifice for an hour, when, an aperture in the walls having been made, the troops rushed in, and the building was carried. But the insurgents were nowise daunted by this disaster: retiring, with comparatively little loss, to the next barricade in the Rue Clovis, they there again presented an undaunted front to their assailants. General Damesne was dangerously wounded in attempting to storm it, and General Brea, who then took the command, was unable to expel the enemy from these strongholds. Equally formidable was the resistance to General Lamoricière in the Faubourg Poissonnière, where the insurgents during the night had reoccupied nearly all the positions which they had lost on the preceding day. The barricade in the Rue Rochechouart was particularly formidable, being twelve feet high, built of solid masonry, and flanked by another of nearly equal elevation at the corner of the Rue Faubourg Poissonnière. The *fusillade* had been extremely warm here during the whole day, and it was not till six at night that the first barricade was carried. Even after this advantage had been gained the flank barricade held out, though battered in front by heavy guns; and it was not till late in the evening that it was at length carried by a sudden rush of the stormers on its flank resting on the boulevards.¹

It was not surprising that the progress even of the vast and hourly-increasing military force at the disposal of the Dictator had been so slow; for the task before them was immense, and to appearance insurmountable by any human strength. The number of barricades had risen to the enormous and almost incredible figure of *three thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight*, nearly all of which were stoutly defended. The great strongholds of the insurgents were in the Clos St. Lazare and the Faubourg St. Antoine, each of which was defended by gigantic barricades, constructed of stones having all the solidity of regular fortifications, and held by the most determined and fanatical bands. The night of the 24th was terrible; the opposing troops, worn out with fatigue and parched with thirst, sank down to rest within a few yards of each other on the summit of the barricades, or at their feet, and no sound was heard in the dark but the cry of the sentinels. Early on the morning of the 25th the conflict was renewed at all points, and ere long a frightful tragedy signalized the determination and ferocity of the insurgents. General Brea, before renewing the fight on his side, which was at the barrier of Fontainebleau, humanely went with a flag of truce to the head-quarters of the insurgents, to endeavor to persuade them to come to an accommodation. They received him, and the aid-de-camp by whom he was accompanied, within their lines; and having done so, they surrounded them, and insisted on the general signing and sending to his troops a written order to surrender their arms and ammunition. Upon the general's refusal to do so, he was overwhelmed with insults, shot down, and left for

89. Storming of the Pantheon. June 24.

1 *Rapport du Président de l'Assemblée*, June 24; *Moniteur*, June 25; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 235, 236.
89. Murder of General Brea, and storm of the barricades on the left of the Seine. June 25.

dead on the ground; his aid-de-camp, Captain Manguin, was at the same time put to death, and his remains mutilated to such a degree that the human form could hardly be distinguished. After waiting an hour for the return of his general, Colonel Thomas, the second in command, having learned his fate, and announced it to his soldiers, made preparations for an assault. Infuriated by the treacherous massacre of their general, the men rushed on, and carried at the point of the bayonet seven successive barricades. All their defenders were put to the sword, to avenge their infamous treachery. The body of General Brea was found still breathing, but the vital spark was soon extinct. He was cruelly mutilated, his arms and legs having been cut off. This savage barbarity was the more inexcusable that General Brea was a man of singularly mild character and humane disposition. His character was beautifully drawn by the priest at Nantes, who officiated at the interment of his mangled remains: "The character of General

Brea was less that of a military chief than of a Christian. The warrior was forgotten in the gentleness of his disposition, the warmth of his heart, the sincerity of his love, the glow of his charity."¹

Similar contests ensued in all the other quarters, but before evening the superiority of the regular soldiers became very apparent. The arrival of reinforcements, both of troops and national guards, from Amiens and Rouen, as well as a large train of artillery from Bourges, proved of essential service. Success was gained in nearly every quarter, but it was dearly purchased. The barriers near the Faubourg Poissonnière and the Rue Rochechouart, which had been again reoccupied by the insurgents during the night, were all forced in the morning, and the Clos St. Lazare stormed. The Faubourg du Temple was soon after carried, and the insurgents were driven out of St. Denis and St. Martin. Heavy losses, however, attended all these advantages; and in the centre of the city the insurgents were so far from being subdued, that General Duvivier was wounded in the neighborhood of the Hôtel de Ville, and obliged to relinquish his command to General Perrot. Still the Faubourg St. Antoine, the great strong-hold of the insurgents, remained in their hands, and till it was wrested from them the victory could not be said to be complete. The position of the enemy there was extremely strong, every entrance being closed by successive barricades of enormous height and thickness, and proof against any but the very heaviest siege-artillery. The troops destined for the assault of this formidable citadel were divided into

two columns, one of which, starting from the Hôtel de Ville, followed the line of the quays on the banks of the river, while the other moved by the Rue St. Antoine direct on the Place of the Bastille. Both experienced the most determined resistance.²

The barricades, and every window in the streets leading up to them, were filled with armed men, animated with a fanatical courage. Two pieces of cannon, placed in the Rue St. Antoine, were

brought up, and played at point-blank range on the first barricade; but such was the severity of the fire which the insurgents kept up, especially from the windows, that twice over every man at the guns was killed and wounded; and after two hours' firing, the rampart was still but little shaken. Colonel Regnault, with the 48th Regiment, then led on the charge, and carried it by a sudden rush; but he was basely slain, after having surmounted it, by a prisoner whose life he had just saved. Three other barricades, one behind the other, were in like manner stormed after a desperate resistance, and with great loss on both sides. The fifth barricade presented a still more formidable front, for it was constructed of solid square blocks of masonry, and surmounted by embrasures like a regular fortification. For two hours it resisted alike the fire of the guns and the assaults of the troops, but at length it was carried. At the same time, the barriers on the quays were forced by the other column, though the slaughter there was even greater, and General Negrin and the deputy Charbonnel were killed. By these successes the two columns of attack made themselves masters of the Place of the Bastille, where they effected their junction, and both moved on to the attack of the Faubourg St. Antoine, the last and most formidable strong-hold of the insurgents.¹

But ere the attack commenced, a sublime instance of Christian heroism and devotion occurred, which shines forth like a heavenly glory in the midst of these terrible seasons of carnage. MONSIEUR AFFRÉ, ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS, horror-struck with the slaughter which for three days had been going on without intermission, resolved to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, or perish in the attempt. Having obtained leave from General Cavaignac to repair to the head-quarters of the insurgents, he set out, dressed in his pontifical robes, having the cross in his hand, accompanied by two vicars, also in full canonicals, and three intrepid members of the Assembly. Deeply affected by this courageous act, which they well knew was almost certain death, the people, as he walked through the streets, fell on their knees and besought him to desist, but he persisted, saying, "It is my duty. *Bonus pastor dat vitam suam pro ovibus suis.*"* At seven in the evening he arrived in the Place of the Bastille, where the fire was extremely warm on both sides. It ceased on either side at the august spectacle, and the Archbishop, bearing the cross aloft, advanced with his two vicars to the foot of the barricade. A single attendant, bearing aloft a green branch, the emblem of peace, preceded the prelate. The soldiers, seeing him come so close to those who had so often slain the bearers of flags of truce, approached in order to be able to give succor in case of need; the insurgents on their side descended the barricade, and the redoubtable combatants stood close to each other, exchanging looks of defiance. Suddenly at this moment a shot was heard; instantly the cry arose, "Treason, treason!" and the combatants, retreating on either side, began to exchange shots with as much

* "A good shepherd gives his life for his sheep."

fury as ever. Undismayed by the storm of balls which immediately flew over his head from both quarters, the prelate advanced slowly, attended by his vicars, to the summit of the barricade. One of them had his hat pierced by three balls when ascending, but the Archbishop himself, almost by a miracle, escaped while on the top. He had descended three steps on the other side when he was pierced through the loins by a shot from a window. The insurgents, horror-struck, approached him when he fell, stanching the wound, which at once was seen to be mortal, and carried him to the neighboring hospital of Quatre-Vingts. When told he had only a few minutes to live, he said, "God be praised, and

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 243, 244; An. Reg. 1848, 248; Moniteur, June 27, 1848; Normanby, ii. 59. may He accept my life as an expiation for my omissions during my episcopacy, and as an offering for the salvation of this misguided people!" and with these words he expired.¹

Immediately after his decease, proposals came for a capitulation from the insurgents, on condition of an absolute and unqualified amnesty. General Cavaignac, however, would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender. This was refused, and both sides prepared for a renewal of the conflict on the following morning. At daybreak the combatants on both sides stood to their arms; the barricades and windows were filled with musketeers, the gunners stood with lighted matches beside their pieces; but ere long sounds were heard which convinced the insurgents that further resistance was hopeless. A loud cannonade, which every minute came nearer, was distinguished in the rear of the faubourg; it was General Lamoricière, who, having forced his way through the Faubourg du Temple, was in a position to assail them in rear. Still the insurgents held out; and ten o'clock, the period assigned for an unconditional surrender, having elapsed without submission, the fire recommenced. An immense shower of bombs immediately fell in the faubourg, which set it on fire in several places. The troops, without waiting for orders, rushed on and attacked it in three columns on the side of the Rue St. Antoine, the Rue de Charenton, and the Rue de la Roquette. All attacks proved successful, and at last the enemy capitulated. With it this terrible insurrection came to an end; the Socialists were crushed, and victory remained to the Government and the sword.²

^{93.} Surrender of the Faubourg St. Antoine, and termination of the insurrection. June 26. The losses on either side in this memorable conflict were never accurately known; for the insurgents could not estimate theirs, and the Government took care not to publish their own. But on both sides it was immense, as might have been expected, when forty or fifty thousand a side fought with the utmost courage and desperation for four days in the streets of a crowded capital, with nearly four thousand barricades erected and requiring to be stormed. General Negrin was killed, and Generals Duvivier, Damesne, Koste, Lafontaine, and Fouché wounded mortally—General Bedeau more slightly. Ten thousand bodies were recognized and buried, and nearly as many, especially on the side of

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 244-246; An. Reg. 1848, 258; Normanby, 59-64.

^{94.} Results of the conflict, and losses on the two sides.

the insurgents, thrown unclaimed into the Seine. At the close of the contest nearly fifteen thousand prisoners were in the hands of the victors, and crowded, almost to suffocation, all places of confinement in Paris. Three thousand of them died of jail-fever; but the immense multitude which remained created one of the greatest difficulties with which for long the Government had to contend. The concourse of troops and national guards who flocked together from all quarters, on the 27th and 28th, enabled the Dictator to maintain his authority, and restore order, by the stern discipline of the sword. The Assembly divided the prisoners into two classes: for the first, who were the most guilty, deportation to Cayenne, or one of the other colonies, was at once adjudged; the second were condemned to *transportation*, which with them meant detention in the hulks, or in some maritime fortresses of the Republic. Great numbers were sent to Belleisle, and the gloomy dungeons of St. Michel, on the coast of Normandy; but all means of detention ere long proved inadequate for so prodigious a multitude, and many were soon liberated by the Government from absolute inability to keep them longer. This terrible strife cost France more lives than any of the battles of the Empire;* the number of generals who perished in it, or from the wounds they had received, exceeded even those cut off at Borodino or Waterloo.¹

It is painful to be obliged to add, that the savage cruelty exhibited by the insurgents to such prisoners as fell into their hands sullied the character which they had justly acquired for courage and resolution. Toward the Garde Mobile in an especial manner their barbarity knew no bounds: they looked upon them as traitors to the cause for which they had been originally enrolled, and as such they subjected them to the most atrocious barbarities. The women here, as in all similar cases, took the lead in atrocity. One amazon boasted she had cut off the heads of five officers of the Garde Mobile, after they had been made prisoners, with her own hands: others threw vitriol in their faces, and burned them in so shocking a manner that they implored death to put a period to their sufferings. A pump was found behind the barrier Rochechouart half full of oil of vitriol, intended to be used in this manner. In one place they took four or five of the Garde Mobile, perfect children, prisoners; they stuck pikes through their throats under the chin, tied their hands down, and, placing them in front of the windows, fired under their legs, thinking the troops would not return the fire when they saw the uniform. They cut off the head of one, filled the mouth with pitch, lighted a match in it, and, like cannibals, danced round it to the tune of "Les Lampions." The prisoners they took were shot down by dozens at a time; a

¹ Moniteur, June 27, 28, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 247-251; An. Reg. 1848, 257, 258; Cayley, i. 120; Cam. i. 462.

^{95.} Atrocious cruelty of the insurgents.

* In confirmation of his statements in this section, the author is happy to be able to refer to the able work of his friend Mr. Edward Cayley, entitled *The European Revolutions of 1848*, which exhibits equal industry, accuracy, and acuteness, and proves that the talents which have rendered his father, the Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire, so distinguished in Parliament, are hereditary in his family.

proceeding which of course led to terrible reprisals from the military when they, in their turn, had the power. Such, too, was the exasperation of the insurgents when they became the losing party, that deeds of treachery accompanied the usual barbarities of domestic dissension. After carrying a formidable barricade in the Rue St. Antoine, the 48th Regiment made a number of prisoners. One of them resisted, and the soldiers were about to bayonet him, when their colonel, Regnault, came up and saved his life. "Thank you," said the perfidious wretch, and with these words drew a pistol and shot him dead on the spot.¹

¹ Normanby, li. 74, 75; Cay-ley, l. 121.

Amidst such instances of treachery and cruelty, it is consolatory to have many deeds of an opposite character to recount, proving that, even in its darkest moments, and under the most disastrous circumstances, the national spirit and generosity of the French character were not altogether extinct. The Marquis de la Forte, a nobleman of tall stature and commanding air, was doing duty as a private in the 1st Legion of the National Guard, and when waiting in the front to storm one of the barricades, he found himself beside a little garde mobile, who had already made his valor conspicuous in the combat. They were before a barricade, on which a red flag floated in proud defiance. "Great national guard," said the little hero to his companion, "shall we two take that flag?" "With all my heart," replied the marquis, and with that they ran forward together, and began to ascend the barricade. They were about two-thirds up, when the boy fell wounded in the leg. "Alas!" he said, "great national guard, I shall have no hand in the taking of that flag." "But you shall though," replied the generous marquis, "little garde mobile"—and with these words he lifted the boy up in his left arm, and, making his way with his sword in his right, and amidst a general fire from the defenders, got so near that the boy was able to seize the flag and wave it for a few seconds overhead; after which the two descended, the marquis still carrying his companion, and reached their comrades in safety. When escorted from the Fanbourg St. Antoine by a party of the Garde Mobile to the rear, the Archbishop of Paris saw a boy in the ranks whom he had particularly observed combating bravely in the fight. Raising his arms, he took a small rosary, and gave it to the young soldier, whose name was François de la Vignière—"Do not lose this cross," said the prelate; "put it on your heart: it will bring you happiness." He received it kneeling, and promised never to part with it. Cavaignac, on another occasion, took the cross of the Legion of Honor from his breast, and gave it to one of the Garde Mobile, whom he had seen particularly distinguishing himself. "How happy this will make my father!" said the recipient, without a thought of himself.²

² Normanby, li. 66, 73, 77.

The victory once decidedly gained, Cavaignac lost no time in abdicating the dictatorial powers conferred upon him during the strife. But the Assembly were too well aware of the narrow escape which they had made to entertain the thought of resuming

the powers of sovereignty. If they had been so inclined, the accounts from the provinces would have been sufficient to deter them, for the insurrection in Paris was contemporary with a bloody revolt at Marseilles, occasioned by the same attempt to get quit of the burden-^{June 22.} some pensioners at the Ateliers Nationaux, which was only put down after three days' hard fighting by a concentration of troops from all the adjoining departments. At Rouen and Bordeaux the agitation was so violent that it was evident nothing but the presence of a large military force prevented a rebellion from breaking out. Taught by these events, the National Assembly *unanimously* continued to General Cavaignac the powers already conferred upon him, and prolonged the state of siege in the metropolis. The concourse of troops to Paris was soon immense; that capital had not been surrounded by so many armed men when it was environed by the allied armies in 1814 and 1815. Supported by this force, the reality of military government—the only one practicable in the circumstances—was soon brought home to the inhabitants; and on the motion of M. Martin of Strasbourg, the dictatorship was formally bestowed on General Cavaignac, with the title of President of the Council, and the power to nominate his ministers. The last privilege was slightly contested in the Assembly, but passed by a large majority. The powers of the Dictator were to last till a permanent president was elected either by the Assembly or the direct voice of the citizens; and in the mean time General Cavaignac proceeded to appoint his ministers, who immediately entered upon their several duties.³

³ Moniteur, June 29, 30, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 247-251; Cass. l. 469, 469, 471; Normanby, li. 79.

The first care of the new Government was to remodel the armed force of the metropolis, and extinguish those elements of insurrection which had brought such desolation, bloodshed, and ruin upon the country. The Ateliers Nationaux were immediately dissolved: this had now become, comparatively speaking, an easy task, for the most formidable part of their number, and nearly all who had actually appeared with arms in their hands, had either been slain or were in the prisons of the Republic. Those legions of the National Guard which had either hung back or openly joined the insurgents, on occasion of the late revolt, were all dissolved and disarmed. This, too, was easy, for the immense body of national guards which had been brought up by the railways, *especially from La Vendée*, upon whom entire reliance could be placed, rendered all resistance hopeless. The licentiousness of the press and the clubs next attracted the attention of the Dictator. Already, on June 25, when the insurrection was at its height, a decree was issued, which suspended nearly *all* the journals of a violent char-

^{95.} First measures of the Dictator's Government. July 4.

* The Ministers were: Foreign Affairs, M. Bastide; Interior, M. Senard; War, General Lamoricière; Finances, M. Goudchoux; Public Works, M. Recurt; Commerce and Agriculture, M. Turrel (de l'Allier); Justice, M. Bethmont; Public Instruction, M. Carnot; Marine, Admiral Leblanc; Chief of the National Guard, General Changarnier. Admiral Leblanc having declined the Ministry of the Marine, it was given to M. Bastide, and General Bedeau became Minister of Foreign Affairs.—*Moniteur*, June 29, 1848.

acter on either side, and even M. Emile Girardin, an able writer and journalist of moderate character, was arrested and thrown

August 1. into prison. These measures, how rigorous soever, were all ratified by a decree of the Assembly on the 1st of August, and passed unanimously.¹ "The friends of liberty," says the contemporary annalist, "observed with grief that the Republic had in a single day struck with impunity a severer blow at the liberty of the press than the preceding governments had done during thirty years." At the same time, the clubs, those great fountains of treason and disorder, were closed.

Thus was another proof added to the innumerable ones which history had previously afforded, that popular licentiousness and insurrection, from whatever cause originating, must ever end in the despotism of the sword. This, it will be said by superficial observers, is a truism which no one denies, and therefore why repeat it? It would be well for the world if no one in reality did deny it, and no deeds were done in every succeeding age inconsistent with the denial. But even if it were as universally admitted in action as it ever must be by well-informed persons in theory, that only makes it the more essential that the observation should be here repeated. The most important use of history is, in successive ages, to deduce old maxims from new facts, for that proves the unchangeableness of the moral laws of nature.

But in truth there is more in the case than this; and a new political lesson of the very highest importance may be deduced from the memorable four months of popular rule which followed the fall of Louis Philippe. Since the fall of Napoleon, two governments had been established, the first by foreign influence, and the last by domestic choice in France; and both had been overturned by popular insurrections. Each one, as it successively arose, was more rigorous and despotic than its predecessor; the government of Cavaignac was as much severer than that of Louis Philippe as the latter had been than that of

100. Continued. Louis XVIII. or Charles X. The despotism of the Dictator, however, was an escape to France from the still more rigorous and oppressive government with which they were threatened from the Socialists; for their principles were that property was the first and greatest of public robberies, and that "the only state of society in which universal felicity was practicable was that of *labor and families in common*, with the Government for the sole director over all."¹ The conclusion to be drawn from this is not merely that popular insurrection inevitably leads to military despotism, but that the rigor and severity of that despotism are in the exact proportion of the degree in which the popular element has been instrumental in bringing about the insurrection; and that, grievous as may be the oppression which follows the crushing of the revolt, it is less galling than that which would have succeeded its triumph.

It is impossible, in contemplating these memorable events, not to be struck with the providential manner in which not merely the guilt of the revolutionists was punished, but they themselves were made to inflict that punishment upon each other. Not the loyal inhabitants of La Vendée, not the royal guards of Charles X. or Louis Philippe, caused them to feel the consequences of their actions. The revolutionists had freed themselves from every restraint but the slavery of their own passions. But they remained to work out the purposes of Omnipotence, and vindicate the justice of the Divine administration. The most memorable retribution recorded in history was inflicted on the party which had achieved those guilty triumphs; but they were inflicted, not by their conquered adversaries, but by their victorious selves. Their insane passions did the work of the Almighty; the avenging angel was found in their own bosoms. They were compelled by an overruling power to inflict punishment on their most guilty ringleaders with their own hands; the other nations looked on in silence while they wrought out upon each other the behests of supreme justice.

101. The revolutionists punished each other for their sins.

101. The revolutionists punished each other for their sins.

CHAPTER LI.

FRANCE FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF CAVAIGNAC TO THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON—JUNE 24 TO DECEMBER 10, 1848.

THE removal of M. Duclerc from the Ministry of the Finances, and substitution of M. Goudchoux in his room, tore aside the veil which had hitherto been thrown over the financial affairs of the republic, and revealed in their real nakedness their disastrous position. M. Duclerc, in a report framed expressly to conceal the truth, had estimated the probable deficit at 140,000,000 francs, and he had exhibited a variety of extraordinary resources, amounting to 500,000,000 francs, consisting of loans, sales of forests and public domains, by which he expected to meet that deficit, and the probable failure to a still greater amount in the indirect taxes. But

July 3. M. Goudchoux dispelled the illusion, and demonstrated that, of all those supposed resources, none could be relied on as really available but the loan of 150,000,000 francs from the bank. To this loan he proposed to add a third more from extraordinary resources; but the loan

would be more than overbalanced by the deficiency in the indirect taxes, and the extraordinary expenses in which the republic had been involved. The 45 per cent. added to the direct taxes proved but a feeble resource for these multiplied necessities.¹

These financial measures were immediately succeeded by another of scarcely less urgency and importance. This was the commission of inquiry appointed to investigate the insurrections of May and June, and report to the Assembly who were the parties implicated, and what should be done with them. The members of the commission were appointed on the 28th June, and immediately commenced their labors. A great number of witnesses were examined, whose depositions clearly showed the causes of the insurrection to have been the extravagant but seducing doctrines taught by the Socialist leaders, which, by exciting hopes which could never be realized, necessarily led to discontent and a desire to subvert the existing government. The report of the commission was apparently in entire conformity with the evidence adduced, that the movement in May was intended to dissolve the Assembly and establish a committee of public safety; but that the insurrection in June, nominally directed to the establishment of a social and democratic republic, was in reality meant to forward pillage and murder. "There is abundant proof," it adds, "that M. Louis Blanc and M. Caussidière were no strangers to the organization of the movement of May, with Barbès, Blanqui, and Ledru-Rollin. Though, fortunately, on that occasion conquered, the cause of anarchy was never discouraged. New assistance came to its aid; anarchical speeches were sent

free of charge to the departments; the fury of the clubs was fomented; their organization improved, and power augmented. Nocturnal meetings were held in the hotel of the Minister of the Interior (Ledru-Rollin), at which projects were formed for centralizing the clubs and dominating the elections, and afterward annulling such as were hostile to the Government. The "Club of Clubs," under M. Sobrier, had collected 30,000 cartridges and several hundred muskets before the 15th May; the club of the "Rights of Man," composed of 14,000 men in Paris and 14,000 in the provinces, had established manufactories of arms, and openly prepared for war. All this went on in a still greater ratio before the insurrection in June. It was the excitation of the clubs which occasioned the civil war in that month. The insurgents had their manufactories of powder and arms, their military organization and chiefs; but the police did nothing to impede their movements. Caussidière, the head of the police, gave no orders; his subordinates knew not what to do without his directions; some saw him behind the barricades, and many more heard him defend the insurrection. M. Proudhon was also seen behind the barricades by more than one member of the Assembly; and the only explanation he could give is, that he remained there "to admire the sublime horror of the cannonade." In pursuance of this report, the Assembly, after fully hearing MM. Louis Blanc and Caussidière in their defense, formally authorized the Procureur-Général to prosecute them for their accession to the revolts of May, though not of June following. They withdrew, however, and found refuge in England, the common asylum of refugees of all nations and parties; and with their flight terminated the public career of these able but vain, ambitious, and unscrupulous men.^{1*}

Upon their removal, M. Proudhon stood forth as the leader of Socialist doctrines. He was more prudent, however, than his predecessors. Taught by the defeat of the insurrections of

* M. Proudhon, perhaps the most violent of the Socialists, admitted to the Commission d'Enquête that the insurrection of June was the work of the Socialists. His words were: "Le 23 Juin j'avais crié que c'était une conspiration des prétendants, s'appuyant sur des ouvriers des Ateliers Nationaux. J'étais trompé comme les autres. Le lendemain j'ai été convaincu que l'insurrection était Socialiste. Les Ateliers Nationaux n'en ont été que la cause occasionnelle. La cause première déterminante de l'insurrection c'était la question sociale, la crise sociale—le travail, les idées. Il m'en coûte de le dire, moi qui suis Socialiste."—Commission d'Enquête—Déposition de M. Proudhon. A happy expression of M. Trélat in the Assembly made a great impression at the time: "La vérité me force de dire que dans ses rapports avec les ouvriers M. Louis Blanc les excitait plutôt qu'il ne les apaisait, et leur inspirait la haine Espagnole plus que la fraternité Française."—*Annuaire Historique*, 1848, p. 205.

May and June, he no longer fomented open revolt. He adopted the tactics of the Liberals in the last years of Louis Philippe's reign; his whole efforts were directed to *discrediting* his opponents. In this attempt he displayed great ability; but he was more successful, as is often the case in similar undertakings, in blackening his adversaries than in whitewashing himself, and accordingly another reaped the fruits of all his exertions. He attacked all the institutions of society in the most violent manner; denounced them as violations of the rights of man, and the prolific fountain of every social suffering. He stigmatized God as "the enemy of society," priests as "paid hypocrites," property as robbery, government as usurpation. He received, in consequence, the warm acknowledgments of those of the one sex who live by crime, of the other by prostitution; and this he has himself recorded as one of his titles to public confidence.* As time went on, he promulgated his ideas more fully in various publications, in his *Journal du Peuple*, under the title of "La Banque d'Estrange," and "Son Testament de Vie et de Mort."† The object of all these efforts was to provide a substitute for capital in the maintenance of labor, realized wealth being deemed the greatest enemy and chief curse of society. "The people's bank," said he, "would have rendered you honest and real laborers; will the Revolution ever do as much for you?"

¹ *Journal du Peuple*, April 15, 1842. His wrath exhaled in an especial manner at the Jacobins, whom he considered as having betrayed the cause of the people for their own selfish ends.

"The demagogues," said he, "so well known in France during the last sixty years under the name of Jacobins, are nothing but the *Juste Milieu*, disguised under an affectation of violence and revolutionary zeal. Jacobinism desires offices, not institutions; it is the hypocrisy of progress." The termination of the public career of this dangerous zealot was neither the crown of martyrdom nor the sceptre of power; it was an ignominious end, which discredited him as much as he had his opponents. Brought before the "Cour d'Assises" on the 28th March, 1849, he was condemned to pay a fine of 8000 francs (£120), and to be imprisoned three years. He has not been since heard of in French history.²

² *Moniteur*, March 29, 1849; *Cass.* i. 448. Other changes were introduced, less exciting at the moment than these doctrines, but more important in their consequences to the country. The old restrictions upon the periodical press, which had been so much complained of in Louis

⁴ *Repressive measures.* at the moment than these doctrines, but more important in their consequences to the country. The old restrictions upon the periodical press, which had been so much complained of in Louis

* "Les prostitués et les forçats m'ont adressé des félicitations dont l'ironie obscène témoignait des égarements de l'opinion."—*PROUDHON, Confessions d'un Révolutionnaire*, ch. xi. xii.

† He formally brought forward a motion for the establishment of the "rights of labor," declaring, at the same time, that if it was not conceded there would remain only to the people the "sacred right of insurrection." The Assembly, indignant, by a great majority, passed to the order of the day, on the ground "that the proposition of the citizen Proudhon is an odious attack on the principles of public morality, a flagrant violation of the right of property, the bane of social order, and a direct incitement and appeal to the worst passions, and disgrace to the Revolution of February, by deducing such corollaries from its success."—*Moniteur*, August 1, 1848.

Philippe's time, especially that which compelled them to find caution to meet fines imposed, or damages awarded against them, were restored. A permanent law, nominally regulating, in reality suppressing, the clubs, was passed by July 25 an immense majority. The law of 2d March, imposing the restriction of ten hours on labor in Paris, and eleven in the country, was repealed, and twelve hours fixed for both; and the *octroi* on butcher-meat in towns was re-established. Imprisonment for debt, which had been abolished by a decree of the Provisional Government on March 9, was restored, after a long and animated discussion, on the 1st September. An important modification in the law regulating the formation of juries was introduced, after a vehement opposition from the extreme Liberals. By this change the jury lists, instead of being made up, as heretofore under the Republican régime, of the whole inhabitants, without distinction, who had attained the age of twenty-one years, were to be made up in each canton by a committee composed of the counselor-general of the canton, a *Juge de Paix*, and two members of the municipal council in the cantons, who were empowered to exclude persons entirely illiterate, or who had been condemned to above a year's imprisonment. At the same time, the legal age of jurymen was raised to thirty, and the majority requisite to convict was reduced from nine, to which it had been raised by a decree on 7th March, to eight. The important matter of public education underwent an anxious discussion, and was the subject of several narrow divisions. By the law, as finally adopted, primary instruction was declared to be gratuitous, and at the expense of the State. But this was rather in appearance than reality; for those among the peasantry who received tuition for their children were to pay for the schools in their local taxes; those who did not require it were to pay double. Several minute regulations were laid down for securing the appointment of proper teachers, and giving a control over their nomination to the counselor-general of the department. A proposal, brought forward by M. Crémieux, to re-establish the liberty of divorce, which had been sanctioned by the laws of the Revolution and Consulate, was rejected; and an attempt was made by the Minister of Public Instruction to establish agricultural schools at the public expense in the Departments. Thus, on all sides, legislation was retracing its steps, and seeking to re-establish those restraints on popular license which the experience of mankind in every age has proved to be indispensable.¹

M. Goudchoux, the Finance Minister, brought forward a plan of taxation, suggested rather by utter desperation at the state of the public treasury than by any possible hopes of success, which deserves attention, as well from the principles on which it was founded as from the statistical facts which it brought to light. His plan, based on the immense disproportion between the taxes affecting land or houses and those attaching to movable property or professional income, proposed to remedy the injustice by imposing a tax on incomes of the

¹ *Moniteur*, July 26, Sept. 2, 9, Oct. 19, 29, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 263, 283.

² M. Goudchoux's plan for assessing income as well as land.

latter description, so as to equalize the burdens on heritable and movable property.* By this means he hoped to attract capital to the cultivation of the soil, at present repelled from it by the enormous weight of the direct taxes exclusively affecting real property. The entire movable revenue which would then be brought within the pale of taxation he estimated at 3,000,000,000 francs, and this property he proposed to tax two per cent. The almost unanimous resistance which this financial project awakened, and which occasioned the fall of the minister who had brought it forward, is a very remarkable circumstance, singularly illustrative of the prostrate condition of French real property and agriculture. Land in France at this time was very heavily taxed; it paid £14,000,000, while the greater part of movable income was entirely exempted; yet this proposal of the Finance Minister, to lay even the moderate burden of two per cent. on movable property, was almost unanimously rejected! Considering that at least two-thirds of the deputies were the representatives of rural constituencies, this result is very remarkable, and apparently inexplicable. It strangely contrasts with the overthrow of the Derby Ministry in England in 1852, which resulted from an equally equitable attempt to extend the house-tax to houses rented from £10 to £20 a year. It seems to have arisen from the ignorance, poverty, and consequent inefficiency of the great majority of the rural electors, which rendered them incapable of any joint movement even in their own defense, and illustrates the remark, forced upon the mind by so many passages of French history in the last half century, that the effect of the Revolution has been to reduce

the rural inhabitants of France to the condition of the ryots of Hindostan.¹

These discussions yielded in magnitude and ultimate importance to those on the **FORMATION OF A CONSTITUTION**, which now forced itself upon the Assembly. The duty of framing a constitution had been devolved, in the beginning of June, on a committee composed of the most enlightened members. A preliminary question arose whether the state of siege, voted by acclamation during the revolt of June, should be continued; and General Cavaignac earnestly and emphatically declared that it should, as it was not the executive power, but the Assembly itself, which was invested with the dictatorial power, which he only wielded. The Assembly acquiesced in this view, and, by a majority of 529 to 140, determined on its continuance till the discussions on the constitution were terminated. Several journals, among others the *Gazette de France*, were suppressed; the *Constitutionnel* itself made a narrow escape during the general crusade against free discussion. These, however, were mere preliminary or precaution-

* The Minister stated the movable income of France as follows:

	France.
Profits of farmers (exclusive of rent of land)	1,066,000,000
Trade and commerce	1,100,000,000
Government offices	800,000,000
Public offices	260,000,000
Salaries	800,000,000
Dividends, government annuities, etc.	510,000,000
Total	8,536,000,000

—*Moniteur*, August 5, 1848.

ary measures; the real question at issue was the construction of a constitution. The discussion commenced on the 2d July, and was only concluded by the formal adoption of the constitution, as then modified, on 23d October. On the important question whether the Legislature should be in one or two chambers, the debate was conducted by two distinguished men, Lamartine and Odillon Barrot, whose speeches on this occasion are well worthy of being studied.¹

"I have witnessed," said Lamartine, "the misfortunes and catastrophes which have befallen a nation governed by one Legislature; but I have seen the same under a government resting on two; and I see no identity between the situation of the countries in which the latter form is established and that of our country. The examples of Great Britain and America are not applicable. In these, two Assemblies existed in consequence of the nature, ambiguity, and interests of those two great nations. Has France any aristocracy like England? No! we may say with Pascal: 'What is true beyond the Pyrenees is not true on this side of those mountains.' The considerations which led to the adoption of a Senate in America are widely different from those which have inspired the proposal for a second chamber in this country. The Senate thus represents the federal principle, which is the basis of their union, but which is not so of a republic one and indivisible. But the idea, in the present social state of France, of clothing what must be a second democratic chamber with aristocratic forms, is a dream—a chimera. It would be a real danger, a perilous step, to attempt to resuscitate an aristocracy in a democratic society. What are you all? Revolutionary statesmen; and if you would act up to that character you must divest yourselves of all historical recollections, and of all the fictions on which the royal power has recently been rested."

"How is a constitution to work in which there is a president invested with the executive powers of two chambers? He has not the power of dissolving either. Then, if a difference arises between them, or between either and himself, how is he to reconcile the difference? How are the elections of the senators to be regulated? Are they to be chosen on account of their fortunes or their age? If so elected, would they form an aristocracy in one sense of the word? Would they not rather form the representatives of the bankers and the *Chaussée d'Antin*? They would be, not the *Chevaliers de l'Épée*, but the *Chevaliers de la Bourse*. Would you be justified in laying down a certain age or fortune as an indispensable preliminary to an election for the upper chamber? Could you say to Franklin, or to Royer-Collard, 'your years do not admit of your sitting in the junior chamber; go to the chamber of the ancients, to the Luxembourg, and leave this chamber to its youth and inexperience?' Menaced on all sides, society as at present will for long be under the necessity of recurring to the protection of a dictator. In such a case who is to elect him? Is the choice to be confided to the two Assemblies, almost certain in that event to be at variance with each other, or is it to be intrusted

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 299, 301.

⁷ Argument of Lamartine for a single Chamber.

⁸ Continued.

to the one to the exclusion of the other? If committed to one man to avoid the difficulty, what security have we that the choice would be rightly exercised? It might be between a monk and a Napoleon."

"The project of establishing a single chamber," said M. Odillon Barrot, in reply, ^{9.} Answer of "is one of the most insane, and fatal Odillon to democracy itself, which can enter Barrot into a human head. What we are now called upon to organize is a permanent convention. To found a constitution, a constituent assembly is necessary — unity is indispensable to the work of creation. Every power effecting a revolution, demolishing an old edifice, should be single. The Convention, assailed by foreign and domestic foes, did not establish by its side an independent executive power, but a power which it could send to the scaffold if its mandates were disobeyed or proved unsuccessful. If the Assembly now votes one chamber with a dependent executive, it will restore the Convention in all its omnipotence, for the executive power which itself has created must either yield obedience to its mandates or be itself destroyed. The question then is, whether it is either necessary or expedient to resort to so extreme a measure when not impelled to it by any necessity; to do that when at peace with all the world, and distracted by no internal convulsion, which was only justified formerly by the assault of Europe and the dangers of the Vendean war.

"What is the cause of the universal uneasiness and perturbation which prevail, and the general feeling in favor of a dictatorship? It rests upon the opinion so often proved by experience, now generally admitted, that democracy can not regulate or moderate itself. All democracies have begun by establishing one single legislative power, but experience soon taught them that a balance was indispensable, and that a power responsible to none—the most omnipotent that can be desired—must soon fall from its very weight if uncontrolled. It is true there is now no aristocracy in France, and it is also true that France can never become, like America, a federal union of separate republics. There is but one force in France, the democratic force; but does it follow from that circumstance that that single force is to be altogether uncontrolled? Can democracy not be tempered by democracy, and can we not discover in republican institutions such a controlling power? The Council of State can not act as such a controlling power; it is a mere consulting council, to whom projects of change are to be submitted before they are brought before the Assembly. During eighteen years I have labored in vain to consolidate this constitutional system under the monarchy; but all those efforts were rendered nugatory the moment Louis Philippe resolved to liberate himself from control, and to establish on the throne a system abhorred by the country. What I failed in doing to the monarchy I now would wish to render to the republic. Pretenders are not to be

^{10.} Continued. ¹ *Moniteur*, Sept. 28, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1843, 312-314. feared; democracy has no other enemy to fear but itself; and it will be saved only on the day when it is organized and regulated."

The Assembly, as might have been anticipated, decided in favor of one chamber by a majority

of 530 to 289. The "sovereign power" of legislation accordingly was vested in a single Assembly, and Lamartine, who was not without a secret hope of becoming its ruler, was triumphant. But the all-important question remained, by whom was the president of the Chamber to be appointed, and what were to be his powers as the avowed chief magistrate of the republic? Opinions were much divided on this point, some adhering to an election by the Assembly, others to a direct appeal to the people. Contrary to expectation, M. de Lamartine supported the nomination by the whole inhabitants of France. M. Leblond was the chief orator on the other side; and as it was fully anticipated that the people, if left to themselves, would choose a conservative president, he was supported by the whole extreme democratic party in the Assembly.¹

"When the people make choice of their representatives," said he, "if they commit an error in their selection, they soon have it in their power to rectify it, either by dismissing him at the next election, or by neutralizing his vote by that of others more to their mind. The choice of good men may be thus made to compensate those of bad ones. But who is to correct a mistake in the choice of a President of the Republic? What incalculable consequences may flow from the unhappy choice of such an officer! and how much are the fruits of a false step in this particular aggravated by its requiring to be taken in the first years of the republic! What a combination of qualities is required in such a magistrate at this time! Dignity to sustain the reputation of France abroad; firmness, mingled with moderation, to restrain its passions within; the hand which can at once protect liberty and restrain its excesses; modesty and disinterestedness, alike proof against the seductions and the mortifications of power. Will not his responsibility give him more right in imposing on him more rigorous duties? Will he not be naturally anxious to illustrate his brief tenure of power, and to leave in history some larger record of his reign than a mere date? Under the constitutional régime ambition centres on the minister's portfolios, and their keepers may be changed. But who is to change an immovable president, a king whose reign is to last four years? Can any thing be so insane, therefore, as to intrust the choice of such a powerful and lasting magistrate, not to an Assembly whose members have been selected for their eminence, and enlightened by their experience of public affairs, but to a huge body of general electors, the vast majority of whom must necessarily be ignorant alike of the qualities required in a president and of those which distinguish the different candidates for that office?"

Powerful as these considerations were, they did not deter M. de Lamartine from strongly supporting the direct appeal to the people. He could not be convinced of the fatal blow which his popularity had received from his coalition with Ledru-Rollin. He still thought he was lord of the ascendant, and would be the people's choice if the nomination was vested in their hands. "If you

^{11.} Result of the debate. Sept. 27, 1848.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 317-319; *Moniteur*, Oct. 4, 1848.

^{12.} Argument in favor of an election of the President by the Chamber.

desire," said he, "a president of the republic, he must be named by the republic. Appointed by the Chamber, he would never be more than its delegate. Such a system would virtually destroy the executive. Would he not be of necessity pledged to the majority which had elected him—a majority, it may be, of only ten or twenty votes? What a phantom of authority would a president thus elected prove! and what influence could he have either in asserting externally the dignity of France or in repressing within its internal factions? Even supposing the people, impelled by a general and irresistible impulse, should fix their choice upon some dangerous character, my decision would be the same—*Alia jacta est*: the die is cast; let God and the people declare the result. We must leave something to Providence.

"Possibly we may perish in the undertaking; and I say this not in the spirit of a menace to myself or my friends, but as a title to glory. I hope better things, however, of France: I hope so firmly and confidently. Should it, however, prove otherwise, and the people be deceived in their choice; if they are determined to disavow us and themselves, and resolved to renounce the immense hopes which may legitimately be formed from popular rule; if they are determined to repudiate their security, their future, their liberty—on their heads rests the responsibility, and not on us, whose merit it has been to have restored their liberty, and left them only the task of guarding and protecting it. But I repeat it: if they are resolved to recur to the conditions of the monarchy; if they will throw away the future which lies before them, to pursue some delusive meteor, they are their own masters: they may do so; they are their own sovereign. It is not for us to say, Hitherto shalt thou come, and no farther; or here shalt thou go, and not there: if they are determined to ruin themselves, we shall say with the vanquished at Pharsalia,

'Victrix causa deus placuit, sed victa Catoni.'

And that protest, which will be the eternal accusation of a nation imprudent and abandoned enough thus to abandon its liberty, will be a sufficient vindication of us in the eyes of posterity."¹

When language of this very remarkable kind was used by one who had been the principal mover of the Revolution in February, and for long the idol of its supporters, it was evident that some very marked change, known to and understood by all, had taken place in the ruling power in the Republic. This was really the case: by extending the suffrage to all France, the revolutionists had dug the grave of their own power. The result, accordingly, decisively demonstrated the strength of this feeling even in the first Assembly elected under universal suffrage, and how well founded were the mournful prognostications of Lamartine as to the approaching extinction of liberty by the very completeness of the triumph of its supporters. In the final division on the subject, it was carried by a majority of 391—the numbers being 602 to 211—that the choice of a President should be referred by the Assembly to the people. This was equivalent to electing Prince Louis Napoleon at once

to that high office, as it was perfectly understood that the great majority of the electors would choose him for President. It appears at first sight strange how, when this was the real object of the large majority in the Assembly, they did not adopt the shorter and straightforward course of themselves electing him. But the motive, when once revealed, is perfectly intelligible: it was terror. They resolved to throw the responsibility of his election on the people at large, for the same reason that the Girondists advocated the appeal to the people, with the design of saving Louis XVI. In both cases the National Assembly sought to do indirectly what they wished, but had not the courage openly to propose.¹

The formation of the constitution having been at length concluded, it was finally

adopted, on 4th November, by a majority of 737 to 30 votes. Among the dissentients were MM. Pierre Leroux and Proudhon, extreme Communists, and MM. Berryer and De Larochefoucauld, Royalists. Victor Hugo and M. de Montalembert were also in the minority, though no two men could be found whose opinions on general subjects were more opposite. So decided had the bent of the nation now become to conservative principles, that out of fifteen members elected for the Assembly to fill up vacancies in October, only three were republican; and of these, two—MM. Arago and Laudrin—were decidedly opposed to Communist principles. On the evening of the day on which it was adopted by the Assembly, the intelligence was communicated to the Parisians by 101 guns discharged from the Invalides. The sound at first excited the utmost alarm, as it was feared the civil war was renewed: when it was known that it was *only the announcement of a constitution*, the panic subsided, and the people, careless and indifferent, dispersed to their homes. The formal proclamation took place on the Sunday following, amidst the roar of cannon, and all the pomp of military display. But the people had been too much accustomed to those pageants, and were too well aware, from dear-bought experience, of the fragile nature of such constitutions, to evince any enthusiasm on the occasion. The weather was dark and gloomy, and by some it was deemed of sinister augury that, before the spectacle was over, a heavy fall of snow chilled the feelings and dispersed the crowds of the spectators.²

By the constitution thus adopted the form of government in France was declared to be republican, the electors being chosen by universal suffrage, and the president in the same way. The right of the working classes to employment was negatived, it being declared, however, that the Government, so far as its resources went, was to furnish labor to the unemployed. The punishment of death was abolished in purely political offenses. Slavery was to be abolished in every part of the French dominions. The right of association and public meeting was guaranteed; voting, whether for the representatives or the president, was to be by ballot; the representatives once chosen might be re-elected any number of times. The president required to be a French citizen, of at least thirty

¹ *Moniteur*, October 8, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 819, 820.

^{16.} Adoption and proclamation of the Constitution. November 4.

¹ *Moniteur*, October 7, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 817, 819.

^{15.} Result of the division on the subject. October 7.

² *Moniteur*, October 8, 1848; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 802; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 822-824.

years of age, and one who had not lost on any occasion his right of citizenship. He was to be elected for four years, and a simple majority was to determine the election. The return of votes was to be immediately forwarded by the returning officers to the Assembly, who were to scrutinize them. Should no candidate have an absolute majority of the whole votes, the Assembly were to choose the president from among the five standing highest on the list. The president was re-eligible after having served the first four years; he was to reside in the palace of the Assembly, and receive a salary of 600,000 francs a year. A vice-president, also for four years, was to be appointed by the Assembly on the nomination of the president, within a month after his election, and in case of his absence or illness he was to exercise the power of president; but in the event of death or resignation, a new president was to be chosen by the people at large. The whole ministers of state were to be appointed by the president, who also was to command the armed force, declare peace and war, conduct negotiations with foreign powers, and generally exercise all the powers of sovereignty, with the exception of appointing the judges of the Supreme Courts in Paris, who were to be named by the Assembly, and to hold their offices for life. Political offenses were to be tried by jury. The *Juges de Paix*, as well as all subordinate judges and functionaries, were to be appointed by the president. The armed forces were never to deliberate; substitutes for military service were prohibited, all the citizens being called indiscriminately to the duty of defending the country. The Legion of Honor was maintained, but its statutes were to be remodeled in conformity with the democratic principle. The

¹ See Const. tution, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 40-47; Doc. Hist.; Moniteur, Nov. 5, 1848.

Disguised under the form of a republic, this constitution was in reality monarchical, for the president was invested with all the substantial power of sovereignty; and as he was capable of being re-elected, his tenure of office might be prolonged for an indefinite period. The extreme republicans distinctly perceived this; and as a sure instinct told them that Prince Louis Napoleon was sure to be elected president, they wished to make the best use of the intervening time to renew the most violent democratic agitation. Taking advantage of the article in the constitution which permitted political associations and meetings, the clubs were all reopened, and the most vigorous efforts were made to recover the democratic power. But though the attempt led to several local disorders and tumults, which had sometimes a threatening aspect, the movement had very little success. The flame of democracy had burned out, or been extinguished in the blood of the barricades. The chief Socialist leaders were in prison or exile on account of their real or supposed accession to the insurrection in June; and such as remained found it impossible to restore the passions which had led to such disastrous results. All eyes were now fixed on the election of the president; and though there were several candidates for that high office, yet it

was soon apparent that the suffrage would really come to be divided between two—General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon.¹

The door had already been opened to the latter by an election which took place at Paris on the 17th September, when the young Prince was again elected by a large majority. Four other Departments in the country had already elected him. On this occasion he no longer hesitated, but accepted his election for the Department of the Seine. He took his seat on the 26th September, and made the following speech on the occasion, which was very favorably received by the Assembly: "Citizen representatives, I can no longer maintain silence after the calumnies of which I have been the object. I require to announce openly, and on this the first occasion on which I have been permitted to take my seat among you, the sentiments which animate, and have always animated me. After three-and-thirty years of proscription and exile, I at length find myself among you, I again regain my country and my rights as one of its citizens. It is to the republic that I owe that happiness; let the republic then receive my oath of gratitude, of devotion; and let my generous fellow-citizens, to whom I am indebted for my seat in its Legislature, feel assured that I will strive to justify their suffrages, by laboring with you for the maintenance of tranquillity, the first necessity of the country, and for the development of the democratic institutions which the country is entitled to reclaim. For long I have been able only to consecrate to France the meditations of exile and captivity; now the career on which you have entered is open to me; receive me into your ranks, my dear colleagues, with the same sentiments of affection with which I am inspired toward you. My conduct, ever guided by a sense of duty and respect for the laws, will prove, in opposition to the passions by which I have been maligned and still blackened, that none is more anxious than I am to devote myself to the defense of order and the consolidation of the republic."

Threatened by this formidable entrant into the Assembly, and alarmed at the manifestation of conservative feeling which was every day becoming more conspicuous, the Socialists and extreme Democrats had recourse to the tactics which had proved so successful in the last days of Louis Philippe's reign. They got up a series of banquets both in Paris and the provinces, at which the retrograde policy was violently assailed, and the universal misery which prevailed ascribed, not to the Revolution, but to the Assembly, which had receded from its principles. M. Ledru-Rollin attended one of these festivals held in Paris on 22d September, and indignantly asked, "What has been done since the 24th of February? I much fear that we have not advanced far in that time, and that we are already very far from the principles of February. The men of February are now, under the pressure of the majority, excluded from all the situations which they then held." On the same day a banquet, presided over by the prefect, was held at Toulouse, where, amidst thunders of applause, the most inflammatory

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 327-329.

19.

Return of Louis Napoleon, and his entry into the Assembly.

² Moniteur, Sept. 27, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 329, 330.

20.

Renewed ban-quet agitation.

Sept. 22.

language was used: "Mort aux réclus," "Mort aux Prêtres," "A bas l'Assemblée Nationale," "Vive Barbès," "Vive la Guillotine," were heard on all sides. A similar demonstration took place on the same day, accompanied by similar excesses, at Bourges; but although these revolutionary orgies excited great uneasiness in Paris, and were the subject of warm debates and bitter reproaches in the Assembly, they were in reality not formidable. The revolutionary action was extinct in France; all classes, except a few agitators who hoped to profit by them, sighed for a termination of the convulsions, and a return to the paths of peaceful industry. So evidently was this the national wish, so immense the majority who were actuated by it, that although the banquets still continued, and anarchical toasts, amidst loud applause, were drunk both in Paris and the Departments, the Assembly felt it safe to terminate the state of siege in the capital, which was brought to a conclusion on the 19th October.¹

Meanwhile the contest for the presidency was daily becoming more vehement between General Cavaignac and Louis Napoleon. Had it taken place at an earlier period, before the nation had had practical experience of the effects of revolutionary government, it is probable that the former might have been the successful candidate; for he had many advantages in his favor, a character long established for republican principles, undaunted resolution in the suppression of anarchy, and the actual possession of supreme unlimited power, with all the patronage consequent on its enjoyment. But at this stage of the movement the chances had turned against him. His reign was inseparably connected in the minds, especially of the rural electors, with the prolongation of the revolutionary régime, and with it its emences, its bankruptcies, and total cessation of prosperous industry. What they desired was a MONARCH, who might terminate all these evils, and restore the prosperity which, ever since the convulsion of February, had been unknown in France. This monarch they hoped to find in Louis Napoleon. The elder Bourbons were banished; the younger branch discredited; but the Napoleon dynasty remained unstained by faction, undiscredited by folly; and it was under the shelter of its illustrious name that the country could alone hope to regain tranquillity. Beyond all doubt, the great majority of the rural electors thought that, in voting for Louis Napoleon, they were closing the republican régime, and in effect enthroning an emperor. Prudent and sagacious, waiting his time, and careful "not to pluck the pear till it was ripe," the future president, while these ideas were spreading in men's minds, was cautious not to alarm the jealousy of the republicans by any open disclosure of his ultimate views. On the contrary, they were, when imprudently revealed by his partisans, studiously and emphatically denied by himself.^{2*}

* "Des personnes bien informées ayant averti le Représentant Louis Buonaparte que de sots gens travaillent dans l'ombre, et préparent une émeute en son nom, dans le but évident de le compromettre aux yeux des hommes d'ordre, et des Républicains sincères, Louis Napoleon a

Meanwhile, General Cavaignac, supported by his cabinet and all the official persons by whom he was surrounded, could not be brought to perceive the truth as to the chances of his succeeding in the election. He was not, however, without misgivings as to the result, and was alternately sanguine in his hopes and gloomy in his anticipations. The greatest difficulty with which he had to contend was to repel the assaults made upon him in reference to his military conduct on occasion of the revolt in June. Civilians, of whom the great majority of the Assembly was composed, could not be brought to understand why the insurrection had been allowed to acquire such a head before it was seriously attacked, and indignantly asked where were the 20,000 regular troops at his disposal when the half of Paris was occupied by the insurgents, and barricades in every direction were erected on the evening of the 28d June. His assailants even went so far as to reproach him with being actuated with ambitious motives on that occasion, and involving the capital in bloodshed and massacre in order to secure the conferring of dictatorial power upon himself. The reply of the General was nervous and eloquent. After recounting the military reasons which rendered it indispensable not to divide his forces in presence of so formidable a mass of insurgents, and the disastrous consequences which might have followed the defection or defeat of any considerable body of regular troops, he added: "Be explicit in your charges. Say, have you not endeavored to drag to that bar a General charged with being negligent, inert, incapable? Speak out boldly, for he is before you. He takes the nation for his judges. If you wish to denounce him as a mere ambitious villain, a traitor, who has sought to cut a path to the dictatorship for himself across blood and ruins—speak now; let there be no false delicacy, no equivocation. It is not my ability which is at issue, but my honor; it is no longer the statesman who speaks, but the soldier, and him you will not refuse to hear. You think to serve the Republic by your violence; the day will come when it will be seen whether you or I have most effectually served it. I know not whether M. Ledru-Rollin has separated from me or I from him; but this I do know, that a separation exists, and that, so far as I am concerned, it is likely to be eternal." Upon this debate General Cavaignac was supported by a majority of 583 to 170; a result highly gratifying to his feelings, and such as was obviously conformable to the justice of the case.^{1*}

cru devoir faire part de ces bruits à M. Dufaure, Ministre de l'Intérieur. Il a ajouté qu'il repoussait énergiquement toute participation à des menées et complètement contraires à ses sentiments politiques, et à la conduite qu'il a tenue depuis le 24 Février."—*Journal des Débats*, Oct. 24, 1848.

* The following conversation, recorded by Lord Normanby, between General Cavaignac and the members of the Provisional Government on the evening of the 28d June, will explain better than any thing else the General's military reasons for his conduct on the 28d June: "Une dernière tentative fut faite auprès du Général, MM. Arago, Marie, Lamartine, Ledru-Rollin, avec M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire le pressant de commencer l'attaque. Le Général fut inflexible, et les instances dont il était l'objet irritant sa colère, 'Croyez vous,' dit-il, 'que je sois ici pour défendre vos Parisiens, votre

¹ *Moniteur*, November 22, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 340-342; *Normanby*, ii. 290, 294, 315.

Previous to going to the poll, General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon issued addresses to the electors, which are of value as indicating the political parties and principles which they respectively represented. Cavaignac said: "The existence of the Republic is essentially linked with the maintenance of political and social order. The Republic without order, order without the Republic, are now alike impossible, and he who would attempt to separate them is a dangerous citizen, whom reason condemns and the country should disavow. Strive to imbibe these ideas, and to diffuse them among the citizens by whom you are surrounded. Founded on the great principle of universal suffrage, as it is now definitively fixed in its application, the constitution of the Republic gives full liberty to discussion, and thereby takes away all excuse for insurrection or revolt; for on what pretext can a faction, which is in a minority by the vote, pretend to be in a majority by rebellion? On the other hand, in presence of the incessant application of universal suffrage, where is the authority which could even dream of attempting to corrupt it? Universal suffrage is in itself the entire Revolution; every other principle is but an emanation and corollary from it. In the very first rank of those consequences you must consider that which places power under the action and immediate control of the majority. In the new condition which the Revolution has imposed on the Republic, to forget these principles would be a grave fault in any one; but a positive crime in any one who, invested with any species of authority, should come to forget its source and foundation. The first result, the first danger of such an error, would be the annihilation of the power which had thus denied its origin and belied its principles."

¹ *Moniteur*,
Nov. 10, 1848.

Louis Napoleon's address was more specific in the delineation of the policy which, in the event of success, he would pursue as chief magistrate of the Republic. He thus expressed himself: "I am *not so ambitious as to dream sometimes of the Empire, sometimes of war, sometimes of the application of subversive theories. Educated in free countries, in the school of misfortune, I shall always remain faithful to the duties which your suffrages may impose upon me. If I become President, I will recoil from no danger, no sacrifice, to defend society so audaciously attacked: I will devote myself, body and soul, without arrière pensée, to the consolidation of a Republic wise by its laws, honorable by its intentions, great and powerful by its actions. I shall consider my honor pledged at the expiration of four years*

Garde Nationale? Qu'elle protège la ville et ses boutiques? Je ne veux pas disséminer mes troupes—Je me rappelle 1830; je me rappelle Février. Si une seule de mes compagnies est désarmée, si nous subissons encore est affront, je me brûle la cervelle: je ne survivrai pas au déshonneur.' On eut beau représenter au Général que son suicide ne remédierait à rien, qu'il s'agissait d'enlever les barricades qu'il avait laissé former. Aucun argument ne put le décider à donner l'ordre de l'attaque; le moment décisif ne lui parut pas encore venu. On ajoutait que les insurgés gagnaient à tout instant du terrain. 'Que m'importe?' répondit le Général: 'eh bien, s'ils sont maîtres de Paris, je me retirerai avec mon armée dans les plaines de St. Denis, et je leur livrerai bataille.'—'Oui,' dit M. Arago, 'mais ils ne vous y sauveront pas.'—NORMANBY, II. 323.

to leave to my successor power confirmed, liberty intact, real progress accomplished. Whatever may be the result of the election, I shall bow to the will of the people; and my support is pledged beforehand to any government which may re-establish order in men's minds, as in material things; effectually protect religion, family property, the eternal bases of every social state; which may anticipate practical reforms, calm hatreds, reconcile parties, and permit a disquieted country to count upon the morrow. To re-establish order is to restore confidence, to provide by credit for the passing embarrassment of our finances, to restore the revenue, to reanimate commerce. To protect religion and family rights is to secure liberty of worship and education. To protect property is to maintain the inviolability of the produce of labor, to guarantee the independence and security of possession, the indispensable foundations of civil liberty.

"As to possible reforms, the following appear to me to be the most indispensable:

To admit every economy which, without disorganizing the public service, may permit an alleviation of the imposts most burdensome to the people; to encourage enterprise, which, by developing the riches of agriculture, may, in France and Algeria, furnish work to the unemployed; to provide for the relief of old age by encouraging foresight among laborers, and to introduce into the laws affecting industry modifications which, without ruining the rich for the benefit of the poor, may found the well-being of each upon the prosperity of all: to restrain within just limits the number of employments which depend on power, and often convert a free people into a nation of beggars: to avoid that fatal tendency which prompts the State to undertake itself what can be better done by private individuals.—The centralization of interests is the policy of despotism; the nature of a republic excludes the idea of monopoly. In fine, to preserve the Press from its two dangers—arbitrary oppression, and its own licentiousness.

"War would bring us no alleviation of our evils. Peace is the dearest object of my desires. France, during the first Revolution, was warlike because Europe compelled her to become so. She answered invasion by conquest. Now that it is not provoked, it is at liberty to consecrate its resources to pacific ameliorations, without renouncing a loyal and resolute policy. A great nation should either remain silent, or never speak in vain. To think of the national dignity is to think of the army, whose noble and disinterested patriotism has so often been misunderstood. It is necessary, while maintaining the fundamental laws which constitute the strength of our military organization, to lighten, and not increase, the burden of the conscription. It is time to devise measures for the present and future well-being not only of the officers, but of the sub-officers and soldiers, and to procure for men who have long served their country a comfortable existence. The Republic should be generous, and have trust in its fortunes. For my own part, having known exile and captivity, I daily invoke for my country the day when it can with safety terminate all proscriptions, and efface the last traces of our civil wars. The task is difficult,

²⁵ Continued.

²⁶ Concluded.

the mission immense, but I shall never despair of executing it when calling to my aid all those, without distinction of party, whom public opinion has recommended, by their enlightened intelligence and approved probity.

¹ Histoire de Napoleon III., par M. Gay, 174-176.

When you have the honor to be at the head of the French people, there is a sure mode of doing good, which is to wish it."

This remarkable letter is well worthy of a place in general history, not only from its containing a complete abstract of the opinions and policy of the very eminent man who has since played so memorable a part on the imperial throne, but because it bears in itself unmistakable traces of his own thought and composition. It contributed greatly to increase the chances in his favor; and they were still further added to by a calamitous series of events, to be detailed in the succeeding chapter, which involved the Italian revolution in murder, convulsion, and disgrace. Count Rossi, the French representative at the court of Rome, had been foully assassinated by a band of Roman desperadoes on the steps of the Hall of the National Assembly, and the Pope reduced to such straits by the violence of the revolutionists that he had in the most abject manner solicited assistance from France, not so much to reinstate him in his authority as to save his life, which appeared to be in imminent danger. To this request General Cavaignac had acceded, and an expedition was fitted out to take possession of Rome. To this step General Cavaignac was moved by the consideration that, if France did not render the aid requested, Austria would, and the influence of a rival power be thereby established in an important point of the Italian peninsula. But the tendering the solicited aid was attended with a difficulty to the executive government, of a peculiarly embarrassing character, on the eve of the election for a chief magistrate of the Republic. The succor was to be sent, not to aid the Italian movement, but to check it, and this by a Government of a decidedly revolutionary character, and which only eight months before had owed its existence to the overthrow of an established sovereign! The obvious inconsistency of this struck the zealous French Liberals with astonishment, and filled them with indignation. However weighty might be the political considerations which induced the French Government to support the Pope in order to exclude the Austrians, they were less exciting than the prospect of extending the cause of Liberalism by openly aiding the insurgents; and General Cavaignac found himself not a little embarrassed by this charge of inconsistency in the contest for the presidency. Another incident, scarcely less damaging to the revolutionary Government, was the discovery that, among the persons to whom national recompenses had been awarded, were to be found the names of nearly all the assassins who had attempted the lives of the late King or of the royal family.²

² Normanby, II. 333-337; Ann. Hist. 1848, 342-345.

* La Femme de Pepin et ses enfans une pension de 500 francs chacun; La Sœur de l'assassin Lecomte, 500 francs; Boucheron, assassin des Duc d'Orléans et Nemours, 500 francs; Coffineau, voleur, condamné à six ans de détention, 800 francs.—Ann. Hist., 1848, p. 343, note.

As the time of the election approached, the anxiety of General Cavaignac and his friends painfully increased, and the influence of Government was used in the most unsparing and unblushing way to secure his success. But it was all in vain. When the day arrived, although in a few great towns Cavaignac had the majority, the most stunning accounts poured in from all sides of the great adverse majorities in the Departments; and at length, when the lists were summed up, there appeared no less than 5,834,226 votes for Louis Napoleon, and only 1,448,107 for Cavaignac! The other numbers were so much below that they were not worth mentioning. Ledru-Rollin had only 870,119 votes; the Socialist Raspail, 36,226; Lamartine, 19,900; General Changarnier, 4700! The National Assembly, as a matter of course, declared Louis president, and he took the prescribed oath, which was in these terms: Dec. 20. "In the presence of God, and of the French people, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic Republic one and indivisible, and to discharge all the duties imposed on me by the constitution." Never had the voice of a nation spoken out more decidedly than that of France did on this occasion. The result completely demonstrated the truth of General Cavaignac's remark to Lord Normanby: "The Revolution was the work of a *tyrant minority*." "It remains only," said M. de Tocqueville, "to be seen whether it is the *Revolution or the Revolutionists* whom the country can not abide."¹

Although Cavaignac did his utmost to bear his defeat with dignity, he could not avoid a little display of ill-humor when the ceremony of inauguration was going on; and when Prince Louis, at its close, went up and held out his hand to him, though he took it, he turned aside his head, and did not rise up. Lamartine's character as a public man was completely lost, as was proved by the miserable minority which voted for him: he had never recovered his unprincipled coalition with Ledru-Rollin to secure a place in the Government chosen by the Assembly, and he had lost the only opportunity which presented itself of regaining it, which was by making a bold and manly speech when the insurrection of June was under discussion. He had in private been loud and unmeasured in his abuse of General Cavaignac for his conduct on that occasion, and he was known to be in possession of its secret history; but he never mounted the tribune when it was under discussion. When Garnier Pages descended from it, he said to Lamartine across several other members, "Now, if you do not speak; you are ruined as a public man." He did not do so, and sank to rise no more. Serious apprehensions were entertained of popular violence on occasion of so great a defeat of the Radical party, and the funds fell rapidly; but the precautions taken by the Government were so complete that the eventful day which terminated the popular reign passed over without any disturbance.²

The first care of the new President was to appoint a Ministry, the list of which appeared in the *Moniteur* the day after his election. The ministers chosen were probably the best he could

¹ Moniteur, Dec. 21, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 342-344; Normanby, II. 375.

² Normanby, II. 371-375; Ann. Hist. 1848, 345.

have got under the circumstances, but they presented few names of note. M. Odilon Barrot was the President of the Council; M. Drouhyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Léon de Maleville, Minister of the Interior; General Rulhières, Minister at War; M. de Tracy, of the Marine; M. de Talloux, of Public Worship and Instruction; M. Bixis, of Agriculture and Commerce; M. Hippolyte Passy, of Finance. The Cabinet was the representative of the opposition which had overturned the Orleans dynasty. It was an ominous circumstance, however, that none of the experienced statesmen of the Orleans time were to be found in the Administration. The new President had declared that he would select his Cabinet from men of acknowledged ability, of whatever party: but neither M. Guizot, nor M. Thiers, nor M. de Lamartine, nor M. de Montalembert, were there. Mediocrity was its characteristic; pliant ability appeared to be the chief recommendation to admission into it. This is always the case with governments selected under popular influence, save when instant danger compels the people to give themselves masters,

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 345; Moniteur, December 21, 1848.

not servants, by placing real ability at the helm. Aristocracy is jealous of talent when not entirely subservient, but democracy is much more so.¹

The first care of the new Ministry was to endeavor to provide for the financial necessities of the State. This was a subject which could no longer be delayed; for the exigencies of the country, from the increase of expenditure on the one hand, and the diminution of income on the other, had come to such a point that absolute bankruptcy stared the nation in the face. The Government being now changed, the veil was rudely drawn from this important subject, and the difficulties in which the Revolution had involved the country were presented in undisguised colors. From the statement of the Finance Minister it appeared that the expenses of the year had been 1,802,000,000 francs, while the receipts were only 1,883,000,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 419,000,000 francs, to be provided for by loans or extraordinary resources. To meet this deficit, no less than 103,790,000 francs had been borrowed from the sinking fund, 250,000,000 francs from other sources, and a floating debt of 150,000,000 francs from the Bank of France! The estimate for the succeeding year was equally alarming. The demands of Government for that year would exceed those of the present by 32,000,000 francs, and the probable deficit at the end of the year would exceed 400,000,000 francs! With truth did the Finance Minister say, that "these figures were more eloquent than any words which he could utter." No less than 270,000,000 francs of this large sum were occasioned by the extra expenses of the Provisional Government and Assembly. The expenditure of France in this year was nearly double of what it had been in the latter years of Charles X., when it had been 940,000,000 francs.²

The comparative produce of the direct and indirect taxes in France during the years 1846, 1847, and 1848 is still more descriptive of the effect of the social convulsions on the industry and

prosperity of the country. Between the years 1847 and 1848 the falling off in the indirect taxes was 125,000,000 francs; and the direct taxes, which were calculated on as producing, with the es and of imports, 45 per cent., 623,456,000 francs, realized only 527,994,000 francs—leaving a deficit of no less than 95,462,000 francs on the part of the direct imposts, even with the heavy addition made to this amount, which, on paper, was estimated at 162,524,000 francs! The imports and exports did not present a more flattering aspect. Taken together, they exhibited a falling off of 599,000,000 francs, or about 23 per cent. on the produce of the preceding year. The "special commerce," as the French call it, which is the imports for national consumption, and the exports of the produce of national industry, exhibited a still more alarming decline: they had sunk, taken together, 26 per cent.; and the impositions, taken alone, no less than 43 per cent. The shipping had fallen off in a similar proportion; it had declined from 8,146,000 tons in 1847, to 1,965,000 tons in 1848, which showed a sinking of 27 per cent. The decline in articles imported required in manufactures showed how grievously they had suffered: those of silk had sunk from 76,000,000 lb. to 38,000,000 lb.; while the decline on the duty on sugar showed how seriously the consumption by the working classes of that necessary article had been affected, for it had decreased in amount and value no less than 48,000,000 francs.¹

When such had been the result of the Revolution to the material interests of the nation, it was not surprising that all classes were discontented with it, and that the repose was universally sighed for which the convulsion had so violently interrupted. Revolution had worked out its natural fruits in ruining the industry of the whole nation. The continuance of its régime was desired only by the insurrectionary leaders who had been, or hoped to be, elevated to greatness by a continuance of the public disturbances. To them, however, the result of the election of the President had been a matter of the most unbounded astonishment and of extreme mortification. Nothing could bring them to see that the domination of the Parisian clubs was regarded with very different eyes in the solitude of the fields from what it was in the streets of the metropolis. The result, however, is fraught with a political lesson of extreme importance, and which, though often enunciated in former days, had been well-nigh lost sight of amidst the mingled enthusiasm and heart-burnings consequent on the French Revolution. This is, that while the strength of democracy is always to be found in the *prolétaires* of great towns or mining and manufacturing districts, that of Conservatism is to be sought in the country proprietors; and that that State is most likely to stand the shock best which contains the greatest number of independent *rural* freeholders. Beyond all doubt it was the multitude of these which was the main cause of the triumphant return of Louis Napoleon for the President's chair. The peasant proprietors understood they were voting for an emperor, and the suppression of the clubs of Paris, when they recorded their suffrages for

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 354-356.

² The Revolution had been buried in the grave of universal suffrage.

him. Tenacious beyond any other class of their little possessions, and averse to burdens being imposed on them, the determination of these proprietors was taken the moment they heard of the Ateliers Nationaux at Paris, and the addition of forty-five per cent. to the direct taxes to maintain them.

But it is not to be supposed from this that the same will hold in all countries placed in different circumstances, or that because universal suffrage has at last proved the grave of democracy in revolutionized France, therefore

34. Which would not be the case in Great Britain. it would prove the same in un-revolutionized England. It was not so at first. Universal suffrage on the other side of the Channel in 1792 produced not the Assembly of 1848, but the Convention. It placed at the helm not a Louis Napoleon, but a Robespierre. A nation which has gone through a revolution may be expected to return to conservative principles when intrusted with the powers of self-government; but one which has not done so will most assuredly plunge into the vortex. Nothing is so perilous as to trust to the good sense of a large body of men when their passions are strongly inflamed. Reason and knowledge can not be supposed to rule the great majority, although passion and delusion may. Nothing but bitter and dear-bought experience can be relied on to withstand their fascination. Before revolution a "Tory democracy" is a myth; after such an event it may sometimes prove a reality.

In addition to this there is one important specialty in the political condition of Great Britain at this time which renders it peculiarly hazardous to act on the dream of a Tory democracy. There are at this time in Great Britain about

an equal number of persons dependent on agriculture and on manufactures: each are about ten and a half millions. 35. Ireland Supposing these different bodies of men to be swayed, upon the whole, by their respective instincts and traditions, the number of their representatives should be about equal, and in that event the balance would be cast by the members for Ireland. As above two-thirds of them sit for counties, this in the ordinary case should secure a majority for the Conservative interests. But in Ireland the case is just the reverse; the most violent members of the movement party are to be found in its county representatives. This is the consequence of the unhappy religious divisions which have so long distracted that unhappy country, and of the social position of the great majority of the electors, which, blinding them to their real material interests, renders them the passive instruments of spiritual ambition. As the elevation and advancement of their own Church is the exclusive object of the Romish clergy, so every thing which tends to embarrass or endanger the Protestant Establishment is sure in time to come, as it has done in time past, to receive their cordial support. As they know well that nothing is likely to do this so effectually as the overthrow of the English aristocracy, the majority of the Irish county members may be permanently relied on as a direct support to the movement party in Great Britain. This important peculiarity in our present social and political condition, directly the reverse of what might under other circumstances have been expected, should always be kept in view in any changes that may hereafter take place in the representative system of the United Empire.

CHAPTER LII.

ITALY FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN JANUARY, 1848, TO THE PEACE BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND SARDINIA IN AUGUST, 1849—FEBRUARY, 1848, TO AUGUST, 1849.

AGITATED at once by the most violent social and political passions, ITALY, in the State of Italy beginning of 1848, was in such a in the spring state of excitement that it did not of 1848.

require the shock of the French Revolution to throw the whole peninsula into convulsions. So strongly, indeed, was the Italian mind stirred at this period, that it appeared probable that the outbreak would take place sooner to the south than the north of the Alps. The concessions already made to the demand for reform had produced such a ferment, that the whole Liberal party of Italy, so far from being satisfied with what they had gained, passionately longed for still farther victories, and were every where prepared to take up arms to gain them. To the thirst for social amelioration and political power was added the still stronger desire for national unity, by which alone, it was thought, either could be secured: and thus the strongest mundane passions which can agitate the human heart—the love of freedom and the love of independence—were roused together, and caused for a time to draw in the same direction. It is not surprising that one of the most general revolutions and bloody wars of modern times arose from their united influence, and that the sacred cause “della unita et libertade Italiana” warmed every generous heart, and nerved not a few powerful arms, in their beautiful country.

The reforms of Pio Nono, the democratic concessions of Charles Albert, the more sweeping innovations of the King of Naples, had so strongly stimulated the revolutionary passions in Italy, that it was only a question

of time when the smothered fires were to break forth to involve the peninsula in one general conflagration. Various events contributed to

accelerate its approach. On the 22d Dec. 23, December, 1847, on occasion of some disorders which had taken place at Modena and Reggio, some Austrian troops, at the request of the Duke of Modena, entered the duchy to preserve the peace, which was immediately represented as an intervention in the affairs of Tuscany. At Milan the popular party passed a resolution against smoking in the streets, in order to diminish the imperial excise; and the attempt to enforce this resolution against the Austrian officers led to several quarrels, in which the latter made use of their arms.

At Venice a fanatical demagogue, named Tommasio, openly preached revolt; while at Rome, as already mentioned, the carriage of the Pope was surrounded by a tumultuous mob on Jan. 1. 1st January, and a tricolor flag was insolently waved over the vehicle when his Holiness was still in it. At Genoa, on 3d January, a crowd assembled with the cries, “A bas les Jésuites!” “Vive la garde civique!” and

the citizens were forced to sign a petition to the King, praying for farther reforms, couched in language so violent that even the Liberal ministry refused to receive it. Disorders of a still more serious character broke out at Leg- Jan. 6. horn, a few days after, attended with consequences of a grave description. An immense mob assembled under the windows of General Sfroni, the governor of the city, with cries of “Morte a Sfroni!” “Viva Guerrazzi!”—the latter being a briefless advocate, the head of the Radical party. The governor had the weakness to appoint Guerrazzi to the command of a civic guard which a commission was appointed to organize. The consequence was, that he immediately issued a proclamation calling on the people to revolt; and the disorders were only arrested by the arrival of a considerable body of troops dispatched by the Grand Duke from Florence.¹ In Na- Jan. 17, ples and Sicily, as already mentioned, the cause of revolution was entirely triumphant, the King having been

obliged to proclaim a constitution, framed according to the demands of the Radical party; while in Sicily a provisional government was established, and severance from the continental dominions of the King openly proclaimed. Following the example of his southern neighbor, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on 11th Feb. 11. February, proclaimed a representative government; and in Rome a commission, with M. Rossi, the French ambassador, at its head, was appointed to examine and report upon the question how far such a constitution was consistent with the ecclesiastical government.²

When such was the temper of the public mind in Italy, it may be conceived what

impression the Revolution of February in Paris made. The effect was instantaneous. Both parties immediately prepared to act upon

it; the aristocratic, by almost unlimited concession; the democratic, by preparations for instant revolt. The Pope dismissed his ministers and formed a new cabinet, composed of ten of the laity, and only three ecclesiastics—a proposition heretofore unheard of. A new constitution was promised, and the general arming of the people, mobilization of part of the civic guard, and organization of a powerful reserve. On the 16th the news reached Venice, and the agitation immediately became such, that the governor, General Palffy, saw no means of resisting it. On the day following, Tommasio and Manin, the leaders of the former disturbance, were liberated by his orders, and the formation of a civic guard decreed, for which crowds immediately inscribed their names. At

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 17, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 528-531.

² *Ante*, c. xlix. § 87; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 533-535.

³ Effect of the Revolution of Paris at Rome and Venice.

March 10.

March 16.

March 17.

the same time intelligence arrived of the reception of the news from Paris at Vienna, and the submission of the Imperial Government. No bounds were then set to the general joy. The people rushed out of their houses into the streets, congratulating each other without any previous acquaintance, and the transports found vent in a general illumination. The governor

seeing no means, with the limited force at his disposal, of making his authority respected, and uncertain how to act, when the Government at Vienna itself was yielding, resigned his appointment in favor of General Zichy, the commander of the military force. That officer, hearing of insurrections in Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, and the whole Italian Tyrol behind Verona, thought his situation desperate, and deemed himself fortunate in being able to sign a capitulation on the 22d, in virtue of which

he was permitted to embark his troops and proceed to Trieste, but on condition of leaving his guns, ammunition, and military treasure, and Italian soldiers, who immediately entered the ranks of the insurgents, bringing with them the advantage of the arms and discipline of soldiers.

On the day following, a provisional government, with Tommasio and Manin at its head, was instituted, and the old colors of the Republic, amidst indescribable transports, hoisted on the Place of St. Mark, which again resounded with the ancient war-cry, "Viva St. Marco!"

The Austrian force which at this period occupied Lombardy, and the Imperial Forces of the provinces in Italy, was about 80,000 Austrians in strong—a considerable force, without doubt, though less by 70,000

than that general had represented as necessary to keep the country in submission amidst the double dangers of foreign invasion and internal revolt. The efficiency of this force was seriously diminished by the circumstance of 25,000 of the whole number being Italian soldiers, who, on the first rupture between Austria and their native country, might be expected to take part with the insurgents. This arose from the Imperial mode of recruiting, which always leaves the third or *dépôt* battalion in its native district to superintend the getting recruits. At least two-thirds of these *dépôt* battalions consisted of young men who had acquired enough of military discipline to be formidable in the field, but not so much as to render obedience and attachment to their king and colors paramount to their feelings as citizens. Such as it was, this army was divided into two corps. The first, that commanded by Baron d'Aspre, held Lombardy, and one of its brigades lay along the Ticino, on the Piedmontese frontier. Three brigades, mustering 10,000 combatants, were stationed in Milan, the capital of the kingdom of Lombardy and Venice; the remainder were scattered over the cities of Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, to the north, and of Parma and Placentia to the south. The second corps, under the orders of Count Wratislaw, was stationed in the Venetian provinces, and its chief brigades formed the garrisons of Venice, Mantua, Padua, and Verona, with detachments or single regiments in the lesser towns, which formed part of the important military line of the Mincio.²

But whatever the position of the Austrians in Italy wanted in strength to resist a severe external and internal shock was more than compensated by the extraordinary vigor and capacity of the veteran general who was at its head. JOSEPH RADETSKY, descended of an ancient Bohemian family, was born in 1766, so that at this period he was in his eighty-third year. He entered the Austrian service as a cuirassier in 1781, at the age of sixteen; and in that regiment he rose to the rank of captain. During the fourteen years that he was with it, he was engaged in the wars of the Imperialists against the Turks, and also in the campaigns of 1793 and 1794 in the Low Countries. In 1797 he was promoted to the rank of major, and in 1799 to that of lieutenant-colonel, in which capacity he was, on account of his remarkable abilities, transferred to the staff, and formed part of the *état-major* of Suwarroff in 1799 in Italy and Switzerland, and Milan in 1800, and in the campaign of Marengo in 1806. In the campaign of 1805 he commanded a cavalry brigade, and in that of 1809 he was lieutenant-general, and bore a part in the battles of Aspern and Wagram. During the memorable campaigns of 1813, 1814, and 1815, he was chief of the staff to Prince Schwartzberg, in which situation his genius for war became so well known that in 1829 he was appointed general of cavalry—a very high grade in the Imperial service; in 1832, commander-in-chief in Italy, then threatened with immediate war; and in 1836 he received the baton of field-marshal. Thus, during his long and eventful career, he had learned the art of war in the best of all schools—under Suwarroff, and the Archduke Charles, and opposed to Napoleon.¹

He was gifted by nature not only with the eye and decision of a great general, but with the physical qualities which in the field are almost equally necessary for memorable achievements. A firm-knit frame, and constitution of iron, enabled him to retain at eighty-three the vigor and elasticity of youth. The youngest of his staff could scarcely keep up with the old marshal in his rides. At this time, though his hair was white, his eye had lost nothing of its youthful fire, his mind nothing of its activity and decision. Frank and courteous in his manners to all of whatever grade who approached him, considerate in his regulations, and especially attentive to the health and comforts of his soldiers, he was yet steady in maintaining discipline, and rigorous in enforcing obedience to his orders. He thus became the idol of his men, who looked upon him as their father, and came to place in him that unbounded confidence which is so important an element in military success. In reverses he was never depressed; in victory he was not elated. Ever exposing his own person freely, he was also the first, when the victory was gained, to enjoin mercy to the vanquished; and though the victorious leader in civil strife, he never stained his hands in the blood of the unresisting or the defenseless.

GENERAL HESS was Radetsky's chief of the staff through the Italian campaigns, and by his consummate military talents contributed much to their astonishing successes. He was con-

5. Biography of Marshal Radetsky.

¹ Ellesmere, 31-32.

7.

General Hess, his chief of the staff.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 535-537.

² Ellesmere, 18-20 (translated from the German).

sulted on all occasions; and so completely were their ideas in unison, that it is difficult to say to which the chief part of the merit is to be ascribed. No jealousy or petty feelings divided these great men. Equally animated by devotion to their king and country, alike sensible of each other's merits, they mutually, like Marlborough and Eugene, ascribed the chief share in the triumphs to the other. The subsequent appointment of General Hess to the command of the grand Austrian army, destined to the invasion of the Principalities, proves how sensible the Government were of his transcendent merits.

8. Although the feeling of the people in the great towns in the north of Italy was decidedly national, and opposed to the Austrian rule, yet this was by no means equally general in the rural districts; and even in the great cities the habits of the people in all ranks were essentially unwarlike, and none of them had the qualities either of mind or body essential to the maintenance of a prolonged struggle with the Imperial forces. The nobility, which formed the entire body of the considerable landed proprietors, were for the most part discontented, and cordially detested the Austrian rule. They were so because they had been ousted by the Austrians from the government of the country, and the situations of power and emolument in it, which appeared to be their birth-right. The mechanics and artisans in towns also, with the whole professors of literature, education, and the arts, were still more discontented, and for the most part belonged to the *Carbonari* or other secret societies. The latter were actuated by the desire of political consideration and power which naturally grows upon the middle order of society with the acquisition of wealth, and by the jealousy which intellectual strength invariably feels for the domination of mere physical force. This body was numerous, highly intellectual, very democratic, and strongly banded together for the acquisition of political independence and social freedom. But its members wanted individual honesty and rectitude. Deeply imbued with the profligacy which results from a long course of prosperity in great cities, the Italian republicans regarded revolution as a game of hazard, which was worth entering for the stakes; but they had none of the earnestness and determination of purpose which results in honest hearts from strong natural conviction. The rural population, with few exceptions, were satisfied with the German rule. The Imperial Government was strong, and upon the whole equitable; the taxes were heavy, but they were levied with equal hand on the rich and the poor. There was little disposition, accordingly, in the country people to exchange the leaden yoke of Austria for the fiery rule of the Milan republicans; and it was mainly owing to this indifference that Italy was preserved to the Austrians; for if the inhabitants of the country had been as zealous in the cause of democracy as those of the towns, beyond all doubt the foreigner must have succumbed.¹

The convulsion at Milan, at once the stronghold of Austrian power in Italy, the headquarters of Radetsky, and the chief seat and school of Italian Liberalism, was very violent, and at-

tended with a lamentable effusion of human blood. The receipt of the intelligence from Paris in the first week of March, followed quickly by that of the overthrow of the Government at Vienna, produced such a ferment that insurrection could not be averted. It broke out on the 18th March, and the combat continued without intermission for the six following days. Never were the difficulty and dangers of street-fighting evinced in more clear colors. Radetsky had at his disposal, in the first instance, 18,000 men; but they were quickly reduced, by the defection of the whole Italian troops in the Imperial service, to 13,000, while the revolted troops carried to the side of the insurgents the advantages of military skill and organization. This rendered the conflict comparatively equal; for the insurgents, quickly supported by reinforcements from Pavia, Parma, Como, Brescia, and all the neighboring towns, soon numbered 10,000 regular Italian soldiers, aided by the desultory efforts of double that number of armed tirailleurs and musketeers, who, though incapable of action in the open field, were extremely formidable firing from windows, or from behind loopholed walls. In the first outbreak of the revolt the insurgents gained the great advantage, by a sudden and unexpected attack, of making themselves masters of the governor's palace, on which the Italian colors were immediately hoisted. With such rapidity were barricades erected in the streets leading to the palace, as far as the bridge of St. Damians, and with such resolution were they defended, that all the efforts of the Austrians were unable to dispossess them of this strong-hold.¹

The contest continued over the whole city till the 23d; but although the Austrian troops combated with the greatest resolution, and were most ably directed by Radetsky, the superiority of the insurgents, who fought with uncommon courage, at length became manifest. Such was the enthusiasm with which they were animated, that the women poured boiling oil and vitriol on the assailants, and, to their shame be it said, cruelly massacred the prisoners who fell into their hands. On the fifth day of this terrible conflict, the ammunition and provisions of the Imperialists were found to have failed. Water was wanting under a burning sun, and the troops, worn out by so long-continued a contest, were in no condition to maintain it longer. To add to the difficulties of his situation, Radetsky, who still retained possession of the palace of the military commander, learned that Pavia and Brescia were in open insurrection, and that the Archduke, the son of the Viceroy, had been made prisoner. In these circumstances, wisely judging that the first thing to be attended to was the safety of his troops, and that if he preserved them intact, victory might soon reconduct the Imperial troops to Milan, Marshal Radetsky ordered a general retreat, and withdrew in two columns to Crema.

Immense was the enthusiasm which the retreat

9. Insurrection at Milan, and retreat of the Austrians from thence. March 18.

¹ Ellesmere, 23-30; Ann. Hist. 1848, 531; Balleydier, i. 150-152.

10. Final victory of the insurgents.

March 23.

² Radetsky's Disp., March 25, 1848; Moniteur, April 14; Ann. Reg. 819, 320; Ann. Hist. 1848, 535, 536; Balleydier, i. 161-164.

¹ Balleydier, Rev. d'Italie, i. 141-146; Ellesmere, 20-27; Ann. Hist. 1848, 533-539.

of the Imperial eagles from Milan occasioned over the whole of the Italian peninsula. Coming as it did immediately after the overthrow of Louis Philippe at Paris, the subversion of the Imperial Government at Vienna, the revolution of Venice, and the successful insurrectionary movements in Naples and Sicily, it inspired the belief that the triumph of freedom was at length secured, and that a league, formed of all liberated states, having France and united and independent Italy for its foundations, would ere long form the basis of the liberty of the world. The provisional government of Milan immediately published a proclamation, in which, with just pride, they recounted their great triumph, and foretold yet more glorious victories from the aid of the prince who was advancing from Turin to join in the great work of Italian emancipation.* On his side Marshal Radetsky issued a brief address to his soldiers, in which he said—"The treachery of our allies, the fury of the enraged people, and the scarcity of provisions, oblige me to abandon the city of Milan, for the purpose of taking a position on another line, from which at your head I can return to victory."¹

Radetsky at first hoped that he would be able to maintain the line of the Adda, and accordingly the army was stationed in the outset along its banks, head-quarters being established at Lodi. But it soon became apparent that this was impossible. Not only did the insurrection spread through all Lombardy, but the Italian troops stationed in Bergamo, Cremona, Brescia, Rovigo, and all the towns at the foot of the Alps, revolted and joined the insurgents, and the most violent fermentation broke out even in the important fortresses of Verona, Mantua, and Palma-Nuova, though all strongly garrisoned by Imperial troops. The last was surrendered by the Italian garrison which held it, with thirty-eight guns, to the revolutionary bands; and Padua was abandoned, as its garrison was required to reinforce that of Verona, which with difficulty held that important fortress against the inhabitants. By these means the military communication with Austria was placed in danger; and this was soon seriously augmented by the intelligence received from the Italian Tyrol, which was all in arms, and the important castle of Rocco d'Anio, with the whole eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and the steamers on the lake, had fallen into the hands of the insurgents. It was also now ascertained that the Piedmontese Government had resolved to take part, on a great scale, and with all their forces, with the Italian revolu-

* "We have conquered: we have compelled the enemy to fly, oppressed as much by his own shame as by our valor. But scattered in our fields, wandering like wild beasts, united in bands of plunderers, he prolongs for us all the horrors of war, without affording any of its sublime emotions. The arms we have taken up, that we still hold, can never be laid down as long as one of his band shall be hid under the cover of the Alps. We have sworn it—we swear it again, with the generous prince who flies, with the common impulse, to associate himself with our glory. All Italy swears it, and so it shall be. To arms, then—to arms, to secure the fruits of our glorious Revolution—to fight the last battle of independence and of the unity of Italy."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1848, p. 821.

tionists, and that Charles Albert, with the whole disposable troops of that monarchy, full forty thousand strong, would ere long be in the very front rank of the battle. Thus Radetsky would soon have on his hands an army of 60,000 regular troops, formidable both from its courage and discipline, composed of the Piedmontese forces and the revolted Italian troops; while his own force, though weakened only by 700 men during the conflicts in Milan, had lost fully a fourth of its amount by that great defection, and by three entire regiments, which, in virtue of the capitulation of Venice, had been conveyed to Trieste and Illyria. Add to this, that Venice had fallen, with all its arsenal, magazines, and treasure, into the hands of the insurgents, who had thus acquired an important base of operations directly in his rear. In these circumstances it was evidently indispensable to retire from the advanced position on the Adda; and the retreat was accordingly continued to beyond the Mincio, head-quarters being established at Verona, with only an advanced rear-guard occupying Lonato, on the right bank of that river.¹

When Charles Albert resolved to embrace the cause of Italian independence, he had very considerable forces at his command, and his accession to the league, of which he immediately became the head, might well inspire patriots less enthusiastic than those by whom he was surrounded with the belief of ultimate and decisive success. The regular forces of the Piedmontese monarchy at this period were seventy-five thousand strong.* This army, as was abundantly proved afterward in the Crimean war, was admirably organized, equipped, and disciplined, and commanded by a body of officers worthy to lead such an array. Charles Albert had no cause of complaint against Austria, and did not pretend to have any in the proclamation which he issued on taking up arms. He appears to have been actuated by the general fervor which at that period had come in so remarkable a manner to pervade the Italian people, which had led many to imagine that they saw the finger of God in the universal enthusiasm; and he could not be insensible to the brilliant prospects which opened to himself and his own country from placing it at the head of the movement.²

CHARLES ALBERT, though still a young man, had gone through many and various adventures. In early youth, when the democratic movement in 1821 began in Italy, he had, when heir-presumptive to the throne, allowed himself to be placed at the head of the revolutionary party. He soon, however, repented having allowed himself to be so far seduced by the Liberals; and to wipe away the stain which thereby attached to his name, he entered two years as a volunteer into the French service, and

Guards—2 Grenadier and 1 Rifle regiment	6,600
Infantry—19 brigades, 2 regiments each	59,400
Cavalry—6 regiments	8,600
Artillery, Sappers, and Engineers (with 96 guns)	5,000
Total	74,600

—*Almanach de Gotha*, 1851, p. 650, 651.

March 31.
April 2.
¹ Ellesmere, 88-44; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 537, 538; Balleydier, I. 175-180.

13.
Forces and movements of Charles Albert.

² *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 537, 538; Ellesmere, 86-88; Balleydier, I. 180-185.

14.
Biography and character of Charles Albert.

acted as a subaltern with great courage in the assault of the Trocadero in 1823, which won for him from Austria the Cross of Maria Theresa. Intimate in former days with the Carbonari, and acquainted with their ulterior designs, he had sense enough to see that, on the throne at least, he had no interest to favor their projects. His system of government was for long the old-fashioned one—to lean on the nobility and the clergy, whom he supported in their privileges, to keep the middle class in check, and to protect the peasant from oppression. Latterly, however, the stream of innovation had become so violent that he was reluctantly obliged to yield to it, and he ere long saw in these concessions the means of elevating his country to a rank which it had never yet attained. His reforms soon made him popular, and he was universally regarded as the head of the league upon which all hopes rested for the assertion of Italian independence. Passionately desirous of military distinction, he now came forward as the chief of the Lega d'Italia, and, sacrificing his horror at revolution to his thirst for glory, drew the sword against Austria, and threw away the scabbard.¹

While a desperate war was thus breaking out in Northern Italy, the other extremity of the peninsula was hardly less agitated, and popular license assumed a still more terrible form. The concessions of the King of Naples, liberal as they had been, were far from satisfying the desires of the Sicilian revolutionists, as indeed it was impossible they could, seeing the object of

the latter was not social reform, but external separation and independence.²

The catastrophe occurred on the 12th January. On that day the King had promised that his Lieutenant-General, the Duke of Serra-Capriola, should arrive at Palermo, and inaugurate the necessary reforms; but his arrival having been prevented by contrary winds on the voyage from Naples, he had not yet come in the evening. The people, suspecting they were to be deceived, immediately flocked to the Club of the Casino, the centre of the Liberals of Palermo, where they received instructions immediately to take up arms. They were not slow in obeying the injunctions. Before nightfall, menacing crowds occupied the principal squares and streets, bands of armed peasants had descended from the neighboring mountains, and several detachments of the Neapolitan troops had been disarmed and made prisoners. So active were the insurgents during the night, that next morning the whole of the city was in their hands; and the royal troops had all retired into the forts, when preparations were made for a bombardment. Meanwhile the Court of Naples were not idle, for no sooner did they receive intelligence of the insurrection than they dispatched nine vessels of war, having 6000 men on board, to aid in the reduction of the revolted city; and with such vigor were the preparations pushed forward that the expedition set out from the Bay of Naples on the evening of the 14th.³

The French Consul with some difficulty obtained a suspension of the bombardment for twenty-four hours; but at length it began, and was continued, without any decisive result, for

the next forty-eight hours. The town took fire in several places, and great destruction of property ensued; but the leaders of the insurgents showed no disposition to yield, and the Count d'Aquila, brother of the King, having arrived at Naples from the seat of war, gave such alarming accounts of the state of affairs that the Government determined on yielding. On the 18th January four decrees were issued by the King, which embodied a concession of the chief demands of the revolutionists. The first and third regulated, on a more liberal basis, the Council of State, the powers of which were extended, and declared that it was to consult the provincial assemblies on matters connected with their several localities; the second abolished the promiscuous occupation of offices by the Neapolitans and Sicilians, and reserved the principal places in each for their own inhabitants; the fourth appointed the Count d'Aquila Lieutenant-General of Sicily, and nominated a minister and council, all of known liberal opinions, to assist him in his deliberations.¹

These concessions were in themselves great, and they are worthy of note, as indicating what were the chief grievances of which the Sicilians in the outset complained. But instead of being appeased by them, the Provisional Government and insurgents of Palermo were only the more determined in their demands for a separate Parliament, and the constitution of 1812. With these demands began to be mingled others of a still more ominous character, and already the cries of "Viva l'Indipendenza Siciliana" were heard in the streets. The royal commanders, however, showed no disposition to yield, and they occupied the following positions, which effectually commanded the city: The King's palace was strongly garrisoned, and inhabited by the Count d'Aquila; and in addition to this, the fort of Castellamare, the barracks of La Mole, the Finance Palace, and the barracks near the royal palace, with the prison between the Mole and the city, were in the hands of the Royalists. Meanwhile the forces of the insurgents were hourly on the increase; one unanimous feeling in favor of national independence appeared to have seized upon all classes; and so universal was the fervor, that when the four decrees arrived from Naples, thirty thousand men, for the most part armed, were in possession of those parts of Palermo not actually garrisoned by the royal troops. But events succeeded each other with such rapidity at Naples that they outstripped even the swift march of Sicilian revolution.²

When the news of the revolt at Palermo first reached the King of Naples, he seemed disposed to act with the most vigor in crushing it, and the rapid fitting out of the expedition for Palermo proved how well he was seconded by his ministers. But in a few days he became sensible that resistance was no longer in his power. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the determination of the Sicilians to hold out for the constitution of 1812, than the ferment became so violent, that Del

16. Bombardment of the city, and concession of the Government.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 531, 532; Ann. Reg. 1848, 533; Balleydier, i. 200, 201.

17. Which leads to increased demands from the insurgents.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 532, 533; Ann. Reg. 1848, 534.

18. The King of Naples agrees to give a Constitution. January 28.

Caretto, the chief anti-revolutionary minister, was obliged to take refuge on board a steamer to save his life. An entire change of ministry took place, and at the head of the new cabinet was the Duke de Serra-Capriola, who had formerly been ambassador of Naples at Paris. The Prince di Torilla, Prince Dentici, and several other ministers, all of liberal opinions, including M. Bozzili, who had been Counselor of State under Murat, formed the ministry. They declared they could not retain office an hour unless a constitution were granted, and on the 28th January a decree appeared, promising to concede. The decree was placarded next morning all over Naples, and speedily converted the revolutionary fervor into transports of joy. These were increased on the following day, when it was known that orders had been sent to Palermo to withdraw the troops, and the publication of a general amnesty on 1st February. The basis of the proposed new constitution was soon after published by the King, to the effect that the Roman Catholic religion should be the religion of the State, and *no other tolerated*; that the person of the King should be sacred, and his ministers responsible; that the land and sea forces should be commanded by the King, but a National Guard be organized over the whole country; and that the press should be free, subject only to a repressive law against such offenses as might offend religion, the King, or public morality and order.¹

But these concessions, great as they were, proved inadequate to restrain the spread of the revolution in Sicily, which was now directed to the acquisition of separation from Naples. The news that the movement was taking this direction speedily spread it over the whole country. On Jan. 28,* the 28th January an insurrection broke out at Messina, and the city was immediately bombarded, as well from the citadel and forts as from an armed steamer in the harbor. Captain Codrington, who commanded an English frigate off the harbor, did his utmost to mediate between the contending parties, but in vain. The peremptory demand of the insurgents that none but native troops should be employed in the island rendered all attempts at an accommodation fruitless. On the 21st February the insurgents carried the fort of Real Basso, at Messina, by storm, and the royal troops were confined to the citadel and fort of Salvador. Great preparations were now made on both sides for the renewal of the fire, and it began with uncommon vigor on the 7th March, and continued with little interruption till 2d May 2. May, when, from the effects of mutual exhaustion, an armistice was agreed on. At the same time a furious combat was going on between the insurgents and the royal castle at Palermo; but the King having decided on submission, sent an order to the garrison to capitulate, which terminated hostilities in this quarter.²

Meanwhile matters were nearly in as disturbed a state in Naples itself, where the King with great difficulty maintained his ground against the Liberal Chamber and a disaffected army. On the 14th May the Chamber met, and the preliminary matter which occupied their attention was the nature of the oath which the members were to take. The King insisted for a simple oath of fidelity to the constitution as it stood; but the Liberals in the Chamber contended for an oath to the constitution with such changes as the Chamber might introduce into it. The dispute soon became so warm that it was evident it could be adjusted only by an appeal to force. On the day following the erection of barricades began; and the King, seeing no means remaining of resistance, agreed to yield, and desired the National Guard to remove the barricades. The insurgents, however, declared they would resist this till the decree for which they contended was actually issued; and during the parleying which went on, the musket of a national guard having accidentally gone off, his comrades thought the Swiss Guards were attacking them, and fired a volley, which was immediately returned by the Swiss, and a most sanguinary conflict ensued, which lasted eight hours. But never was the superiority of regular troops of steady fidelity more decisively proved than on this occasion. The National Guard and revolutionists were totally defeated, with the loss, it was said, of eight thousand men; and as the lizoni all joined the royal forces, the scenes of horror which ensued equaled any in a city taken by assault. At length the French admiral, Baudin, succeeded in putting a stop to the effusion of blood by the threat of landing his marines and forcibly interposing between the contending parties. But before this was done the victory of the King and his faithful Swiss Guard was complete; martial law was proclaimed, the National Guard disbanded, and the Chamber of Deputies dissolved.¹

Matters, however, took a very different turn at first in Sicily, where the victory of the revolutionists was as complete as their discomfiture at Naples had been. On the 13th April the Sicilian Chamber met, and the leading Liberals immediately demanded that the royal family of Naples should be dethroned, a new sovereign elected, and Sicily joined to the League for promoting the independence of Italy. Both Chambers passed resolutions to that effect; and the choice of a sovereign next came under consideration. Much difficulty was experienced on this subject, but at length the choice fell on the Duke of Genoa, second son of Charles Albert, King of Piedmont. He was accordingly formally installed by the title of Albert Amedée I., King of Sicily. But foreseeing an endless war between Naples and Piedmont from such an accession to the partition of the former, he had the prudence to decline the proffered crown, and meanwhile the King of Naples drew up and published a formal protest against the threatened partition; and fitted out a powerful expedition to restore the island to obedience.²

The expedition, which consisted of 14,000 soldiers, with a powerful train of artillery, set out from Naples on the 29th August, and arrived

20.
Defeat of the
insurgents in
Naples by the
Swiss.
May 14.

May 15.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1848, 385, 386;
Ann. Hist.
1848, 549, 550;
Balleydier, I.
214-226.

21.
Dethrone-
ment of the
King of Na-
ples, and
election of the
Duke of Gen-
oa as King of
Sicily.
April 13.

² Ann. Reg.
1848, 386, 387;
Ann. Hist.
1848, 570, 571;
Balleydier, I.
228-230.

off Messina on the 2d September, under the command of General Filangieri. The first care of this experienced commander was to revictual the fort, still held by the royal troops, who, owing to their long blockade by the revolutionists, were reduced to great straits, both in provisions and ammunition. The city was then summoned to surrender, but the proposal was indignantly rejected. The bombardment began at daybreak on the 3d, was kept up with the greatest vigor the whole day, was resumed at daylight the following morning, and continued with the utmost violence on both sides till night. The *Bulldog*, British vessel, and *Hercule*, French, then arrived; but although they made the utmost efforts to interpose between the combatants, and stop so terrible an effusion of blood, they were unable to bring the parties to an accommodation. Gradually, however, the superiority on the part of the Neapolitan forces became very apparent. Though the citizens fought with the greatest desperation, their efforts were sensibly becoming weaker: great part of the city was laid in ruins, ammunition was becoming scarce, and the insurgents were scarcely able to stand to their guns. On the other hand, the situation of the royal troops was daily improving. Two thousand fresh soldiers, with ample supplies of ammunition, were landed in safety on the evening of the 4th, followed on the morning of the 6th by six thousand more brought in a fleet, consisting of two frigates, thirteen steamers, and nineteen gunboats. On the day following, the steamers which had returned from Reggio landed additional forces; and the bombardment being renewed with the utmost vigor, the city was soon on fire in every quarter, while, the ammunition of the insurgents being exhausted, they were not able to return a single shot. It was no longer a battle, but a massacre; the whole remaining inhabitants fled from the scene of desolation. No less than ten thousand were humanely taken on board the French and English vessels, and the Neapolitan colors were hoisted on the heights behind Messina.

The capture of Messina was an immense advantage to the royal cause in Sicily, as it gave them a secure base of operations, and safe mode of communicating with Naples. Although, therefore, vigorous preparations for defense were made in Palermo, and movable columns were ordered to be stationed in camp at Milazzo, Taormina, Syracuse, Girgenti, Catania, Palermo, and Trapani, yet it was not expected they would be able to make any protracted resistance. Meanwhile occurrences at Rome and in Tuscany precipitated the march of events, and involved the whole of Central Italy in the conflagration. Yielding to the demand for innovations which he himself had so large a share in promoting, the Pope had in the beginning of January issued a plan for a new organization of the Executive Department of the Government. But when all thoughts were occupied at Rome with this all-engrossing topic, the Revolution at Paris suddenly excited such a ferment that immediate political change became indispensable. On the

14th March, accordingly, a proclamation was issued, in which the Supreme Pontiff declared his intention of granting a new constitution, on a liberal basis, to his subjects. In this state paper he stated: "As our neighbors have decided that the people are ripe for representative institutions, not merely *consultative* but *deliberative*, we are unwilling to think less worthily of our own subjects, or to repose less faith in their gratitude, not only toward our own humble person, for which we desire none, but toward the Church and the apostolic see, the inviolable and supreme rights of which have been committed to our custody by Almighty God." At the same time, he gave the most decisive proof of his sincerity by forming a new cabinet, composed of *ten* of the laity, and *three* ecclesiastics. Nor did the acts of the new ministry belie their origin; for they immediately set about the formation of a constitution, the extension of the National Guard, and the organization of part for active service in the field.

Still, however, his Holiness was inclined to peace, and especially averse to a war with Austria, which he was well aware might soon be required to come to his aid as the last refuge of the Papal Government. Such, however, was the enthusiasm which the war in Lombardy and the revolutions at Milan and Venice produced, that it became ere long impossible to avoid being drawn into hostilities. A body of Roman volunteers, without any authority from the Papal Government, organized themselves in the ecclesiastical dominions, and joined the army of Charles Albert on the Minicio. This, if not an overt and avowed, was at least a real act of hostility; and a device was soon adopted by the Liberals which increased still more the ferment in Rome. An artist of some note, Signor Caffi, had joined the Liberal expedition. His body was found hanging on a tree near Verona, with the inscription appended to the corpse: "This is the way in which the crusaders of Pius IX. are treated." The obvious remark, that if this act had been the work of the Austrians they would never have affixed this inscription, never occurred for a moment to the Romans; the thing was implicitly believed in the capital; and the populace, with loud cries, demanded an instant declaration of war. On the other hand, the Pope held out, and on the 29th April addressed the cardinals in conclave, declaring that the expedition had been formed without his orders, and that it had crossed the frontier contrary to his commands. Upon this a mob arose, and, surrounding the post-office next day, got possession of the letters, some of which proved that the cardinals were preparing for the worst, and making arrangements to leave the city. The public excitement increased to the very highest pitch; tumults and riots took place in several parts of the town; the fidelity of many of the troops of the line and the whole National Guard was more than doubtful; and the Pope was forced, against his will, to declare war against Austria. This was immediately followed by the formation of a new cabinet, composed entirely of men of the most liberal opinions, at the head of which were Cardinal

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848. 570. 571; Ann. Reg. 337, 338; Captain Robb's Disp., Sept. 6. 1848; Bulleynier, I. 234-242.

¹ Bulleynier, I. 250-251.

²⁴ The Pope is at last obliged to declare war against Austria. May 1.

April 29.

April 30.

May 1.

Ciacchi and Count Marchetti; and they soon after published a proclamation, in which they declared "the present ministry will hold especially dear the sacred cause of Italy and the triumph of right, to which all their attention will be applied, convinced that the first efforts of ardor must not be repressed, but, on the contrary, stimulated and increased." Such, however, was the unwarlike character of the inhabitants of the Ecclesiastical States, that the addition of their forces to those of the Italian League brought scarcely any accession of strength to the legions on the banks of the Mincio; and it is a melancholy and instructive fact, illustrating the

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 534, 535; An. Reg. 1848, 329, 330; Balbydler, i. 274-281.

influence of sacerdotal government on national character, that the addition of the power of Rome scarcely affected the balance in the quarrel of two of the most inconsiderable provinces of its ancient empire.¹

Following the examples of Rome and Naples, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, on February 11, issued a proclamation establishing representative institutions in his dominions, though he did not at once join the League of Italy. But it was not by the accession of raw recruits from Central Italy that the contest was to be determined. Austria and Piedmont were the principals in the fight; it was with their brave and disciplined battalions that victory lay. A pause of about a week ensued after the retreat of the Austrians to the Adige, for both parties had time to await the coming up of reinforcements expected from the rear. The army of Charles Albert had crossed the Ticino, and entered the Austrian territories on the 25th March, accompanied by his two sons, the Dukes of Savoy and Genoa; and his troops had followed the Austrian line of retreat, also in two columns, the one by Brescia and the other by Cremona. But although the disposable forces of Piedmont were 40,000 strong, not more than 25,000 were collected round their standards when they reached the Mincio, the remainder being on march from the dépôts of their respective regiments. These troops, however, were in the very highest state of discipline and equipment, brave, warlike, and experienced, with the true military spirit in their bosoms, and an ancient military reputation to sustain. Some of them, in particular the light infantry called Bersagliers, were among the finest troops in Europe; and by the delay of a few weeks, 80,000 men might be expected to be concentrated at the decisive points on the Mincio and the Adige.

² Ellesmere, 35, 38.

It is true these troops might be expected to be ere long much augmented by accessions from different parts of Italy; for not only were Lombardy and the Venetian States on fire, but, even before their governments had joined the League, corps of zealous volunteers were formed, who flocked of their own accord to the theatre of war. With these also were united some old corps, which might be expected to render good service in the contest which was approaching. From Parma a fine battalion of infantry, 1000 strong, and a battery of artillery, were got; from Tuscany 4000 men, including a strong regiment of

old grenadiers; from Modena, 1500 old troops and 4000 ill-disciplined militia. The Papal troops were much more formidable, for they embraced four battalions of Swiss infantry, and a battery of eight pieces; and in addition, the Pope's Italian Guards consisted of 7000 infantry, two batteries, and a regiment of horse admirably mounted. The Neapolitan forces were much more numerous; but the Sicilian revolt absorbed them so completely, that no reliance could be placed on their rendering any aid in the contest on the Adige. In addition to these, however, three regiments, composed in part of Italian soldiers in the Austrian regiments which had revolted, were formed in Lombardy, and as many in the Venetian States; but their organization was not as yet so complete as to enable them to join in the earlier operations of the campaign. Twenty thousand additional troops were ordered to be levied in the Piedmontese dominions, which, however, could not be ready to take the field for some months. Thus, on the whole, Charles Albert, without reckoning on the volunteers and new levies, might be expected to have, before many weeks were over, 50,000 regular troops at his disposal; and some of them, in particular the Swiss Guards of the Pope and the Piedmontese light-infantry, were equal to the best in Europe in equipment, discipline, and courage.¹

¹ Ellesmere, 45-51; Balbydler, i. 281-294.

The forces at the disposal of Radetsky were less considerable; and such was the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy that no considerable reinforcements for a long time could be expected to join his standards. Weakened as they had been by the defection of the whole Italian regiments, and by the loss for the time of the whole garrison of Venice, which had been sent under capitulation to Trieste, he could not, in the first instance, collect more than 30,000 men under his orders, and they had to garrison the whole fortresses on the Mincio and the Adige, besides keeping open the communication with Vienna through the Italian Tyrol, which was all in insurrection. Thus, for operations in front and in the field, he could not reckon on above 18,000 men. This force, it is true, was supported by the lines of the Mincio and the Adige, which for a considerable distance run parallel to each other, and form the true military frontier both of Germany and Italy in the northeast. The first of these, issuing from the Lake of Garda, descends from thence in a deep channel to the Po. The line on its banks thus leans with its right on the lake and the Alps, and its left on that great river; and being supported by Peschiera and the fortress of Mantua, it presents a very strong position. The line of the Adige in its rear, however, is still stronger; for that river, after flowing down through the precipices of the Alps, overhung by the Montebaldo and the plateau of Rivoli, issues into the Italian plains beneath the walls of Verona, and thence continues its course in a deep bed with a rapid course parallel to the Mincio, as far as the fortress of Legnago, when it suddenly turns to the eastward, and flows to the Adriatic in a line not far distant from the Po.² Thus these two lines of defense were both formed of rivers issuing from the Alps and stretching to the Po, resting at

^{27.} Radetsky's forces and position.

² Personal knowledge; Ellesmere, 42, 50.

either extremity on strong fortresses; circumstances which explain the vast importance which they have lately assumed in all the wars between Italy and Germany.

The importance and strength of these defensive lines, however, were much lessened at this time by the spread of the insurrection over the whole Venetian States and province of Friuli in their rear, which placed the direct line of communication with Austria in the hands of the enemy. Add to this, that as the Venetian States adjoined the Roman, and the whole fortresses of both were in the hands of the insurgents, an easy entrance was afforded by Ferrara and the Lower Po to the Papal troops, into the direct rear of the Austrian position. Thus it was indispensable for Radetsky, should he be driven from the line of the Mincio, which was more than probable, to maintain himself at all hazards at Verona and on that of the Adige; for it was alone by holding them that he could preserve his communication with Germany and the Northern Tyrol, from whose inhabitants the most important succor was expected. Should he be driven from the line of the Adige, his only line of retreat would not be perpendicular to his front, but parallel to his right flank—a most dangerous movement in presence of an able and enterprising enemy, who could fall upon it in any weak point, and cut the retiring columns and convoys in two.

Even this last and vital line of communication to the Austrian troops was on the point of being lost; for not only had the insurrection spread up the whole western side of the Lago di Garda, but its eastern shores were in a very disturbed state; while on the great road by Trent and Roveredo, in the Italian Tyrol, convoys were frequently surrounded and cut off, especially in the neighborhood of the Montebaldo, and between that and Trent; and the latter important town was in a state little short of open insurrection. The whole disposable forces in the Tyrol itself consisted of two weak brigades, which were entirely absorbed in guarding the posts of Bolzano and Botzen, with the Brenner Pass, and the newly constructed fortress of Franzens, situated to the north of Brescia, and commanding the junction of the roads northward to Innsbruck, and eastward to Carinthia. In these circumstances, Radetsky intrusted to Colonel Baron Zobil and a weak brigade the important task of securing Trent, and getting the command of the adjacent country. He executed his mission with such vigor and ability, that though he had in the first instance only eight hundred men and three guns at his disposal, yet he contrived to make his way through the hostile streets into the castle, from whence, by the threat of a bombardment, and giving the town up to pillage, he succeeded in overawing it. The principal leaders of the revolt, all Italians, were arrested, the citizens disarmed, the wearing of party badges forbidden, and the magistracy secured in the German interest. Meanwhile the Government, sensible of the vital importance of the Tyrol to the maintenance of their Italian possessions, and relying on the well-known and oft-tried fidelity of their Tyrolese subjects, issued a

proclamation, calling upon the inhabitants to take up arms in defense of their king and country. The call was nobly responded to by all of the German blood; and even in those valleys which lie on the Italian side of the Brenner and the crest of the mountains, it met with more success than could have been expected. The German race, as every traveler who has visited that interesting country knows, had spread over the Alpine ridge down the valleys, and with them had been diffused the fidelity, loyalty, and honesty of the German character. Before many weeks were over, sixty companies of riflemen were in arms and fully organized. Rusty swords were furbished up and sharpened; rifles, which had hung unused since 1809, were unsung and cleaned; ball-practice was established in every parish; and not only did the peasantry every where take up arms, but the students from the Tyrol, who were at the University of Vienna, separated from their comrades who were in open revolt, and rejoined the standard of their fathers on their native mountains. They were accompanied by Haspinger, the famous companion of Hofer in 1809. The well-known red beard, which had then been such a terror to the enemy, was now a silver gray; but the gait of the hero had undergone no change, his eye lost none of its ancient fire. He had the satisfaction to meet in Bolzano with Captain : Personal Gasser, a comrade of ancient days, knowledge; who, like him, had come forth to Ellesmere, 58 resist the encroachment of Italian -60; Ann. Hist. liberalism as they had done the in- 1848, 541, 543: Balleydier, l. 301-306. vasion of French democracy.

This burst of loyalty in all the inhabitants of German descent in the Tyrol was 80. much promoted by an imprudent Measures of the Provisional Government at Milan, in which, regarding rather geographical divisions than political or moral distinction, they had assigned the Brenner and the crest of the mountains separating Italy from Germany as the frontier line between the Austrian territories and those of the Italian Republic. This line would have detached a great number of districts strongly attached to the house of Hapsburg from the Imperial rule; among the rest, the valley of Passer, the birth-place and residence of Hofer himself. The German inhabitants of these districts entertained a bitter recollection of the French rule when they formed part of the Regno d'Italia, under the vice-royalty of Prince Eugene; and they were resolute to resist a repetition of the evils then endured. It is worthy of remark, that, while the revolutionary Government of Lombardy was thus busied with detaching ancient and attached provinces from the Austrian empire, it itself was threatened with a similar process of dissolution in rear from the revolutionary Government of France. The democrats of Savoy, taking advantage of the detaching of the chief Sardinian garrisons from their territory, resolved to set up for themselves, and invited the patriots of Lyons to co-operate in the movement. They were not slow in answering the appeal. On the April 3, 8d April, a corps of eighteen hundred free volunteers from thence crossed the frontier, and advanced without opposition to Chambray, which they occupied, and established a provi-

sional government. But being unsupported by the government forces, this inroad soon came to a disgraceful termination. Next day the peasants from the adjoining mountains, who were attached to their ancient sovereigns, descended from their hills, armed with rusty fowling-pieces and scythes, and chased the intruders ignominiously back into their own territory.¹

These, however, were mere episodes in the war; the real contest lay on the Mincio, and there it commenced in good earnest in the beginning of April. The great inferiority of Radetsky's force rendered it impossible to hold that line permanently; but he resolved to maintain it as long as possible, in order to gain time for the provisioning and arming of Peschiera and Mantua, which, by the unaccountable negligence of the Austrian Government, had not yet been done. It was now set about, however, in good earnest, and the aged governor of Mantua, Count Gorjakowski, exhibited in this important duty an energy which rivaled that of Radetsky himself. By his efforts during the week that Charles Albert was doomed to inactivity awaiting his reinforcements, four months' provisions were swept into both places; and Mantua, which during the long peace had lost much of its warlike aspect, was again rendered a fortress of the first order.

Hardly was this done, when Charles Albert, having at length got his army well in hand, directed it, in several columns, on the Mincio. General Bava, with four thousand Piedmontese and sixteen guns, made the first attack, by assailing the village of Goito on the extreme Austrian left, which, after an obstinate defense, was carried by the gallantry of the Piedmontese riflemen, with the loss of two hundred men and four guns to the vanquished, and the bridge taken, the Austrians retiring to Mantua. Among the Austrians killed were two nephews of Hofer, who, with the whole Tyrolese regiment to which they belonged, had fought with the utmost courage. Radetsky wrote to the Tyrolese, announcing their loss: "The regiment, your children, whom you have sent me, is worthy of your country." The Piedmontese loss was equal to that of the Austrians; but the latter were undoubtedly worsted, as the town was taken, and the passage of the Mincio forced; and this was a matter of no small importance in the outset of the campaign.²

Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster on his left, Radetsky immediately concentrated his whole disposable forces, amounting to 19,000 men, at Villafraanca, between Goito and Verona, and at first seemed disposed to give battle instead of abandoning the line of the Mincio. But he was soon induced to alter his views. His force was so inferior to that of the enemy, that he could hardly hope to deliver a general battle with any prospect of success, and the distracted state of the Austrian monarchy not only precluded the hope of any considerable reinforcements to compensate losses, but rendered the little army under his command in a manner the last hope of the monarchy. Charles Albert,

meanwhile, was not the man to halt midway in the career of success. On the day following the capture of Goito two other corps effected the passage of the Mincio at Valeggio and Mozambano, in spite of a heavy fire from the Austrian batteries, and the Piedmontese forces were solidly established on the left of the river. Seeing this, and having accomplished the provisioning of Peschiera and Mantua, Radetsky resolved to retreat; and on the 10th the whole army retired behind the Adige, leaving only a detachment on the right bank of that river to keep up the communication between the head-quarters at Verona and the fortress of Peschiera, which it was anticipated would be the first object of attack.³

So far brilliant success had attended the Piedmontese arms, which were obviously wielded with courage, as well as directed with skill. Such early advantage, of importance in all wars, is doubly so in those of a revolutionary character, in which so much depends upon the excitement consequent on triumphs; and against a less experienced commander than Radetsky it might possibly have led to decisive results. But the character of that great general was precisely the one fitted to erect a barrier against which the waves of revolutionary fervor would beat in vain. The importance and vast strength of the line of the Adige was now apparent, as well as the value of the time gained by Radetsky for provisioning the fortresses covering its flanks. It was impossible to force the line of the Adige between Peschiera and Mantua while both of these places were in the hands of the enemy; and yet, to reduce either, with an able and enterprising enemy, ready to fall on the besieging army, was evidently an undertaking exposed to great hazard. Charles Albert, therefore, wisely resolved to await the arrival of reinforcements before he hazarded the bulk of his forces beyond the Mincio; and he merely, in the mean time, sent advanced guards over the river to observe the country between it and the Adige, holding in strength all the bridges, so as to give him the means at pleasure of commencing more important operations, which he designed, in the first instance, to direct against Peschiera.⁴

The generals and colonels of the free revolutionary corps, which had been raised in Lombardy, earnestly pressed the King to allow them to take advantage of this delay to make a grand incursion into the Italian Tyrol. They were encouraged to hope for great results from this operation, from the friendly disposition of the whole inhabitants of Italian descent in the Southern Tyrol, the most of whom were already in arms for the cause of Italian independence. Charles Albert at once perceived the great advantages which this enterprise, if successful, would produce, by endangering, if not entirely cutting off, the Austrian communications by the valley of Trent with Vienna, and he readily gave his consent to the undertaking. He had so little confidence, however, in the steadiness of these allies, that he refused to allow two battalions of light troops with two guns, which were earnestly pressed for, to accompany them. The

¹ Ann. Hist.

1848, 540, 541;

Ellesmere, 57;

58; Balleyd.

I. 306-310.

² Ann. Hist.

1848, 540, 541;

Ellesmere, 57;

58; Balleyd.

I. 306-310.

³ Ann. Hist.

1848, 540, 541;

Ellesmere, 57;

58; Balleyd.

I. 306-310.

⁴ Ann. Hist.

1848, 540, 541;

Ellesmere, 57;

58; Balleyd.

I. 306-310.

¹ Ellesmere,

61-64; Ann.

Hist. 1848,

540, 541;

Balleydier, I.

321-324.

² Ann. Hist.

1848, 541; El-

lesmere, 65-

67; Balleyd.

I. 316-320.

³ Ann. Hist.

1848, 541; El-

lesmere, 65-

67; Balleyd.

I. 316-320.

⁴ Ann. Hist.

1848, 541; El-

lesmere, 65-

67; Balleyd.

I. 316-320.

expedition accordingly set out from Brescia, under the command of General Allemandi, consisting of four thousand men, on the 9th April 9. of April, in columns of five or six hundred men each, and moved up the valleys leading to the Alps, which soon fell, without opposition, into their hands. Their progress was so rapid, that by the 17th April they were in possession of the wide tract of country stretching from Cler to the Lago di Garda, and all the roads leading to Trent were in their possession. It was their intention to have made a concentrated attack on that important

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 512, 543; Ellesmere, 70-72; Balleyd. 324-327. town, which, if taken, would have entirely cut off the communications of the Austrians with their own dominions.¹

Great was the enthusiasm in the Italian free corps at this auspicious commencement of their operations. The poetry of the war was represented by Signora Bettroni, a heroine who commanded a detachment of one hundred men. But never was more clearly evinced the utter inadequacy of raw troops to resist the onset of regular forces, even though greatly inferior in number. General Weldon, who commanded the Austrian forces in Trent, drew two battalions of regular troops from the Vorarlberg, where the declared neutrality of the Swiss rendered their presence no longer necessary, and with these, and as much as was disposable of his little garrison, resolved to advance and anticipate the attack of the enemy. He divided his force into two small columns, one of which moved from Trent into the valley of the Sarca against Allemandi's right, the other on Cler, in the Val di Salì, so as to menace his left; while at the same time the little garrison of Riva, on the Lago di Garda, sallied forth, and totally defeated another of the columns six hundred strong. The first April 19. of Weldon's columns encountered a body of free volunteers at Silemo, in the valley of the Sarca, and speedily put them to the rout; the second in a few minutes dispersed Allemandi's principal force near Cler. The effect of these

victories was, that the free bands fled April 20. headlong out of the Tyrol, and regained the plains of Lombardy in the utmost consternation and total disorganization. So complete was the rout, that, after a great deal of mutual abuse and recrimination, the whole of these free bands were dissolved; and such of them as remained incorporated with the regular army of Piedmont.²

Shortly after this check, Charles Albert deemed himself in sufficient strength to undertake the operation he had long meditated, which was to occupy in force the Venetian States in the rear of Radetsky, and at the same time throw forward his own left along the eastern shore of the Lago di Garda, and seize upon Rivoli. By these means he hoped to turn both flanks of the Austrian position, and cut Radetsky off at once from the reinforcements which were hastening to him through the Tyrol, and the army of reserve which was beginning slowly to collect on the banks of the Isonzo. With this view he sent General La Marmora, one of the best officers in his army, to Venice, to hasten the formation of the levies

there; while the Papal troops, some of which, as already noticed, were foreigners of excellent quality, under General Durando, supported by the Tuscan and Roman levies that were ready for the field, received orders to cross the Lower Po and occupy the Venetian territory, including Friuli. At the same time, the Piedmontese army on the Mincio, now fully in hand and strongly reinforced by the arrival of troops from the rear, was to commence operations on their own left by the blockade of Peschiera. On their side, meanwhile, the Austrians were not idle. The Archduke John hastened to the Tyrol and pressed the armaments in that warlike and faithful province, and moved southward into the Italian valleys; while General Nugent, who commanded the Austrian army of reserve on the Isonzo, passed that river, and was slowly advancing toward Udine, the capital of Friuli, so that he might soon be expected to come in contact with General Durando, who commanded the Papal troops, which were to converge toward the same point from the Roman frontier.¹

It is evident that this design was well conceived, and made the most of the forces at the disposal of the Piedmontese sovereign. It was open, however, to the usual danger of such flank attacks—viz., that of one of the columns of attack being suddenly assailed and crushed before the others had time to hasten to its relief. This, accordingly, happened in the present instance. On the 23d April a grand reconnaissance was made by Charles Albert in person, at the head of twelve battalions and a brigade of horse, in the direction of Peschiera; while a similar movement with a like force was made at the extreme right by the Duke of Savoy, who crossed the Mincio at Guidizzolo, and advanced to the neighborhood of Mantua. The result was that it was ascertained that the enemy remained shut up in Verona, and behind the batteries of Mantua. The King in consequence in person superintended the construction of a strong bridge at Goito; and from the number of troops which were moved at all points across the Mincio, it became evident that he intended to concentrate the bulk of his forces between that river and the Adige, and that his first attack would be directed, after blockading Peschiera, against the Austrian positions covering the defile which leads by the banks of the latter river to Trent and Germany.

PASTRENGO, situated three leagues above Verona, on the road to Trent, has always been found to be a strategical point of the greatest importance in the wars on the Mincio, as it is placed at the point where the great road from Mantua to the Tyrol enters the mountain. The possession of it, therefore, covers Rivoli, the plateau of which is the key of the Southern Tyrol, and gives the command of the whole defile leading to Germany. No sooner did Radetsky perceive that the attack was to be made in this quarter than he sent orders to General Weldon to strengthen himself as much as possible on the plateau; and to gain time for doing so, he placed a brigade in Pastrengo, and another at Bussolengo, so as to threaten the right flank of an enemy moving on

² Ellesmere, 72-76; Ann. Hist. 1848, 542; Balleyd. i. 316-324.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 512, 543; Ellesmere, 70, 81; Balleyd. i. 320-341.

³ Commencement of the attack.

³⁸ Successful attack on Pastrengo, and retreat of the Austrians behind the Adige.

it. On the 29th April the King advanced in person against the former position, and a warm action ensued for the heights of Romaldola, the dominant ridge of the hills lying at the foot of the Alps in that quarter. It finally remained in the hands of the Piedmontese, who, with valor and skill equal to their opponents, had the advantage of superior numbers. The Austrians retired to Pastrengo. There the

combat was renewed next day with larger forces and equal resolution on both sides. General Wocher commanded the Imperialists, consisting of two brigades, who defended the position with the utmost resolution. The Piedmontese attack was made by an entire division under General Federici, supported by the whole centre and left wing of their army, numbering not less than twenty thousand combatants. At the first cannon-shot, Radetsky, with his staff, approached the spot; but after viewing the enemy's position and forces, he did not deem himself in sufficient strength to hazard a general battle in defense of the post. Orders were therefore sent to Wocher to retire behind the Adige, which was done in good order, but with considerable loss. In this action the Imperialists lost

99. nine hundred men, including three hundred prisoners; the King not more than half the number. After the battle, the village of Bussolengo was also abandoned, and the Austrian army retired entirely behind the Adige.¹

While these engagements were going on, the garrison of Peschiera made a vigorous sally, which, however, was repulsed. By the occupation of Pastrengo and Bussolengo, and the retreat of the Austrians across the Adige, Charles Albert was enabled to complete the investment of that fortress, and thereby render his left comparatively secure; while with his right, into which he threw his principal force, he was preparing to effect the blockade of Mantua, which had not yet been completed, owing to the immense extent of the works of the place, and of the inundations by which they were surrounded. Afraid of the pestilential exhalations from these marshes, Charles Albert employed a Tuscan division to form a considerable part of the blockading force, and sent them across the Mincio by Governolo to cut off the communication with Legnago, which hitherto had remained open. No sooner did the governor of the fortress learn that the Italian troops were across the river than he made a sally and routed them, with such loss that they were driven from their ground back to Governolo, which was even attempted to be carried, though without success. In consequence of this disaster, the Italian division made no further attempt to extend the blockade to the left bank of the river, and left the communication with Legnago entirely open. About

April 27. the same time, the last remnants of the Italian free bands were attacked at Storo by a detachment sent out by General Weldon, which totally defeated them, and sent them headlong out of the Austrian territory.²

Charles Albert shortly after made an attempt to gain the heights of Rivoli, but it was done in a very feeble manner, and the inadequacy of the force employed was perhaps the greatest

fault committed by him during the whole campaign. On the 4th May the remains of the free corps were transported across the Lago di Garda from Salo to L'Assize, where they were joined by a strong Piedmontese regiment and a half-battery of artillery. Next day the united force, about five thousand strong, scaled the heights which lie between the lake and the valley of the Adige, and began the ascent of the Montebaldo. The Austrian outposts fell back to the main body, which, securely posted amidst rocks and thickets, kept up so heavy a fire that the assailants were quickly obliged to retire. Convinced by this repulse that no impression was to be made on the extreme Austrian right resting on the rocks of Rivoli, the King directed his whole attention to their centre, which lay in front of Verona, though not under the cannon of that place. The position of Radetsky there was, however, strong, standing on a spacious plateau covered in front by the villages of Crocebianca, San Massimo, and Santa Lucia, and extending in rear to the glacis of Verona. There the veteran field-marshal resolved to give battle, for he could not retire farther without exposing Verona to bombardment, and endangering his communications by Trent with Germany.¹

At six in the morning of the 6th May the whole Piedmontese army, forty-five thousand strong, with sixty-six guns, stood to their arms, and shortly after advanced to the attack. The different divisions advanced swiftly across the plain which separated the two armies, preceded by their guns, with their flanks covered by a cloud of skirmishers. The fire by nine was extremely warm on both sides, and the Piedmontese troops were advancing with great steadiness and loud shouts to the attack, when their progress was checked by the fire, on their left flank, of an Austrian battery. The weight of the attack was upon this directed by the King against the village of Santa Lucia, which was strongly occupied, and obstinately defended by the Imperialists. The attack, however, by the Piedmontese was not less determined; house after house, street after street, was successively carried; the church and church-yard, after a sanguinary struggle, were stormed by the assailants, and at length the whole village was conquered, and the Imperialists in sullen dejection stood firm, still ready to give battle in its rear. Elated by their success, the Piedmontese were rushing out of the village to renew the attack on the other side, when their flank was torn by a discharge from an Austrian-Italian battalion, who immediately after charged with the bayonet and drove them back. In vain they repeatedly endeavored to debouch and renew the attack; they were as often checked by the fire of grape and musketry which issued from the Austrian lines. Seeing this, and regarding Santa Lucia as the decisive point, the King hurried forward the brigade of guards to support the attack, and posted himself at their head. But the Austrians meanwhile brought up reinforcements not less powerful; Count Clam arrived with three battalions, and with them a general attempt to retake the village was made. The King, on his side, upon

40.
Unsuccessful attack of the King on Rivoli.
May 5.

¹ Ellesmere, 108; An. Hist. 1848, 551, 552; Bulleynier, I. 350-354.

41.
Battle of Santa Lucia.
May 6.

² Ellesmere, 81-91; An. Hist. 1848, 544, 545.

this advanced the whole division of General d'Arvillars; and the combatants on either side, broken into small bodies by the intervening gardens and inclosures, fought hand to hand with equal valor and resolution, but without the Imperialists being able to retake the village. Meanwhile the battle raged with equal fury along the whole front, especially when General Broglia, with the Piedmontese left, attacked the villages of Crocebianca and San Massimo, on the Austrian right. But no decisive advantage was gained in that quarter; and at four o'clock the King, finding that nothing beyond the bare possession of the village had been gained by his attack on Santa Lucia, gave orders for a general retreat. It was conducted in good order, under cover of the brigade Coni, headed by the Duke of Savoy; but not without some disorder

¹ Ellesmere, 106-107; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544, 545; Balleydier, l. 360-368.

among the Italian troops, several hundred of whom were made prisoners. The Piedmontese loss was 98 killed and 694 wounded; that of the Austrians nearly as considerable.¹

Although the result of this battle was nowise

decisive, it had a material effect upon the issue of the campaign, and modified in an important way the measures both of the Imperialists and the Piedmontese. On the

^{42.}
Results of the battle, and views of both parties.

one hand, Charles Albert became convinced that he could not, with his present forces, assail with success the Austrian position on the Adige, or force the important plateau of Rivoli, the bulwark of their communication with Germany; on the other, the Imperial general felt that the campaign to him had hitherto been a losing game, and that it taxed his utmost strength to maintain himself in the last defensive position in Italy, formed by Verona, Legnago, and the line of the Adige. Thus both parties were in a manner compelled to pause in their operations; and this was the more advisable, as each had considerable reinforcements shortly to expect. The King hoped for the speedy arrival of the Papal troops, including the Swiss Guard, and something might be expected, at least for guarding convoys and keeping up communications, from the numerous Tuscan and Lombard volunteer corps forming in his rear. Radetsky had still more material succor to expect from the army of reserve under General Nugent, which the Imperial Government, notwithstanding the straits to which it had been reduced, had contrived to form on the Isonzo, and which was now beginning to threaten Friuli, and make its weight felt in the most important way in the rear of his position.²

² Radetsky's Disp., May 7, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1848, 328, 321; Ellesmere, 106, 107; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544, 545.

Count Naval Nugent, Master of the Ordnance, and General-in-Chief in Lower Aus-

^{43.}
Count Nugent and the army of reserve on the Isonzo. tria, one of the most distinguished veterans of the Imperial army, had in the commencement of the war offered his services to collect and conduct the army of reserve which the Cabinet of Vienna had ordered to be formed on the Isonzo. Forty years' service in the Imperial army, and presence in above a hundred battles, had matured, by the lessons of experience, a mind formed by nature to discharge the most important duties of a general. His offer was accepted; and on the 4th April he reached Gortz, and established

his head-quarters there, to superintend the formation of the army of reserve. It already consisted, at least on paper, of 20,000 men, of whom 1700 were cavalry, with sixty-four guns and two rocket-batteries. No less than 8000 of the infantry were several marches in the rear, and great part of the artillery was without horses, and therefore incapable of immediate service. The troops were composed of two classes—the reserves forwarded from the dépôts in the interior to the Austrian regiments in Italy; the Croat volunteers, forwarded by COUNT JELLACHICH, BAN OF CROATIA, who, although all but dethroned by the rebellious Magyars in his own dominions, had in the noblest manner dispatched every disposable man to the support of his veteran comrade. So slowly, however, did the troops arrive, and such was the state of destitution to which the artillery was reduced, that it was not till the 25th April that he was able to move forward, and then it was only with 18,000 men and 46 guns.¹

¹ Ellesmere, 92-96; Ann. Hist. 1848, 545; Balleydier, l. 370-381.

General Zucchi commanded the Italian forces in Friuli; but they consisted only of 3000 regular troops, forming part of the regiments in the Imperial service which had revolted, and 8000 volunteers and national guards, on whom no reliance could be placed.

^{44.}
Fall of Udine, and advance of Nugent to Sacile. April 23.

Fearful of a collision in the open field with the German forces, Zucchi shut himself up in the fortress of Palma-Nuova with 8000 men, leaving the remainder to aid the garrison of Udine. Both towns were soon invested by Nugent; and as Udine was surrounded by an old wall, and the streets were strongly barricaded, a desperate resistance was anticipated. It all ended, however, in smoke. On the 21st, the Austrians commenced a bombardment, which, after lasting two hours, struck such terror into the inhabitants that they proposed a capitulation, which was concluded on favorable terms to the citizens on the 23d. The capitulation was to include Palma-Nuova and all the towns in the province; but they refused to take advantage of it, and Nugent, leaving these merely observed by inconsiderable blockading forces, advanced slowly with the main body of his troops to Pordenone, which he reached on the 30th, his advanced guard being posted at Sacile.²

² Ellesmere, 97-99; Ann. Hist. 1848, 551, 553; Balleydier, l. 320-331.

Nugent, who, though a brave and experienced officer, belonged to the old school in war, advanced so slowly that before he reached the Piave the Italian forces had gained time to break down the bridges and collect on the

^{45.}
Passage of the Piave by the Austrians. May 11.

opposite bank. They were under the command of General Durando, and amounted in all to 15,000 men, of whom 5000, with 8 guns and 700 horse, were the Swiss Guards, the best troops in all Italy. To cross a broad and deep river, in presence of such a force, with one of little greater amount, was an undertaking of no little difficulty. The Swiss contingent, which was so formidable, was posted near Monte-Bellano, with its front toward Feltre. This body was worth more than the whole of the rest of the army put together, for the remainder consisted of undisciplined Italian volunteers, who were likely to disband on the first serious danger. The Austrians continued to advance; and when they arrived at the Piave,

finding the bridges destroyed, and their own pontoon-train too short to effect the passage, turned to their right, and marched up the left bank to Belluno. Upon this Durando, who found the whole Austrian army directed against his single division, retired, but not on the two other Italian divisions, who were posted in front of Treviso, but on Bassano, at the entrance of the Val Sugana—an eccentric movement, which entirely separated him from the rest of the army, and exposed both to the most serious dangers. The Austrian general immediately availed himself of his advantage. Rapidly countermarching, he

May 11. again approached Treviso, concentrated his troops at Visnadello, and after a sharp action obliged the Papal troops to retire, leaving Treviso, garrisoned only by 3500 of the free bands, to its fate. Ferrari, who commanded the Italians, withdrew to Mestre, intending to unite with the garrison of Venice; while Durando moved down the stream of the Brenta in the same direction, hoping to regain his comrades there. Nugent was now obliged to resign the command from ill health, and it was assumed

May 18. by Count Thurn, who on the 18th concentrated his whole force, 18,000 strong, at Visnadello. The Italian generals had no force at their command capable of withstanding such a mass; and it advanced against Vicenza, in obedience to pressing orders received

1 Ann. Hist. 1848, 551, 552; from Radetsky to hasten, with every Ellesmere, 107-111. disposable sabre and bayonet, to the decisive point on the Adige.

So pressing had affairs now become on that river, that though Vicenza lay on the direct road to Verona, and a vigorous attack upon it with the force at the disposal of the Austrian general could hardly fail of success, yet

46. Junction of the army of reserve with the army of Radetsky. May 21. Thurn, to avoid delay, resolved not to attempt its reduction, but to make a circuit round it and continue his march to Verona. This he did accordingly. On the 20th his advanced guards fell in with Radetsky's posts in the rear, and on the 21st the much-wished-for junction took place, and the force on the Adige was increased by nearly twenty thousand good troops. Radetsky, however, was anxious not to leave so important a town as Vicenza in the hands of the enemy, and he ordered Thurn to retrace his steps and attack it. He did

May 23. so accordingly, and an assault was delivered. But the barricades were strong, the resistance stout, the guns of heavy metal, and a Swiss battalion, which meanwhile had been thrown into the place, displayed the most undaunted valor. The result was that the attack

2 Ellesmere, 111-114; Ann. Hist. 1848, 552-554; Balleyd. i. 330-336. failed; and, after a useless carnage, Thurn drew off his men, and rejoined the commander-in-chief on the 25th at Verona, leaving Vicenza still in the hands of the enemy.

During these events the important counter-revolution took place at Naples, on the 15th May, which completely restored the royal authority, and occasioned an immediate change in the foreign policy and disposal of the military force of the State. Previous to that event the Neapolitan troops, 20,000 strong, including part of the formidable Swiss Guards, were posted on the Lower Po; and the

47. Important effect of the counter-revolution at Naples. Government being completely in the hands of the democratic party, this large force was intended to have co-operated with the Papal troops. But when the King had triumphed over the democratic party in the streets of Naples, a change of ministry and measures immediately took place, and orders were issued to the army on the Lower Po to return. When these counter-orders reached the army, which was under the command of General Pepe, a strenuous Liberal, a struggle ensued in the army as to which party they should obey. Matters came

May 28. to a crisis on the 28th May, when Pepe, disobeying the orders of his Government, instead of returning toward Naples, gave orders to a division to cross the Po, and advance into the Venetian territories. Several regiments resisted, and, headed by their officers, began to march homeward. In vain the populace of Bologna gave the most strenuous support to the Liberal party in the army. Pepe persuaded two battalions of volunteers and a battery, all Ital-

June 10. ians, to cross the river; but when the remaining troops of the line approached its banks, General Klein issued a counter-order, and all the Swiss and German regiments flocked to his standard, and formed a camp at Cento ready to obey their sovereign. Pepe soon found that all he could do was to retain the Italian volunteers on his side. At Venice also, the Neapolitan troops, which had been embarked in the fleet, were recalled, and none but the Italian volunteers remained. These events were by far the most important which had yet occurred in the course of the war; for at the very time when the junction of the army of reserve

1 Ellesmere, 122, 123; Ann. Hist. 1848, 552; Balleyd. i. 289-291. added 20,000 men to the forces of Radetsky, the change at Naples withdrew as large a force from the league of Italian independence!

Their importance became the more conspicuous from what was occurring at the same time in the main armies on the Adige. The Austrians had, during the three weeks' inaction which succeeded the battle of San-
48. State of the armies on the Adige, and refusal of the Crown of Lombardy by Charles Albert.

ta Lucia, greatly strengthened their position, and, in fact, converted it into a large intrenched camp in front of Verona. Charles Albert did the same, and exerted himself to the utmost to get up troops from the rear to cover the siege of Peschiera. But though he received considerable reinforcements from his own dominions, the Milanese levies went on so slowly that only six or seven hundred of the line were as yet in the front, and as many volunteers. The enthusiasm of the Lombards all evaporated in civil meetings, illuminations, and operatic applause—measures little calculated to resist the onset of the Transalpine legions. Nor were internal divisions of a still more serious character awanting to paralyze the energy by which alone the independence of Italy could be secured. The leading democrats in the several towns were so divided, and so jealous of superior authority, that Charles Albert, in despair, resolved to have nothing to do with them, and declined the proffered crown of Northern Italy.

2 Ellesmere, 121, 122; Ann. Hist. 1848, 554; Balleyd. i. 294-296. The King, however, was not remiss in those warlike measures by which alone the independ-

ence of Italy could be secured. His whole atten-

tion was, in the first instance, directed to the siege of Peschiera, the opera-

tions against which were becoming serious when the army of reserve was approaching the Adige. This fortress, situated at the point where the Mincio issues from the Lago di Garda, though not of the first order, was of considerable strength, and the garrison, which was sixteen hundred strong, had orders to defend itself to the last extremity. The King fixed his head-quarters with the covering force at Monzambano, about a league from the place; the Duke of Genoa was intrusted with the direction of the artillery and besieging force, which consisted of two Piedmontese brigades and a battalion of marines. The batteries were armed early on the 18th May, and at 1 P.M. on that day the fire began at the distance of from six hundred yards. Though no practicable breach had been made, the garrison were, chiefly from the effect of the vertical fire and the loss of two outworks, soon reduced to great straits, and no provisions remained but dry maize. Summoned to surrender on the 26th

¹ Ellisnere, 124-127; Ann. Hist. 1843, 554, 555.

May, however, the governor refused, trusting to the measures which the commander-in-chief was meditating for his relief.¹

The position of Charles Albert covering the siege was so strong that Radetsky despaired of success from a front attack. He resolved, therefore, to effect the object of raising the siege by threatening another part of the enemy's position; and this he did by a bold but most able operation. Leaving Count Thurn with the greater part of the army of reserve, sixteen thousand strong, consisting for the most part of young soldiers, to defend the intrenched camp in front of Verona, he himself set out late in the evening of the 27th May, with thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and one hundred and fifty guns, divided into three corps, and took the direction of Mantua. The operation was a delicate and hazardous one; for the army, in making this cross-march, showed a long flank to the King, who might have assailed it with advantage at any point, "a species of attack," says Napoleon, "which never fails." But the risk of being so assailed was much lessened by the possession of the fortified towns of Verona and Mantua at its two extremities, which in any event secured the two extreme points of the line of march, and prevented its being turned or assailed in rear. Charles Albert, however, had his army well in hand, grouped on the summit of the Somma Campagna, from which the dust, and even the carriages, in the long procession were visible. But with such wonderful skill did the old marshal conduct his march, and so well was he seconded by the discipline and steadiness of his troops, that, though the King stood on the heights ready to take advantage of any opening or opportunity of attack, none such presented itself. The divisions were

² Ellisnere, 127, 128; Ann. Hist. 1843, 554-555; Radetsky's Dispatch, May 2, 1848.

so closed up and arranged for instant battle, that the whole army resembled a moving close column flanked by horsemen,² ready at any point, with artillery and cavalry in their proper places, to wheel about

and give battle at a few minutes' notice: and on the evening of the 28th the whole army bivouacked, without having fired a shot, on the glacis under the cannon of Mantua.

On the following morning the Austrian Marshal resumed his march at daybreak

from Mantua, and now his design was apparent: he took the road to Vicenza. The Austrian advanced guard, pursuing their line along the right bank of the Mincio, and on the

southern shore of the lake on which Mantua stands, came in contact at the bridge over the Canal Ossone, which issues from it, with the Tuscan division, six thousand strong, with eight guns, which was prepared to dispute the passage. The village of Curtatone, through which the road passed, was strongly barricaded and loopholed, and every preparation had been made for a vigorous defense. Some delay occurred in reaching this post, from the deep ditches which flanked the chaussée on either side, requiring to be filled up before the columns could pass along. At length, however, the leading brigade, under Count Clam, reached Curtatone, and the stormers, under Prince Felix Schwartzenberg, were formed for the attack. Three times that gallant officer led his troops to the barricades, and three times they were repulsed by the steady fire of the Tuscans. At length, however, on the fourth rush the defenses were carried, the guns taken, four hundred and eighty men killed and wounded, and two thousand men made prisoners. This advantage, great as it was, had been dearly purchased by the Imperialists: they lost ninety-five killed, and five hundred and fifteen wounded. The proportion of officers struck to the men proved how bravely they had stood to the front to lead on their troops; the number of officers in action compared with the men was one in thirty, the number hit was one in sixteen.¹

Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, Charles Albert moved from his position on Somma Campagna, and marched to Goito, moving a part of his troops to the right bank of the

Mincio, in order to cover his communications with Lombardy, which he imagined the field-marshal intended to threaten. It was full time he should do so; for on the evening of the 29th the Austrian army, without

losing a moment, began its march toward Milan. in two columns—the one following the high-road to that capital, by Cremona, on the left bank of the Po, the other by parallel roads. The field-marshal had no intention of giving battle: his object was to force the enemy to abandon the line of the Mincio, and raise the siege of Peschiera, in order to preserve his communications with Milan. It fell out otherwise, however, and the Imperialists sustained a severe check in consequence of the division of their forces into two columns, which exposed the one to attack while the other was not at hand to support it. General Bava, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, to stop this advance hastily drew together twenty thousand men and fifty-four guns at Goito, which he disposed in the most skillful manner to defend that important town, with its passage over the Mincio. The Austrian advanced guard

51. Storming of Curtatone by the Austrians. May 29.

¹ Ellisnere, 131-133; Ann. Hist. 1843, 554-555; Radetsky's Dispatch, June 1, 1848.

52. Repulse of the Austrians at Goito.

was, at a turn of the road, at the foot of the high ground above the town, suddenly saluted by a fire from a heavy battery, to which they had nothing to oppose. So eager were the Imperialists to engage that the field-marshal was in a manner compelled to bring up brigade after brigade to the attack, after the first had been repulsed. It was all in vain, however: the Piedmontese stood to their guns manfully, and had the advantage of fighting under cover, while the Austrians were exposed. The Duke of Genoa directed the artillery with coolness and judgment: the King, who hastened to the front when the firing began, received a slight contusion on the ear, and after four hours' fighting the Austrians drew off.¹

While his right was thus seriously menaced, the King, with equal courage and judgment, stood firm before Peschiera —not a gun nor a man was withdrawn from the siege; and the Piedmontese and Austrian troops, alike fearful of each other, stood within their lines awaiting the issue of the conflict going on. But meanwhile the garrison of Peschiera were reduced to the last extremities. Forty thousand bombs and cannon-shot had been discharged into the place, and with such effect that two-thirds of the guns on the ramparts were dismounted; and for such as remained on their carriages, only two gunners a piece remained fit for duty. The vertical fire of the Piedmontese had reduced the garrison to a third of their numbers; the mills had long since been destroyed; and the resource of horse-flesh and roughly-pounded maize had begun to fail. A last armistice of twenty-four hours expired on the evening of the 30th; and on that evening the governor received a final summons to surrender, accompanied by an account of the affair at Goito, which was magnified into a decisive victory. Upon this all further hesitation was at an end; a capitulation was agreed to on condition of a free march to Ancona. On the 31st, at mid-day, the Piedmontese troops entered the fortress, and on the day following the King visited the place and heard mass in the church. The artillery taken in the fortress amounted to one hundred and eighteen pieces, nearly all damaged by the fire to which it had been exposed, and part of very old construction.²

These repeated disasters rendered the position of Radetsky very critical. Notwithstanding his success at the Canal Ossone, the object of the expedition to that place had failed. Peschiera had fallen, while the repulse at Goito had both restored the hopes of the Italians and somewhat damped the spirit of his own troops. To add to his embarrassment, advices were received two days afterward of the events of the 26th May at Vienna, which had led to a total revolution in the government of that capital. On the other hand, every thing seemed to smile on the Piedmontese sovereign. By the capture of Peschiera he had secured his left flank, and acquired a solid base of operations both against Rivoli and Verona; while by his victory at Goito he had caused his right to be respected, and in a great measure compensated the injurious effect on public opinion of his defeat at Os-

sonne, and the withdrawal of the Neapolitan troops from the theatre of war. Above all, the revolution at Vienna had entirely paralyzed the forces of his adversary, and rendered it more than doubtful whether Radetsky's army might not ere long receive orders from a provisional government to unite their forces to those of the leader of liberated Italy. Impressed with these ideas, the field-marshal resolved on a general retreat and concentration of his forces in the intrenched camp under the cannon of Verona. But an ordinary retreat would be too hazardous under the circumstances; and he therefore determined, before doing so, to take advantage of the concentration of his forces on his left to strike a blow which should compel the enemy to keep at a respectful distance. With this view he resolved to march with his whole disposable force on Vicenza.³

The advantages of this movement, in a strategical point of view, were very great. It would reopen a new and secure communication with the Tyrol and Vienna, entirely within the Austrian territory, which could not be said of that by Trent, now that Peschiera was taken and Rivoli threatened; restore the direct road with Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria, by Trieste, and render available the whole country in his rear between the Alps and the Po for the supply of his army. To insure success it was necessary to throw the whole centre and left on Vicenza, leave the right shut up within the intrenched camp in front of Verona, and abandon Rivoli, the object of such fierce contention in former wars; for the garrison of Vicenza was fourteen thousand strong, amply provided with artillery, and embracing the Swiss Guards of the Pope. But if Vicenza was gained, and the interior line of communication by the Arca valley in consequence opened, the loss of Rivoli was of no importance; nay, it would rather prove an advantage by distracting the troops and attention of the enemy from the real point of attack.⁴

On 2d June the army, which had advanced into the neighborhood of Goito, was drawn back in an ostentatious manner to Mantua, and reports were circulated that a general retreat had been resolved on. General Zobel was left with a single brigade in Rivoli, with orders to withdraw from that post as soon as it was seriously threatened, and join the intrenched camp at Verona. On the 5th the field-marshal left Mantua with his whole disposable force, amounting to 24,000 infantry, 5000 horse, and 150 guns, and took the road to Vicenza, and on the evening of the 8th he was in sight of Vicenza. Passing round the group of beautiful hills called the Monte Berici, he approached the town on the eastern side, thereby cutting off all communication with Venice. Here he was joined next morning by four regiments, called up from Verona, which by great skill had succeeded in making their way through many natural and artificial obstacles, and raised his force to thirty-six thousand men.⁵ The enemy under Durando, however, had in the interim not been idle. The Papal Guards, 5000 strong, had been mingled with the Roman vol-

¹ Radetsky's Disp., June 2, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544-555.

² Ellesmere, 137-139; Ann. Hist. 1848, 544.

³ Dangerous position and difficulties of Radetsky. June 2.

⁴ Ellesmere, 140, 141; Ann. Hist. 1848, 555.

⁵ Ann. Hist. 1848, 555; Ellesmere, 144-146; Baileyd. ii. 24-29.

unteers, 10,000 more, and the artillery, consisting of 38 pieces, stationed on the most commanding eminences near the town, and strong intrenchments and barricades thrown up to prevent an entrance being effected at any point.

Having got all his forces well in hand, on the evening of the 9th the field-marshal made his dispositions for a general attack on the morning of the 10th. The key of the enemy's position evidently was the Monte Berici, and its occupation would secure the fall of the city. The action commenced at seven in the morning by an attack on the village of Santa-Margherita, which was soon carried, as was the villa of Casa-Ramboldo, situated on the spur of the hills, which had been converted into an ammunition store, and was blown up by a discharge of rockets. At 2 P.M. the general attack on the Monte Berici commenced. The assault was made by the Austrians with the utmost gallantry, nobly led on by their officers, who sustained in consequence a very heavy loss. The resistance, however, of the Swiss Guards was not less determined; and for long these dauntless antagonists of the Teutonic race held the issue in suspense. At length, however, the great superiority of the Austrian artillery determined the conflict; under cover of a tremendous vertical fire of mortars, Prince Frederick of Lichtenstein carried the suburb of Padua, while that of Santa Lucia was also forced. Still the Swiss Guards held out, and nobly in that trying hour did they sustain the ancient fame of their fathers. But the Pontifical troops having fled, they were obliged to retire into the town, which they did, surrounded but unconquered, and firing all the way. They endeavored to make a last stand in the noble colonnade, supported by one thousand columns, which leads from the summit of the hills to the town, but they were at length forced to give way. The white flag was immediately displayed at some points, the red flag at others; but all uncertainty was soon at an end by the arrival at midnight of a flag of truce to treat for a capitulation. It was at once agreed to by Radetsky, and the convention signed at six on the following morning. By it the Papal troops were to begin their march at noon for the right bank of the Po, with their artillery and baggage, by Este and Rovigo, but not to serve against Austria for three months. The free bands for the most part dispersed upon learning of this capitulation. This great success was not gained by the Austrians without heavy loss; it amounted, on their side, to Major-General Prince William Taxis and 17 other officers killed, and 285 men; 2 colonels, 28 officers, and 650 men wounded and missing. On the other side, the Swiss alone, who went into action 3000 strong, lost 600 men in the fight. Their wounded were treated like brothers by the Austrians, the field-marshal himself visiting them in the hospitals.¹

No sooner was this great victory gained, which at once restored the Austrian communications with Roveredo and the Tyrol, than Radetsky set out to return by forced marches to Verona, where he was well aware the garrison of the intrenched camp would be reduced to the last extremity during his absence.

¹ Ellesmere, 145-148; An. Hist. 1849, 555; An. Reg. 1848, 824.

59. Return of Radetsky to Verona, and capture of Rivoli. June 12.

With such expedition did he move, that General Giulay, who had headed the stormers at Vicenza on the 10th, reached Verona on the evening of the 12th, and the bulk of the army followed on the 13th. Hardly had the wearied soldiers reached their old lines when they were again hurried to the front to combat the King in person, who, with twenty thousand men, was descending from Villafranca to attack the intrenched camp during the absence of the greater part of the army at Vicenza. The determined air of the outposts, however, and the dense battalions which appeared behind them, soon convinced him that he was too late. He drew off his forces, accordingly, after a sharp reconnoissance, and contented himself with the capture of the plateau of Rivoli, which, in obedience to the orders of Radetsky, had been abandoned by General Zobel when pressed by the forces of the King the very day of the attack on Vicenza. The intelligence of the conquest of Rivoli by the Italians excited the most unbounded transports at Paris and Milan, where it was thought to be, as it had proved in the wars of Napoleon, decisive of the campaign; ignorant as they were of the new line, cut since 1796 through the mountains from Vicenza by the Val d'Arca to Roveredo, which deprived it of its great strategical importance. The Austrians brought back in triumph to Verona from Vicenza 44 guns, 18 powder-wagons, and 681 muskets. Their loss from 7th May, when the counter-march to Mantua began, to 12th June, when they returned to Verona, was 2282, of whom 304 were killed.¹

The capture of Vicenza made a prodigious sensation in Europe, and at once restored the lustre of the Austrian arms. It proved a withering blow to the Italians, and seriously damaged the reputation of Charles Albert, who, with his whole army well in hand, had accomplished nothing more during the absence of the field-marshal than the occupation of Rivoli, which had ceased to be of any value. Its immediate fruits at the theatre of war were not less important to the Imperial arms, for it opened the resources of the main land of Venice to them, and facilitated the operations of a second army of reserve, which the Government of Vienna had begun to collect for operations against Venice. The extreme difficulty, however, of collecting the recruits from the dépôts in the rear, and the undisguised hostility of all the inhabitants of the country to the Germans, which is perhaps stronger there than in any other part of Italy, rendered the formation of this second army of reserve a very tedious affair; and it was not till the end of May that Weldon was able to collect such a force as enabled him to commence the offensive, and even then he had only 2500 men and one mortar! About the same time, an Austrian movable column from Weldon's little force entered the mountain districts which had revolted, and occupied Cadore, thereby re-establishing the communications with Austria by the great road of Belberrio. Shortly after, Weldon invested Treviso, and advanced his right wing to Bassano, up the defiles of the Val Sugana. The Italians, taking advantage of a strong position in the defiles of the Brenta, by rolling down stones, and a heavy plunging fire of mus-

¹ Ellesmere, 140-158; An. Hist. 1849, 555; An. Reg. 1848, 824, 825.

ketry, for two days repelled the enemy; but in the night of the second four companies of Tyrolese militia climbed the heights in their rear, and compelled the insurgents to retire. By this means the direct communication between Bassano and Roveredo, by the Val Sugana, was restored, and the value of the position of Rivoli to Charles Albert entirely lost. This was followed by the forcing of the passage of the Val d'Arca

by the Austrians, on the 12th June, who June 12. arrived on the 15th at Roveredo, thereby opening the direct passage from Vicenza, and restoring, by two lines, the communications between the Venetian provinces and the German Tyrol. Such was the consternation excited by these events, that on the 18th Treviso capitulated, with its garrison of 4185 men, to General d'Aspre, with a single brigade, on the same terms as those which had been accorded to Vicenza. Padua, on the same day, followed the example; and the whole Venetian main land being now abandoned, the insurgents shut themselves up in Venice, and the whole 158-160; Ann. shores of the Lagoon were occupied by the Austrian troops.¹ Hist. 1848, 853.

A pause now ensued of a month's duration in military operations. The interval was spent by both parties in getting up reinforcements to compensate their losses; in repairing the equipment of the troops; collecting supplies of ammunition, guns, and provisions from the rear, and strengthening their positions in the front. So equally balanced were the two hosts, that neither made any attempt to interrupt his opponent; and the positions of each, in consequence, grew into the most portentous strength. That of Radetsky, in front of Verona, was protected by works which rivaled the famed lines of Torres Vedras. He at the same time greatly strengthened the fort of Riva, at the upper end of the Lago di Garda, and established a flotilla on it, which gave him the entire command of the lake. The whole *Cirica* or National Guard in the Venetian territories were at the same time disarmed, and strong garrisons established in Vicenza, Padua, Bassano, Treviso, Palma-Nuova, and the other recovered towns in the continental provinces of Venice, as well as on the shores of the Lagoon themselves. But though by these means the Austrian position was rendered much more secure, and extensive supplies were obtained for their troops, the disposable force which they could bring to the front was only weakened. The reinforcements which they got up from the rear were not adequate to repair the losses and wear and tear of the campaign, and at the same time occupy in sufficient strength the numerous towns in their rear; and Radetsky was mortified to find that, after all his efforts and victories, he could not collect above forty-four thousand effective men for offensive operations in the field; and with these he required not only to make head against Charles Albert in front, but to protect a long and double line of communication in his rear.²

The efforts of the Piedmontese King had been equally vigorous to restore and reinforce his army during the pause in active operations. The filling up of the Piedmontese battalions with Lombard re-

cruits, so long recommended, had now begun to be carried into effect, and added considerably to the strength of the battalions, though by no means in an equal degree to their efficiency in the field. A camp of reserve battalions was formed in the rear, which furnished seven thousand young but good soldiers. The material of the army was also improved by large importations of artillery and arms from abroad. But these acquisitions by no means equaled the reinforcements which, in the end of July, began to pour into the Austrian army. A new levy of twenty thousand men had indeed been decreed at Turin, and the battalions were beginning to be formed, but some months must elapse before they could by possibility take the field. An energetic proclamation had been issued by the Provisional Government at Milan, calling on the Lombards to take arms; but it was responded to so slowly that the Italian army, instead of increasing, was diminishing every day, and it was evident that the cause of Italian independence would receive no effective support from the inhabitants of the plains between the Alps and the Apennines. On the other hand, the strength of the Austrian army was materially increased in the end of July by the addition of the corps of Count Thurn, with twelve thousand men from Weldon's army, and the arrival of numerous recruits from the Austrian provinces. By these means the army at the disposal of the field-marshal was raised to 126 battalions and 60 squadrons, with 240 guns. The total combatants, if they had been all up and effective, would have been 182,000; but 12,000 were sick or wounded, an equal number on march, and at least 40,000 were required to garrison the towns in the rear and keep up the communications; so that not more than 60,000 could be relied on for operations in the field, of whom 40,000 only could be collected in one field of battle by the field-marshal. The Piedmontese active army was not less numerous, because, though the sum total of the forces at the disposal of Charles Albert was not, including the garrison of Venice, above 90,000, yet, as the country in his rear was all friendly, he was not in an equal degree weakened by detachments and garrisons to keep up the communications. But the efficiency of this army had been much impaired by the large intermixture of recruits which had taken place to fill up the chasms among the old soldiers—a circumstance which had seriously lessened their steadiness and their power to move under fire.¹ 158-160; Ann. Hist. 1848, 856, 857.

But whatever advantage the Austrian field-marshal might have over Charles Albert in the forces immediately under his command in the field was compensated, and more than compensated, by the distracted condition of the Austrian monarchy, which was in such a state that its immediate dissolution, without external stroke, seemed imminent. Bohemia, in open insurrection, had only recently received its first check, by the bombardment of Prague by Windischgratz. It was this success which had enabled Count Latour to forward the large reinforcements which he had lately dispatched to the Adige. But Hungary was distracted by a frightful schism, which threatened to deprive the empire of its best soldiers and most powerful sup-

¹ Ellesmere, 158-160; Ann. Hist. 1848, 856, 857.

² Ellesmere, 158-160; Ann. Hist. 1848, 856, 857.

port. The Tyrol was firm and loyal, and Croatia sent forth gallant bands to encounter the Magyars on the Hungarian plains; but Vienna was in a state of smouldering insurrection, and it was impossible to say how soon the Imperial rule might pass entirely into revolutionary hands. In these circumstances, it was impossible to overrate the importance of the defensive position held by Radetsky on the Adige, or the calamitous results which would ensue if his gallant host were to experience any serious reverse. Caution and prudence were thus imposed, as a matter of necessity, on the Austrian commander; for defeat, in any considerable degree, might prove the forerunner, not merely of the defeat of an army, but of the dissolution of an empire.

The forces on the opposite sides being more equally balanced, Charles Albert resolved to take the initiative in offensive operations by the investment of Mantua. He was too good a soldier not to be aware of the dangers with which such an undertaking would be attended in the presence of such a general as Radetsky, himself holding an impregnable position on the flank of the blockading army; but, in truth, he was no longer the master of his own movements. The revolutionary press in his rear opened upon him such a torrent of abuse for his so-called inactivity after the capture of Rivoli and victory of Goito, that he was compelled, against his better judgment, to undertake an enterprise which was the immediate cause of his and their own ruin. Compelled by the same ignorant and senseless external pressure to give up none of his acquisitions, he resolved to hold the plateau of Rivoli on his left, and the works in front of Verona in his centre, while he accumulated the mass of his forces against Mantua on his right. This weakening of his centre and left, directly in front of the fortified position of Radetsky, whose forces were concentrated under its guns, was a grave fault in a military point of view, savoring rather of revolutionary enthusiasm than experienced wisdom, and would be a lasting reproach to the military conduct of Charles Albert, were it not that he was not, in so doing, his own master, but was overruled by a council of heated revolutionists in his rear, whose ignorance of military affairs was equaled only by their presumption in assuming their direction.

The siege of Mantua having been resolved on, the movements of the Piedmontese to commence the investment began on the 18th July, on which day the head-quarters of the King were moved to Roverbella, in the vicinity of that place. On the same day an Austrian corps of five thousand men was detached by the field-marshal, under Prince Lichtenstein, for the relief of the citadel of Ferrara, which had remained in the hands of the Imperialists ever since the beginning of the war, but was now beginning to be hard pressed for provisions by the Piedmontese force which held the town. The passage of the Po having been very skillfully effected by means of boats, the Austrian column appeared before the place at mid-day on the day following, and the Piedmontese blockading force, being much inferior in number, immediately agreed to a con-

vention, in virtue of which the citadel was to be regularly supplied with provisions every two months. Having secured this object, Lichtenstein immediately recrossed the Po. After this success, the Austrian commander, agreeably to his instructions, moved upon Governolo, a fortified town of some importance, situated at the junction of the Mincio and the Po, and which was held by a small Austrian detachment. The object of this was to cross the Mincio at Governolo, and threaten the rear of the force blockading Mantua, which was at the same time to be disturbed by a sally from the place. No sooner, however, did Charles Albert hear of this movement than he detached General Bava, with six battalions and fifteen guns, who carried the place before Lichtenstein could reach it. Finding himself thus anticipated, the Prince took up a position at Sanguinetto, where he was in a situation to prevent any movement against General Weldon's corps, which maintained the blockade of Venice and the line of the Lower Po.¹

But more important events were now on the wing, and those great strategical operations were about to commence which were destined to decide the contest in Italy. Radetsky's plan was to direct his real attack on his own left against the Piedmontese force grouped around Mantua under the King in person, but to disguise this design under a subordinate attack on Rivoli on his right, which might induce the King to make considerable detachments in that direction. The better to conceal both designs, he published a bulletin, in which he announced a farther prolongation of the defensive system; and while every one was reading this, and expressing surprise at his inactivity, now that his army had been so largely reinforced, he was silently preparing for both expeditions. On the evening of the 21st twenty-three companies were put under the command of Count Thurn, and the rendezvous appointed for them was a post on the Monte Baldo, near Aqua-Negra. There they assembled at five in the morning of the 22d, and immediately proceeded to the attack of the Piedmontese positions defending the approaches to the plateau of Rivoli. The Austrians, under Count Lichnowsky, advanced up the valley of the Adige with great intrepidity to the attack; but they were met by 8000 Piedmontese, with four guns, at the village of La Zuanne, where the ascent of the slope, of which the plateau is the summit, commences; and after sustaining severe loss, they were compelled to retire. Count Thurn, who descended the Adige with his force, met with no better success; his troops were so exhausted by their mountain march before they reached the enemy, that they were unable to make any impression on the Piedmontese, who stood to their guns with the utmost resolution, and drove him back to San Martino, where he passed the night. Although, however, the Piedmontese had thus been successful at both points of attack, yet the numbers of the Austrians were so superior, and their position was such, that they could not fail of obtaining success on the following day when their columns came into united action. The Piedmontese commander, therefore, abandoned the position of Rivoli in

63.
Movement of
Charles Al-
bert against
Mantua, and
its dangers.

64.
Blockade of
Mantua, and
relief of the
citadel of Fer-
rara.
July 13.

July 14.

1 Ann. Hist.
1848, 558;
Ellesmere,
168-171.

65.
Repulse of the
Austrians be-
fore Rivoli.
July 20.

July 21.

July 22.

the night and withdrew to Peschiera, leaving the plateau to be occupied by the Austrians. In these untoward affairs the Austrians sustained a loss of eight officers and two hundred men.¹

Having by these means fixed the attention of the enemy on his own right, Radetsky prosecuted with the utmost vigor his projected attack on the enemy's right and centre before Mantua. On the evening of the same day, July 22, on which the Piedmontese had evacuated Rivoli, the field-marshal collected his forces in the intrenched camp before Verona, and prepared for the great and decisive trial of strength with the enemy. The intrenched camp, strongly guarded, was left under the orders of an able officer, Field-Marshal Haynau, and the field force was divided into three columns. The first, consisting of seven brigades, was under the orders of the field-marshal in person, and Count Schaffgotsche; the left, also of seven brigades, was directed by Count Wohlgemuth and Prince Schwartzberg; while the reserve, which was moving up midway between the two a little in the rear, was under the orders of Lieutenant-Marshal Count Haller. The Austrian forces were not less than 40,000 strong. The Piedmontese force was very strongly posted, but greatly inferior in number, the brigade of Savona having been drafted off to defend the plateau of Rivoli, and that of Piedmont to the extreme right for the blockade of Mantua. For the defense of the intrenched position threatened with attack, only two brigades and some cavalry could be relied on, mustering not more than 12,000 combatants.²

The Austrian troops, during the night march, encountered a heavy storm of rain, and the darkness was such that the troops could not find their way in the thickly inclosed country through which the march lay; and the advance, which had been ordered for one o'clock in the morning, was necessarily suspended till daybreak, when it was resumed. The Piedmontese position, which was about two leagues in length, extended along the range of heights which stretches from Custoza to the Mincio, and covers, against an enemy advancing from the north, the whole plain which extends in the rear toward Mantua. It was here that the Piedmontese centre was placed; and it was this range of heights which it was Radetsky's object to force; striking thus, after the manner of Napoleon, a decisive blow at the enemy's centre when imprudently weakened and exposed to attack. The battle began at seven in the morning by the storming of the heights of Sona, which, after a brave struggle, were carried by the Hungarian regiment of the Archduke Ernest. On this occasion the assault and resistance were both so desperate that in some cases the Hungarians seized with their hands the enemy's muskets, which were protruded through the embrasures, tore off the bayonets, and fired through the loopholes in return. This success was followed by the storming of the height of Madonna del Monte by the brigade of Prince Lichtenstein; and shortly after the cavalry of Schaffgotsche's brigade, converting what was designed

for a false attack into a real one, carried the heights of Santa Giustina. Lichtenstein's brigade pursued the enemy into San Georgio in Salire, from whence they were driven to their last tenable position of Castel-Nuovo, from which they were expelled by assault. While this great success was gained by Baron d'Aspre on the centre and right, General Wohlgemuth was assailing with the Austrian left the Piedmontese right, which was defended by three thousand men, with four guns, strongly posted on the summit of the Somma Campagna. After a stout resistance, it too was carried by the impetuous attack of the brigade Strapoldo, led on by Wohlgemuth in person. The enemy, finding his defenses now broken in and pierced at all points, retreated rapidly toward the Mincio, which their left wing crossed; the Austrians followed, and before evening the heights of Custoza were fully occupied by their advanced column, and the reserve established in San Georgio in Salire, where head-quarters were placed. By the operations of this day, Radetsky had entirely succeeded in his object; the whole intrenchments of the Piedmontese centre had been carried, their left wing driven across the Mincio, and the Imperialists established on the entire heights which covered to the north the Mantuan plains as far as that river.¹

So far the most brilliant success had attended the Austrian operations: but Radetsky's position after his victory was by no means free from danger; for while the bulk of his troops were pressing forward on the fortified heights near the Mincio, Charles Albert had concentrated a large force at Villafranca, in the plain behind the field-marshal's left, which was strongly fortified, but had been merely observed and passed by the corps moving on to the heights. The possession of this important point gave him the means either of raising the siege of Mantua, and giving battle with his entire force before theirs was concentrated in the plain in front of that fortress, or, throwing the bulk of his forces behind their left, of menacing their communications. In truth, the two armies were in a very peculiar situation, for they had mutually passed each other, and each threatened his opponent's communications; but there was this difference between them, that Charles Albert had his forces better in hand, and was in a more favorable situation, notwithstanding his recent discomfiture, to engage in a general and decisive battle. Both generals were aware of the circumstance, and both exerted themselves accordingly—the King to make a sudden assault on the enemy while still, in a manner, on a line of march—the field-marshal to close up his columns, and put them in a position to resist. The former had nine brigades and a division of cavalry concentrated in Villafranca, and with these he determined to commence the offensive. Accordingly he moved forward, on the evening of the 24th, directly against the Austrian left and communications. The Duke of Savoy led the left, the Duke of Genoa the right; the centre was under General Bava, the cavalry covering the plain on the side toward Verona.²

A great advantage, in the first instance, attended this daring yet wise movement of the Bar-

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 558, 559; Ellesmere, 171, 174; Ann. Reg. 1848, 324.

² Movement of Radetsky against the Piedmontese centre and right.

¹ Ellesmere, 174-179; Ann. Hist. 1848, 559; Balleydier, I. 311, 312.

ca.

after the battle.

² Ellesmere, 182-185.

69. **Success of Charles Albert on the Somma Campagna.** July 24. The advance of his concentrated columns perpendicularly against the Austrian line of march soon brought them into contact with the enemy, when leisurely pursuing the cross-march to close up in their front. The brigade Simbschen was the first to be attacked, when in loose array on the summit of the Somma Campagna. In an instant it was pierced through; the regiment Haynau, which was the leading one, suffered severely; the regiment Prince Ernest, cut off from the others, was surrounded and made prisoners. The entire brigade was obliged to retire to Verona, with the loss of 1817 men, of whom 1100 were prisoners. Here, again, the immense advantage gained by the party which can attack in column an enemy in flank, disposed over a line of march, was very apparent; and if Charles Albert erred by extending himself over a line thirty miles in length, from Rivoli to Mantua, in the first instance, he nobly redeemed his error by his attack on the Somma Campagna in concentrated columns, while still bleeding under his defeat.¹

70. **Movements of the two parties.** This brilliant stroke well-nigh re-established the King's affairs. He had now regained possession of the range of hills east of the Tione from Custoza to the Somma Campagna, which nearly neutralized the advantages gained by the victory on the preceding day. No sooner, therefore, did the field-marshal receive intelligence of this defeat than he resolved to make a great effort to regain the ground he had lost. For this purpose his troops, during the night of the 24th, were disposed for a general attack on the troops on the ridge of Sona and the Somma Campagna. On his part the Sardinian king, encouraged by his brilliant success, was not less anxious to renew the conflict, and had made all his arrangements for a general attack on the Imperialists from the Somma Campagna to Oliosi, and from Custoza to Valeggio. The fate of Italy would in all probability depend on the issue of the battle to be delivered on the following day.²

71. **Second desperate battle of Valeggio.** The morning arose clear and bright, and the sun shone forth with unclouded brilliancy, with all the heat of the dog-days in Italy. About eight, General Bava marched against Valeggio, on the Austrian left; but he was received with so terrible a fire of grape and musketry in front, aided by charges of cavalry on his flank, that he soon became convinced that no impression could be made there till the heights behind, on which Clam's brigade was posted, were won. Toward noon the Austrian brigade Giulay, which had got the start of the Piedmontese in the occupation of Sona and Madonna del Monte, made an attack on the heights of Somma Campagna, and after sustaining several repulses, at length succeeded in carrying them, chiefly through the gallantry of the Vienna volunteers. Farther to the right, Lichtenstein's brigade was engaged in the attack of the Casa Berattara, and the adjacent heights as far as the Monte Bosconi. This affair was deemed of so much importance that the old field-marshal rode with the advanced posts, encouraging the soldiers by his voice and example. They were at length carried by a

desperate storm of the Hungarian infantry. Such was the heat in the afternoon that great numbers on both sides perished by sun-stroke on the field of battle. At length, however, the Imperialists were successful, after a desperate struggle at all points: the Piedmontese fell back on Custoza, and thence on Villafranca; while the heights which protected Valeggio were carried by Clam's brigade, and the enemy finally driven down into the plain. In the night the Piedmontese army collected around Villafranca, and at midnight commenced their retreat in two columns toward the Mincio, thus finally abandoning to the Austrians the long-contested ridge of eminences between that river and the Adige, and as a necessary consequence raising the siege of Mantua.¹

In the two battles of Custoza the Austrians lost, besides what had been sustained on the 24th by the brigade Simbschen, 18 officers and 237 men killed, 51 officers and 1039 men wounded, 1 officer and 628 men made prisoners—in all, 1974; which, with the 1317 lost on the 23d, amounted to above 3300 men. The Piedmontese loss was probably not less considerable, but it has never been published on official authority. The retreat was directed on Goito, as the best point for crossing the river, and conducted with the utmost precision and regularity. The field-marshal, on his side, without a moment's delay, prepared every thing for a vigorous pursuit. By daybreak on the following morning he was on horseback, and his corps were advancing on the traces of the enemy at all points. The 1st corps crossed the Mincio at Monzambano, while the 2d, after collecting on the heath of Pretiana, moved upon Valeggio. At Salionze a portion of the 3d corps crossed the river, in order to invest Peschiera, already blockaded on the left bank. After passing Valeggio, the brigade of Prince Frederick Lichtenstein came in contact, in moving on Volta, with the Piedmontese brigade of Savoy. A fierce conflict ensued, both on the evening of the 26th and on the following morning, in which the Piedmontese were successful, and the Austrians sustained a loss of 347 men, including 160 prisoners. The King's troops, however, were at length compelled to retire, by the arrival of fresh forces on the enemy's side, and the retreat was continued toward the Oglio, abandoning the line of the Mincio at every point. The field-marshal, upon this, moved on to Goito to superintend the passage of his troops over the river; the investment of Peschiera was completed, and intrusted to Count Haynau; while the garrison of Mantua, now entirely relieved, made incursions into the adjoining country, and drove back far toward the Oglio the whole blockading force.²

After this disaster the progress of the Austrian arms was a continued triumph. On the 30th they crossed the Oglio without opposition, as it was known that the river afforded a bad line of defense against an enemy advancing from the eastward; and on the 31st the Piedmontese continued their retreat across the Adda, closely followed by the Austrians. Seri-

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 557; An. Reg. 1848: P. lemmere, 185-191.

² Results of the battle, and retreat of the Piedmontese.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 186, 187; Ellesmere, 186, 187.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 553; Ellesmere, 191-195; An. Reg. 1848, 824, 8.5.

³ Retreat of the Piedmontese across the Oglio and the Adda.

ous resistance was nowhere attempted, for sixty thousand men, flushed with victory, thundered in close pursuit, and the retiring force already was beginning to melt away under the discouragement which, especially with young troops, always attends a long-continued retrograde movement. Large bodies, especially of the Italian new levies and volunteers, threw away their arms and returned to their homes; and even the Piedmontese regulars were far from exhibiting on all occasions the steadiness which can alone avert disaster in the course of a long retreat; and the King, dreading the entire dissolution, at least of the volunteers of his army, if the retreat were further continued, proposed an armistice to Radetsky, with the Oglio as the line of demarkation between the two armies. These terms the field-marshal at once rejected, demanding on his side that the Piedmontese should retire behind the Adda, and surrender the fortresses of Peschiera, Pizzighettone, and Rocca d'Arco, with the withdrawal of their troops from Venice, Parma, and Modena, and the release of the whole Austrian officers who had been detained at Milan since the commencement of the war. The King was not so far reduced as to submit to such terms, and hostilities continued.

During this retreat, which continued without intermission toward Milan by Cremona ⁷⁴ Continued and Lodi and the course of the Adda, to Milan. decisive evidence was obtained that, unlike the inhabitants of the towns, the rural population were attached to the Austrian in preference to the Italian rule. This appeared not merely in the acclamations which in every country attend the advance of a victorious army, but in substantial acts of kindness, which, when fortune was adverse, the peasants had evinced to the sick and wounded of the Austrian force. In the village of Le Grazie, near Mantua, the Imperialists found, upon their advance, a hundred of their sick and wounded, abandoned during the former retreat, whom they had concealed, unknown to the Piedmontese, in a church, and carefully tended, till relieved by the second advance of their countrymen. Near Mantua, every peasant was suspected by the Piedmontese as an Austrian spy. Meanwhile the utmost agitation prevailed in Milan; and the Provisional

Government issued a decree ordering every man capable of bearing arms to take them up, and repair forthwith to the Adda. This decree, without adding one man to the military force of the country, only increased the general consternation by universally diffusing the belief that the cause must have been hopeless before resort was had to so desperate a measure. A decree was passed, at the same time, hastily uniting Lombardy and Piedmont into one kingdom; but already a divergence of interests as well as passions had appeared between them; and the retiring Piedmontese columns, which had fought so nobly for Italian independence, were exposed to insult while traversing the streets of Milan. The Austrian field-marshal, without a moment's delay, continued his advance in pursuit of the enemy, by Lodi and Corona, to Vigliano—where

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 569-572; Ellesmere, 196-200.

three thousand Piedmontese endeavored in vain to make a stand—and to Brescia on the right. Thence the King continued his retrograde movement on Milan, and the Austrian bu-

gles joyfully sounded for the last advance on the Lombard capital.

A sharp combat of the Austrian advanced with the Piedmontese rear guard ⁷⁵ took place on the 4th August near Capitation Gambolito, in which the retreating of Milan. army, though finally worsted, exhib- August 4. ited the courage in disaster which is the most honorable attribute of soldiers. But all was unavailing; the decree of Providence had been pronounced, and Italy was again to pass under foreign dominion. Already the Austrian left had occupied Pavia, and pushed its advanced guard to the Gravello, an arm of the Ticino, thus threatening the communication of the King with his own dominions. The centre was grouped in appalling strength within a league of Milan; while their right, advancing between that city and the Alps, had already occupied Monza, and cut off from the capital the band of Garibaldi, formed of six thousand Italian volunteers. The King, seeing the abandonment of Milan inevitable, had already sent his reserve park across the Po to Placentia, and ammunition was awaiting for any protracted defense of the city. A capitulation was proposed and discussed Aug. 5. on the 5th; but no sooner did the people hear what was going forward, than they assembled in tumultuous masses, surrounded the King's quarters, calling out, "Death to the Piedmontese!" and loudly demanded the construction of barricades, and "Guerra a morte!" with the Austrians. Shots were actually fired in at the windows from the crowd outside; and so irritated were the Piedmontese at this ungrateful conduct on the part of their recent allies, that it required the utmost efforts of their officers to prevent them from sallying forth and avenging the insult to their sovereign. In the night the King was extricated from his perilous situation by a detachment of his guards; and at the earnest request of the civic authorities, who, with reason, dreaded indiscriminate plunder on the retreat of the Piedmontese rear-guard, which took place during the night, the barricades were removed, and the Austrians entered the city in triumph at ten on the following morning. They came in by the Porta Romana, headed by d'Aspre's corps, which had taken so memorable a part in the war. They swept by in superb order, to the triumphant strains of military music, amidst the deathlike silence of all who witnessed it. The dreams of the enthusiasts had passed away—the vision of Italian independence had melted into air—the iron had entered the souls of the Milanese. Many recollected the words which the veteran field-marshal had addressed to them before a shot had been fired, and which had proved prophetic—"The sword I have borne for fifty-six years with honor in the field yet remains firm ¹ Ellesmere, 200-208; Ann. Hist. 1848, 569-568; Ann. Reg. 1848, 825, 826. in my grasp. May I not be compelled to unfurl the standard of the double-headed eagle: its strength of wing will be found unimpaired!"

On the day following the entrance of the Imperial troops into Milan the King proposed an armistice, which was ⁷⁶ accepted by the field-marshal only on the condition of an entire exchange of prisoners; and meanwhile a large body of Austrians was Armistice, and desperate measures of the Radicals. August 9.

advanced to Placentia, with a view to an immediate passage of the Po in the event of hostilities being resumed. This, however, was not the case. On the 9th, General Salasco made his appearance at the Austrian head-quarters, with proposals for a six weeks' armistice, with a view to negotiations for peace. It was concluded on condition of the Piedmontese troops retiring within their own territories, the frontier of which was to form the line of demarkation between the two parties. The fortresses of Peschiera, Rocca d'Arco, and Osopo, were to be surrendered to the Austrians; the duchies of Parma and Modena to be evacuated by the Piedmontese, and that of Placentia to the extent of the town, and a circle of three thousand paces round it. This armistice, which was warmly supported by the English minister at the court of Turin, was afterward prolonged and continued through the whole year. On the day following their entry the field-marshal published an order of the day to his brave soldiers, in which he said, with deserved pride: "The Imperial flag is again waving from the walls of Milan; there is no longer an enemy on Lombard ground." On their side, the Revolutionists, headed by MAZZINI, exclaimed: "The war of kings has terminated; that of the people is about to commence." He set out professedly to enroll himself in the corps of a partisan named Garibaldi, who was forming a band of volunteers at Genoa. But on the approach of an Austrian column he fled to Lugano, from whence he sought refuge in Switzerland, leaving, as a legacy to his countrymen, a

pamphlet, in which he stigmatized the "moderate traitors" who had combated on the Adige, while the real patriots were making speeches at Milan.¹

The war of the people accordingly began; but its issue was even more calamitous to the cause of Italian independence than that of sovereigns had been. The Austrian occupation of Milan, in the first instance, so far from tranquilizing the peninsula, only increased the general agitation, and seriously augmented the difficulties with which the governments had to contend. The armistice between Piedmont and Austria was indeed prolonged; and the British and French Governments, sincerely and in good faith, labored to bring about a lasting accommodation between them. The former, in particular, which had from the outset disapproved of the treacherous advantage taken by the Piedmontese Government of the revolution at Milan, and earnestly dissuaded from the war, was now earnest in its endeavors to mediate between the contending parties. But this was every day becoming more difficult, for the violence of the revolutionists was augmented in proportion as the danger increased; and the direction of affairs, under the pressure of general excitement, passed out of the hands of experience and wisdom into those of ignorant zeal and presumptuous enthusiasm. The Austrian army, under General Weldon, on the 3d August passed the Po, in pursuance of the general plan of advance consequent on the battle of Custoza, and moved forward to Ferrara and Bologna, which they occupied. The intelligence of this invasion

of the pontifical territory, and of the disasters on the Mincio and the Oglio, excited the greater sensation at Rome, that it was received immediately after a report had been spread of a pretended victory by the Piedmontese troops, and in the midst of fêtes given by the Liberals to the volunteers who had capitulated at Vicenza. As the Roman troops had taken part in the crusade against the Germans, of course they had no right to complain of this incursion. It produced, however, a violent explosion of revolutionary fury at Rome, which terminated in the fall of M. Mammiani the prime minister, and the installation of a more radical administration. The ministers of England and France betrayed the secret leaning of their Governments by protesting against this violation of the ecclesiastical territory. Aug. 6. The Austrians, after having occupied Bologna, withdrew in consequence of these remonstrances, lest the war should become general. But the Duchy of Modena was occupied by Aug. 8. Prince Frederick Lichtenstein on behalf of its lawful sovereign; and on the 14th, Count Thurn, amidst general acclamations, again hoisted its sovereign's colors on the walls of Parma. Peace was thus restored for the rest of the year to Northern Italy, only broken by a feeble incursion of Garibaldi into the Lombard territory with a few thousand Liberal refugees from the neutral territory of Switzerland, who, after some partial successes, was forced by General d'Aspre again to seek refuge in the recesses of the Alps.¹

At Florence the agitation consequent on the defeat of the Piedmontese and the advance of the Austrian armies was not less violent than at Rome; but the Tuscan territory was protected from invasion by the powerful shield thrown over it by the ministers of France and England, which the victorious Austrians had orders to respect. They could not prevent, however, an explosion of revolutionary violence at Leghorn, which, as a great sea-port and commercial city, had become the common resort of the discomfited Liberals from all quarters. French and Polish refugees, mingled with Italian enthusiasts and banditti, encumbered its streets, and presented ready-made all the elements of a democratic convulsion. It broke out, accordingly, under the guidance of Guerrazzi, at whose voice mobs speedily arose, and traversed the streets exclaiming, "Vive la République!" A deputation to confer with the Grand Duke at Florence, with Guerrazzi at its head, was dispatched, and preferred claims to an independent sovereignty, which the extreme party had meantime assumed. Their demands were not formally acceded to, but they were not absolutely rejected; the Government at Florence had no armed force at its command; and the Grand Duke, as a reward for his liberal concessions, was compelled to wink at the assumption of independence by a considerable part of his dominions.²

The revolutionary passions were still more violent at Rome, where they had first been fostered by the innovating philanthropy of Pius IX.; and before the end of the year they led

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 567-569; Ellesmere, 210-214; Ann. Reg. 1848, 329, 330; Balleidier, i. 379, 380.

² Events at Florence and Leghorn.

³ Ann. Hist. 1848, 569, 570; Admiral Parker to Lord Hardwicke, April 16, 1849, MS.

to a frightful tragedy in the Eternal City. During the whole autumn it presented little more than a scene of anarchy in the people and impotence in the Government. The cardinals were so grossly insulted that they could no longer venture to appear in public; the word "Republic" was often heard in the streets; and the weakness of the executive became so painfully evident, that the Count Rossi, formerly ambassador of France, was intrusted with the formation of a new cabinet. He himself took the arduous post of Minister of the Interior and of Finance, and Cardinal Seglio was President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the difficult circumstances in which Italy was now placed Rossi perceived the absolute necessity of pursuing a pacific and temporizing policy. The proud adage, "*Italia para da se!*" had been tried and found wanting. Charles Albert himself, in the proclamation which followed the evacuation of Milan, had made the mournful confession that Italy, standing alone, could not resist Austria.* Rossi, conscious of this, and thinking it probable the war between Piedmont and Austria would be renewed, was anxious to effect a confederation of all the states for mutual defense, and actually drew up the scheme of a convention for that purpose; but it came to nothing, as Piedmont, actuated by its own ambitious views, kept aloof. Meanwhile his administration proceeded vigorously in correcting real abuses and effecting reforms; and with such success were these labors attended that confidence was in a great measure restored, and even Bologna chose him for its deputy. But this did not by any means answer the views of the extreme democrats, who did not wish the correction of abuses, but that they might get into power and profit by them. Seeing, accordingly, that the revolution was taking quite a different direction from what they either expected or desired, they spared no pains to discredit the administration in general, and Rossi in particular, with the people; and at last the revolutionary party were worked up to such a pitch of frenzy against him as led to the commission of a hideous crime, which has affixed a lasting stain on their cause.¹

The 15th November was the day appointed for the opening of the Chambers. Considerable excitement prevailed, and the ministry were the objects of severe animadversion for not proceeding more rapidly in the career of Revolution; but no disorder was apprehended, far less the commission of any serious outrage. The seditious, however, were busy; the secret societies had determined that the principal minister was to be assassinated;

they had decided by lot who was to strike the blow, and the assassin had practiced on a block where to strike, which was on the great artery in the neck. The minister received several anonymous letters, warning him of his danger, and a priest even violated the confessional to put him on his guard: but in vain; he was too brave either to fear death or take precautions against it. He said it was his duty to go to the Chamber, and go he would; if any one desired his blood, there were plenty of opportunities for shedding it. At noon he went to the Chamber in the Cancellaria in his carriage. A number of persons, armed with daggers, and decorated with the Vicenza medal, lined each side of the court as he entered, and a howl of execration arose when the carriage drove in. Righetti, the depute-minister of finance, was on his left hand; but when they alighted, he was separated from him in the crowd, in which cries arose and daggers were gleaming. Some one addressed him, and when Rossi turned to answer, he was suddenly stabbed in the neck and dropped dead. The Vicenza heroes, decorated with their medals, clustered round the fallen minister, and under cover of this the assassin quietly walked off. Not an attempt was made to seize him, though all had seen the thing done. It was only in May, 1854, that the murderer was discovered and convicted; he proved to be a sculptor of the name of Constantadini. Upon the dreadful event being known in the Chamber, a cry of horror arose, and the deputies disappeared. The Pope's remaining ministers vanished; with Rossi the whole Government fell to the ground. Nothing was done to provide the means of defense against further violence, or guide the vessel of the State amidst the breakers by which it was surrounded. The revolutionists were not equally supine. The clubs met in the evening, and preparations were made for taking advantage of the consternation to force an entirely revolutionary government on the pontiff.¹

In pursuance of this design, a crowd, composed of a few hundred braves and desperadoes from the secret societies, met early in the morning, and, followed by an immense concourse of spectators, proceeded to the palace of the Quirinal, bearing aloft a flag, on which were inscribed the names of the popular ministers who were to be demanded from and forced upon the Pope. The Swiss Guards, though only a hundred in number, seeing the formidable aspect of the procession, closed the gates, and prepared to defend their sovereign. A few shots fired over their heads soon made the mob recoil, and the victory seemed gained for the Government, when suddenly an unexpected apparition came on the scene and turned the tide the other way. As the crowd were retiring, they were met by the Civic Guard, several thousand strong, in uniform, with a military band at their head, who joined the retreating insurgents, and opened a sustained fire upon the gates and windows of the palace. The Swiss, however, fought well, and kept up so vigorous a discharge upon the assailants that they were obliged to bring up cannon, which blew open the gates, upon which the Pope ordered the firing on his side to cease.

* On August 10, Charles Albert issued a proclamation, in which he said: "The enemy increased. My army was almost alone in the struggle. The want of provisions obliged us to abandon the position we had conquered. With my army I retired to Milan; but, harassed by long fatigues, it could not encounter a new battlefield, for even the strength of the brave soldier has its limits. The interior defense of the town could not be maintained: money, provisions, and ammunition were wanting. The courage of the citizens might, perhaps, have resisted for some days, but only to bury us under the ruins, not to conquer the enemy. A convention was begun by me. The Milanese adopted and signed it. The throbs of my heart were ever for Italian independence; but Italy has not yet shown to the world that she can conquer alone."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1848, p. 326.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 581, 582; *An. Reg.* 1848, 330; *M. Harcourt & M. Bastide*, Nov. 17, 1848; *Monteur*, Nov. 25; *Balleydier*, ii. 17-30.

81. *Revolution at Rome, and flight of the Pope*, Nov. 16.

A prelate had been shot dead in the Pontiff's ante-chamber, upon which he turned to the diplomatic body who surrounded him, and said he was no longer a free agent, and must yield to necessity. The whole *corps diplomatique* showed the greatest courage on the occasion, and hastened on the first alarm to surround the Pontiff. A list of ministers, composed of the most decided Revolutionists, with Mamiani and Galtelli, two favorite leaders, at their head, was now presented to him to sign; but he refused, saying, "I can not sign that; it is against my conscience." Upon this being known outside, the tumult redoubled, and the cries, "Sign! sign!" were heard on all sides, till at length he was obliged to sign the list. Loud cheers immediately broke from the crowd which traversed the streets, great part of which were illuminated, shouting, "The Sovereign has given us a republic!" Thereafter the Pope remained a virtual prisoner in his own palace. He took no part in public affairs, though the government of the Revolutionists was carried on in his name; and on the 24th, finding his

Nov. 24.

¹ M. D'Harcourt à M. Bastide, Nov. 17, 1848; *Moniteur*, Nov. 25; *An. Reg.* 1848, 831; *An. Hist.* 1848, 583-585; Cayley, II. 347.

situation insupportable, he mounted, in the disguise of a servant, the box of the Bavarian minister's carriage, on which he was fortunate enough to pass the gates undetected, and arrived in safety at Gaeta in the Neapolitan territory, leaving the government of the Pontifical States entirely in the hands of the Revolutionary ministry.¹

The war on the Po having been for the time suspended, and the Papal authority overturned at Rome, the revolutionary party throughout Italy began to disclose their plan of operations. They had no intention of establishing, like the Jacobins of Paris, a republic one and indivisible; the ambition of the numerous democratic leaders in the many great towns of Italy forbade any such projects. As this brought into the field a multitude of clashing interests, a confederacy of republics seemed to be the only alternative, and this accordingly was the project which Count Rossi had labored so assiduously to promote. But the only return which he received was the stroke of an assassin; and after his death the revolutionists seemed set only on forwarding their own separate plans of aggrandizement. Knowing that the shield of France and England was thrown over Tuscany and the Roman States, and that the Austrian troops would not venture to cross their frontier, the extreme democrats looked upon these states of Central Italy as their own peculiar domain, where every revolutionary project might be carried into effect with impunity. The revolutionary party in Rome, after the flight of the Pope, and some ineffectual negotiating to induce him to return to his dominions, agreed to appoint a

Dec. 11.

provisional government of three persons, chosen by the Chambers, who were to exercise all the functions of government. A decree to this effect was passed by the Chambers, and the choice fell on Prince Corsini, a helpless old noble; M. Zucchini, leader at Bologna; and M. Macerata, the mayor of Ancona. But these names inspired no confidence; and within a week of their nomination the clubs at Rome demanded the convocation of a

constituent assembly, with the view to the organization of a republic. So violent did the clamor become that the ministry of Mamiani was obliged to retire, and was succeeded by another of a still more democratic character. A ministerial crisis also ensued in Turin, and a new ministry Dec. 15. appointed, the condition of whose existence was the renewal of the war with Austria. In the Pontifical and Tuscan states, under the protection of the English and French flags, the anarchy became so complete that it could not be said at the end of the year that government any longer existed. Meanwhile the Pope, having in vain launched the thunders of the Vatican at his insurgent subjects, which only met with derision, addressed a formal appeal for protection and aid to the European powers, in which, after narrating his early and voluntary acts on behalf of his people, he declared that in all his later measures, in particular the war against Austria and recent revolution, he had acted under direct compulsion. And to complete the strange picture presented by Italy at this time, the last elections in Naples, carried through under the influence of indignation at the Sicilian revolt, were so decidedly reactionary that, Nov. 30. when the Chambers met on 30th November, the chief difficulty of the King was to restrain within the bounds of moderation the ardent desire of his subjects to seek refuge in the tranquillity of absolute despotism.¹

In the distracted condition of the Papal States it was no easy matter for the Swiss

82. Guards, who formed so important a portion of the ecclesiastical troops, to know how to act or to which side to incline. Their commander, Count Latour, who was stationed with the brigade in Bologna and

Forli, had hitherto served with honor, but his moral resolution was not equal to his personal courage, and when an order arrived from the Pope, directing him to move his forces to the Neapolitan frontier for the protection of their sovereign, he at first temporized, and at length refused to obey, and remained at Bologna fraternizing with the civic authorities there, from whom he was constantly receiving the most fulsome flattery. Many of his officers, and the greater part of the common soldiers, considered this conduct treasonable, and a breach of the proverbial good faith of the Swiss, and not a few left their colors and returned home in consequence. Had they obeyed the orders of their sovereign, it is probable that the revolution at Rome would have been stopped, and the whole calamities which afterward befell that city prevented. As it was, this defection of Latour and a part of his troops brought matters to a crisis in the Papal dominions. Part of the Swiss infantry took service with the revolutionists; the artillery did so in a body; and Garibaldi collected a band of volunteers and refugees, with whom he made his way across Lombardy and Tuscany, and established himself, with three thousand followers, in Rome in the end of January. The consequence of this accession of strength was that the revolutionary party acquired the complete ascendancy in Rome, and the Con-stituent Assembly, which had now as-

¹ *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 587-589; Note of Pio Nono, Feb. 10, 1849; *Moniteur*, Feb. 22, 1849; *Ellesmere*, 225-227.

82. Proclamation of a Republic in Rome, and defection of the Swiss Guards, January 27.

Feb. 14.

sembled, dethroned the Pope, and proclaimed a republic. Florence and Leghorn, a few days after, declared also for a republic, with Rome as its centre. The Grand Duke, after a vain attempt to raise the peasants for his support, finding that the regular troops had deserted him, and that a body of auxiliaries promised by Charles Albert could not be furnished, saw his case was hopeless, and embarked for Gaeta. The democratic revolution was now complete in Central Italy; republics were every where proclaimed; a large part of the regular troops had fraternized with the people; the sovereigns were all dethroned and in exile; and "war to the knife" was universally proclaimed against the Austrians. "The war of the people," of which Mazzini had boasted, had now in good earnest commenced; and if decrees on paper could fight battles, it would furnish no inconsiderable accession of strength to Charles Albert, for the provisional governments of Florence and Rome ordered the immediate preparation of an army of twelve thousand Tuscans and fifteen thousand Romans to march without delay toward the Po.¹

It was not, however, by decrees of revolutionary governments that the Austrian arms on the Ticino were to be withstood. Notwithstanding the incessant efforts of the British and French ministers at the Court of Turin to bring about an accommodation, the mutual irritation of Piedmont and Austria, so far from diminishing, was rapidly increasing, and in the beginning of 1849 had reached such a point that a renewal of the war was imminent. Each had abundant causes of complaint, some well founded, some imaginary, against the other. The Austrians complained that the Piedmontese fleet had wintered in the Adriatic, where it had repeatedly furnished supplies to the revolutionary garrison of Venice, and that considerable funds had been forwarded to them by the Piedmontese Government; and that Piedmontese agents were in the Austrian ranks, encouraging the Hungarians and Italians to desert. On the other hand, the Piedmontese maintained that negotiations should be entered into for a cession of territory to indemnify Piedmont for the expenses of the war; and complained of an infraction of the treaty by a passing entry of the Austrian troops into Ferrara on 7th February, to obtain satisfaction for the assassination of three of their soldiers returning from the hospital to the citadel, which had been in point of fact given, and the troops retired the day after. It is of little moment to inquire further into the mutual complaints of the Austrian and Piedmontese diplomatists, because they were neither the real causes of the rupture of the armistice which followed, nor the matters on which the attention of the opposite parties was chiefly fixed. It was to Hungary that all eyes were turned; it was to the exploits of the Magyars that young Italy looked for deliverance. A Hungarian emissary, Baron Spleny, had for some time resided in Turin, and spread the most exaggerated reports of the success of the Hungarian insurrection. Turin swarmed with Lombard refugees, who gave equally flattering accounts of the warlike disposition of their countrymen, and the numerous

armed bands who would join the ranks of independence the moment the Piedmontese standards were unfurled on the banks of the Ticino. The Austrian monarchy seemed to be falling to pieces on all sides, even without external stroke; the only question was, whether or not Italy was to take advantage of a crisis more favorable than could possibly have been hoped for, or than might ever occur again, to establish its independence. It was universally believed that Pesth had yielded to the arms of the Magyar insurgents—an event which really did occur, but not for ten weeks after. The democratic party in the Chamber loudly demanded a renewal of the war; a courageous deputy, Lanza, who had the courage to say that the Austrians by treaty had a right to enter Tuscany, was hooted down, and obliged to retire from the Chamber. March 5. On 5th March the Chamber of Deputies presented an address to the King in favor of war; the Italian Council on the same day did the same. In vain the English and French ministers represented the extreme hazard with which the renewal of hostilities would be attended; the King was well aware of this, but he was no longer a free agent. "I must declare war," said he, "or abdicate the crown, March 12. and see a republic established." On the 10th March the ministers obtained from the Chambers the necessary credit to carry on the war; and on the 12th the armistice was formally denounced.¹

War having in this manner been forced upon him, Charles Albert made every disposition which the circumstances would admit to carry it on with promptitude and vigor. The suddenness of the event, however, was such that he was far from being at the moment prepared for it. His troops, though formidable on paper, were by no means equally so in reality; their nominal strength was 135,000, but the muster-roll on March 20 showed only 83,629 effective men, including 5000 cavalry, with 152 guns. The old soldiers, inured to war and familiar with its dangers, had no confidence in the result; the young ones alone, heated by the declamations of the clubs, were zealous in the cause and hopeful of success. The bad result of the former campaigns was not ascribed to its real cause—viz., the pressure of the democratic leaders on Charles Albert, which had forced the King, against his better judgment, to undertake the siege of Mantua while still occupying the line from Rivoli to the Po—but to the incapacity of the generals or the lukewarmness of the native aristocratic officers. "Give us," it was said in the clubs, "a foreign general, a Lamoricière or a Cavaignac, and the army will soon recover its spirit. Remove the aristocratic *fainéants*, and all will be well." These clamors prevailed against the opinion of the King. General Bava, without regard to his great services, was removed from the command, which was bestowed on a Polish general, Chrzanowski, who had received the scientific education of an engineer at the military academy at Warsaw, and had afterward joined in the revolt,² and served with distinction in the war

84. Renewal of the war between Piedmont and Austria.

¹ Ellesmere, 227-229; Cayley, ii. 316-326; Ann. Hist. 1849, 567-569; Balleydier, ii. 24-37.

¹ Balleydier, ii. 38-44; Ellesmere, 226-235; Cayley, i. 844-848; Ann. Hist. 1849, 231-237.

85. Forces of the Piedmontese on the renewal of the war.

² Cayley, i. 847, 848; Ellesmere, 238, 239; Ann. Hist. 1848, 282-284; Balleydier, ii. 54-52.

of independence in 1831. The Italians had good cause to regret the consequences of the change.

The Austrian army had received considerable reinforcements since the termination of the last campaign. Several new Austrian battalions and corps of cavalry had joined the army during the interval of hostilities. Among the rest were the famous Sereaschuners, from the military colonies on the Croat frontier, a present of the faithful Ban of that province, whose picturesque attire, and weapons of Oriental fashion, recalled the pandours of the last century. The entire force of the army in the beginning of March was somewhat above 150,000 men, but of these 30,000 were in hospital, and 40,000 in observation of Venice, or in Central Italy: so that, at the very utmost, not more than 80,000 could be reckoned on for operations in the field. But these troops, though hardly superior in number to the Piedmontese, were decidedly so in discipline, equipment, and spirit. The loyalty and steadiness of the German character had now come to tell decidedly on the fortunes of the war, as much as the vacillation and instability of the Italian had weakened the other side. All the elements of weakness had been sifted out of the Teutonic army during the last campaign, and even the recruits, by constant outpost duty, had been hardened into the consistency of old soldiers. The harmony among the generals, and brotherly union among the officers, as well as the spirit of the entire army, were such as to inspire the most sanguine hopes of the result. The fidelity even of the Magyar soldiers had resisted all the efforts to seduce them (and they had been many and alluring) by the revolutionary party in Lombardy: even such of them as had reserve battalions or dépôts in Hungary which had joined in the insurrection, were content with mourning in silence the delusions under which their brethren labored, without attempting to follow their example. At the end of the first day's march, these regiments, sensible that they must, in some degree, labor under suspicion, sent a deputation to the field-marshal, requesting to be allowed the post of honor to prove their fidelity. Such is the spirit by which the Austrian army is animated, and by which, in the last extremity, the Austrian empire was saved. It is not new in the annals of its military fame; the same spirit, two hundred years ago, had animated the cuirassiers of Dampier and Piccolomini, on occasion of Wallenstein's revolt, immortalized in the pages of Schiller, and, eighty years before, the heroic garrison of Schweidnitz. It is the unseen bond which holds together the empire, and has enabled it so often to rise superior to all the storms of fortune.¹

The armistice ceased, under the notice given, at mid-day on the 20th March. Its close was received in a very different spirit in the two armies. In the Piedmontese it produced silent uneasiness: the confidence felt by the democratic leaders was far from being shared by the soldiers who were to face the dangers of the conflict. In the Imperial ranks, on the other hand, the intelligence was universally received with joy; and the soldiers immediately all appeared with green boughs in their

caps, the well-known and prescriptive badge of military exultation in the Austrian army. The addresses issued by the two commanders evinced the same difference: Charles Albert spoke of the conflict as unavoidable from the ambition of Austria.² Radetsky's address was different: "Forward, with Turin for your watch-word."³

The theatre of war on which the decisive battle which was to decide the question of Italian independence was to be fought was the great plain watered by the Po, which lies between Turin and Milan, and cut at right angles by the Ticino, which descends from the Alps to that great river, and the high-road leading from the one capital to the other. The strongest ground on which the advance of an enemy from the eastward toward Turin can be resisted is on the right or southern bank of the Po, with a flanking corps on the left, as there are several strong positions there capable of arresting an invader. On this side, also, the defending force has the advantage of resting on the important fortresses of Alessandria and Genoa, more valuable as a base of operations than Turin itself. The experienced General Bava accordingly had fixed on the right bank as the line of the main army's advance. But his successor, being overruled by the democratic clubs at Turin, was compelled to alter this judicious plan of operation, and, abandoning altogether the right bank of the river, to concentrate his force at NOVARA, on the direct road to Milan: the object of this was to favor an insurrection in that capital and the whole Lombardo-Venetian provinces, which had been formally enjoined by proclamation from Prince Eugene of Savoy Casignan, in order to celebrate the anniversary of the Austrian retreat from Milan, on the 23d of the preceding year, by a triumphant entry into that capital. They fully expected that Radetsky would abandon the capital without striking a blow: to confirm them in this belief, the veteran field-marshal spread abroad the report that he

* "The attitude of Austria has shown that no honorable peace can be hoped for unless won by arms. By waiting longer we should have wasted our strength without any result: our finances would be exhausted, and our army, now so efficient and patriotic, would have felt its spirit broken if it had been compelled to remain longer inactive. You understood it, gentlemen, when a few days ago you manifested the wishes of the nation—you raised the war-cry: the Government has heard it. It is well aware of the perils attending the struggle about to recommence, and of the evils which will be its sad and unavoidable consequence. But between these perils and the shame of an ignominious peace, which would not insure Italian independence, the King's Government could not, and ought not, to hesitate. On the 12th, at noon, the cessation of the armistice was announced to Marshal Radetsky."—*Speech of M. RATAZZI, Minister of the Interior, March 14, 1849; Ann. Reg., 1849, p. 281.*

"Soldiers! your most ardent wishes are fulfilled. The enemy have announced the termination of the armistice! Well, we are ready to meet them, and shall dictate in their capital the peace we so generously offered them. The contest can not be long. You are to combat the same enemy you overpowered at Santa Lucia, Somma Campagna, Custoza, Volta, and under the walls of Milan. God is with us, for our cause is just. To arms, soldiers! Follow once more your old General to war and victory. I will witness your last exploits. It will be the last joyful act of my long military career if, in the capital of a perfidious enemy, I can decorate the breasts of my brave comrades with the emblem of valor, conquered with blood and glory. Let our watch-word be Forward! Forward to Turin! where alone we can find the peace for which we are fighting.—RADETSKY." *Moniteur, 18th March, 1849.*

¹ Ellesmere, 240-243.

^{87.} Different feelings of the two armies on the renewal of the war.

was about to retire from Milan, and take his stand as before on the Adda or the Adige: and preparations were ostentatiously made for removing the heavy carriages of the army behind the former river, and transporting the crown jewels to Mantua.¹

Deceived by these artifices, and impelled by the democratic leaders at Turin, who never doubted they were advancing to certain victory, Charles Albert, with the whole left wing of his army, twenty thousand strong, crossed the Ticino on a bridge between Trecata and Buffalora, on the direct road from Novara to Milan. The Austrians made no attempt to dispute the passage, but hastily withdrew toward Milan, where a large force, consisting of the whole reserves of the army, was concentrated between that city and the Adda. The bulk of the Piedmontese army was concentrated at Novara: Ramorino alone, with six thousand Lombards, stood at Casteggio, on the right bank of the Po. His orders were to cross the river and show a front to the enemy, should the latter advance from Pavia. On the right bank of the Po, the true battle-field for Turin, there would then only remain three thousand men under Colonel Belvidere. The Austrian general was not slow in taking advantage of these arrangements. The plan of operations suggested by General Hess, his chief of the staff, to the field-marshal, was "to concentrate the army at Lodi, cross the Po at Pavia, cut off the enemy's detachments on the right bank of the Po from the main body, and deliver battle *probably at Novara*." Little doubt was entertained of the issue of the battle; and having gained it, the Austrian army was to wheel to the left, cross the Po at Casale, fall upon the right wing of the enemy, and having dispersed it, march direct upon Turin. It was no small recommendation of this plan, that by thus countermarching up the course of the Ticino the bulk of the army was brought so near to Milan that, in the event of a revolt breaking out in that city, an overwhelming force might be at its gates in a few hours. With such celerity were the orders, in pursuance of this plan, given and executed, that twenty-four hours had not elapsed from the declaration of hostilities when the most distant detachments were already in motion for the Adda, while those at Milan and its neighborhood were moving to the rear toward Lodi, and those on the Ticino direct on Pavia. The effect of these movements was to bring the bulk of the army to Pavia and the left, from whence the Ticino could be passed on two bridges between Vigevano and that town.²

The field-marshal, after issuing a solemn admonition to the inhabitants of Milan as to their conduct during his absence, broke up from that capital on the evening of the 18th, and marched, not on Pavia, but to St. Angelo, on the road from Lodi to it. The object of this seemingly strange movement was to deceive the enemy as to his real intentions, and to spread abroad the belief that he was about to take up a defensive position between Lodi and Cremona, or even to retire behind the Adda. So com-

pletely were the designs of the veteran general kept secret, that even officers of high rank at Pavia were astonished when they heard, on the morning of the 20th, that the field-marshal had slept at Torre-Bianca, only two leagues in the rear of that town, and that the army, in great strength, was concentrated at its gates. With such precision were the orders for uniting at Pavia executed, that at the same hour on the morning of the 28th the converging columns approached its walls. "By all the streets," says an eyewitness, "which led from east to north through Pavia, advanced the columns of the Imperial army. It took about three hours to arrange the different columns in the order in which they were to enter the enemy's territory. The eye of the spectator was fascinated by the spectacle of the variety of uniforms and equipment discernible in the living masses; the ear was saluted by an equal variety of sounds by which the different nations interchanged their exultation—German, Bohemian, Italian, Magyar, Polish, and Croat. When at last the signal for march was given, and the dense masses were put in motion, the bands struck up enlivening airs, and all, in the finest order and the highest spirits, moved, with a proud step, from north to south through the town. As the field-marshal was recognized in a balcony, the vivats and hurrahs were deafening. The acclamations were renewed as the columns reached the opposite bank of the Ticino, and set foot on the hostile territory. The fate of Italy seemed sealed, for sixty battalions, forty squadrons, and one hundred and eighty-six guns, with carriages and equipment complete, mustering fifty-five thousand combatants, had invaded at one point the Piedmontese dominions.³

Entirely deceived as to the real point of attack, General Ramorino, who commanded the Piedmontese right wing, six thousand strong, opposite Pavia, left only two weak battalions on the left bank of the Po, and hurried with the greater part of his force to the right bank, where he expected to find the enemy. His orders were to defend the course of the Lower Ticino and the passage of Pavia, and, if forced back, to retire on Mortara and San Nazzaro, still on the left bank of the Po. When, therefore, instead of doing so, he crossed the Po, and left the direct road from Pavia to Turin open, he violated his instructions, and incurred the displeasure of his commander, by whom he was deprived of the command, and sent to a court-martial.* In the forenoon of the 21st March, the Austrian advanced guard moved upon Mortara, followed by Baron d'Aspre with the main body, and advanced by

* Ramorino, who was said to be a son of Marshal Lannes, was impressed with the idea that Radetsky would advance by the right bank of the Po, as Napoleon had done before the battle of Marengo, and that the point to guard was the defile of Stradella, where Marshal Lannes had sustained so rude a shock in advancing to that memorable field.—See *History of Europe*, c. xxxix. § 79, 80. But he had to deal with a general who adopted the spirit of Napoleon's generalship, not copied his footsteps; and Ramorino was severely blamed for this deviation from orders. It does not appear, however, that, had his instructions been implicitly carried out, the result would have been materially different, or that the Austrians would have been delayed more than half a day longer than they actually were.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 594-596; An. Reg. 1849, 282; Ellesmere, 243, 244.

² Ellesmere, 246, 247; Ann. Hist. 1849, 594-596; An. Reg. 1849, 282, 283.

³ Ellesmere, 246, 247; Ann. Hist. 1849, 594-596; An. Reg. 1849, 282, 283.

¹ Ellesmere, 247, 248; Ann. Hist. 1849, 596; An. Reg. 1849, 282.

⁹¹ Effect of these movements, and combat of Mortara.

the main road from Pavia. The whole army followed in rapid succession; and on the evening of that day the Archduke Albert carried Mortara, after a severe contest of four hours, took 1700 prisoners and 5 guns, with a loss only of 60 killed and 240 wounded. Such was the consternation produced by this defeat, that several battalions of newly-raised troops fled in disorder to Vercelli and Casal, where they disbanded, spreading the report that all was lost. While this took place at Mortara, the brigades of Strassoldo and Wohlgemuth sustained, to the right, a very severe action at Gamboldo with a Piedmontese column advancing from Vigevano. By this success a very great advantage was gained by the Imperialists, for the centre, consisting of two brigades, was driven back in disorder toward Turin, while Ramorino, with 6000 men on the right bank of the Po, was entirely cut off from the remainder of the centre and right, which had fallen back to Novara, 80,000 strong. Sensible of these advantages gained by his opponent, Chrzanowski collected his troops with the utmost expedition in the plain around Novara during the 22d, drew back the divisions which had advanced across the Ticino, and made preparations for battle on the following day. By great exertions his forces were all collected, except Ramorino's division, which was beyond the Po, and they amounted to fifty thousand; but they were sadly deficient in the spirit and enthusiasm by which their antagonists were animated. The issue of the combat at Mortara had spread universal discouragement, while the Austrians were proportionally elated by their early and brilliant success. Add to this, that, by his march against the Piedmontese rear, Radetsky had cut them off from their base of operations at Turin and Alessandria, and left them no retreat, in the event of disaster, but the Lago Maggiore and the Alpine valley of the Ticino. It was the exact

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 537, 593; Ellesmere, 255-261; Hist. of Europe, c. xxxi. § 95.

NOVARA, where the decisive battle for Italian independence was to be fought, is an old town, containing fifteen thousand inhabitants, half a league from the left bank of the Agogna stream. To the south of the town, where the attack was to be expected, the ground was eminently favorable for defense, being intersected by water-courses, lines of trees, garden walls, and villas, which afforded at every step the means of checking an assailant. A great rise of the ground to the north from the south also presented an advantageous position for the action of the artillery of the defending party. A broad and deep canal, which runs from the right along the front of the position about a cannon-shot from the Citadella Villa, and bends to the east, also impeded the access to the position in front. Charles Albert drew up his army on this ground on the morning of the 23d, with as much skill and in as advantageous a manner as the circumstances would admit. His line extended from the road of Mortara to that of Vercelli, its left resting on a strong eminence on which the village of Biecosa was built, his right on the pla-

teau of Nuova-Coste and the canal, and his centre covered for the most part by the canal, and occupying in strength the Citadella Villa. Here were collected, on the morning of the 23d, 50,000 men of all arms, including 3000 horse, with 111 guns. On the Austrian side it was imagined, not without reason, that the principal effort of the enemy would be directed to his right, to regain the communication with Turin and Alessandria, which the field-marshal had cut off, and accordingly a considerable part of the army was directed toward Vercelli. This misconception had well-nigh lost them the battle; for it brought a comparatively small part of the Imperialists in contact with the whole of the enemy's army, concentrated in a position eminently advantageous for defense.¹

Baron d'Aspre, with his division, first encountered the enemy at Olengo about eleven o'clock on the 23d. General Appel followed him in support, and behind him the reserve. The Archduke Albert headed the attack on the village, which, in the first instance, succeeded. The Piedmontese Bersagliers, great part of whom were now under fire for the first time, were driven back in disorder, and many of them dispersed; but the advance of the pursuers was checked by the 2d Regiment of Savoy, which came up singing the Marseillaise and shouting vivats. So impetuous was their onset that the Hungarians, whom the Archduke led, were driven back, and lost all the ground they had won, while their flank was torn by a cross-fire of artillery from the Piedmontese batteries. Upon this the Archduke brought up four more Hungarian battalions, the very flower of the army, supported by the 2d Vienna Volunteers and the 1st Kinsky; but so violent was the cross-fire from the Piedmontese batteries, that they were all repulsed with heavy loss. On the right of the road, however, Count Kollowrath had won, after a hard struggle, several villas; but the Duke of Genoa now brought up the 2d Regiment of Piedmont, turned the Austrians at this point, forced them back to Olengo, which was stormed with great slaughter by the Duke with the division Pignerol. Between three and four P.M. the whole division of Baron d'Aspre had been brought into action, had been warmly engaged, and lost great numbers of their bravest soldiers, besides several hundred prisoners, without having won any ground. They were overmatched, for an Austrian division had been engaged with the greater part of the Piedmontese army. The moment was critical in the extreme: if the Imperialists could hold out another half hour, their remaining divisions would come up, and the battle was gained; if they were driven back, the advantageous ground, the key of the position, was lost, and the utmost they could hope for would be to renew the action on the following day, before which the Piedmontese might retire behind the Sesia, and recover their lost communication with Turin.²

In these momentous circumstances the conduct of the leaders on both sides was worthy of their high descent and the important duties with which they were intrusted. Emulating the example

¹ Ellesmere, 263-265; Ann. Hist. 1849, 598, 599; Ann. Reg. 1849, 282, 283.

² Battle of Novara, March 23.

³ Radetsky's Disp., March 24, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 283; Ellesmere, 266-268; Ann. History, 1849, 539.

of his great father, the Archduke Charles, at the battle of Aspern, forty years before, the Archduke Albert put himself at the head of the Hungarian Grenadiers, reanimated their sinking spirits, and, under circumstances which seemed all but desperate, prolonged the defense. The Duke of Genoa did the same: his valor and conduct were worthy of the heroic house of Savoy. Again and again he led his troops to the attack, and exhibited alike the skill of an experienced general and the courage of an indomitable leader. At four o'clock the division of General Appel, consisting of seven fresh battalions, came up, and was immediately led into action; but such was the weight of the Piedmontese fire that even this formidable reinforcement failed in turning the scale in favor of the Austrians. The Duke of Genoa in person brought up the reserve, and by their aid succeeded in repelling the fierce onset of the Imperialists. At this moment General Chrzanowski ordered General Bes, whose division had as yet suffered little, to wheel to the left and attack the Austrian centre, supported by General Durando. But this able movement, which at an earlier period of the battle might have been decisive, came too late. The field-marshal, on the other side, appeared on the field followed by six choice battalions, preceded by twenty-four guns, which opened a tremendous fire on the Piedmontese centre. Their shock was irresistible, and decided the day. The Piedmontese left yielded, and many regiments disbanded and fled to Novara. The reserve, under the Duke of Genoa, performed prodigies of valor, and did all that man could do to arrest the disorder and cover the retreat of the army; but in vain. The Austrian divisions had now come up, and the combat had become as unequal against the Piedmontese as it formerly was against the Imperialists. The day was lost, and a general retreat had become unavoidable. Twelve guns were taken by the Austrians in the pursuit, but only a few prisoners. The Piedmontese old soldiers retired, firing at intervals, and in admirable order: the Genoese and Lombard volunteers and new levies fled in utter confusion, and for the most part disbanded, and were no more heard of.²

Such was the battle of Novara, which decided the war, and has determined, probably for ages, the cause of Italian independence. The loss on either side was considerable, but by no means so great as might have been expected in a shock between such hosts, attended with such important results. The Austrians lost 13 officers and 896 men killed; 40 officers and 1992 wounded, and 1 officer 1070 missing, either prisoners or dispersed—in all, 54 officers and 8456 soldiers. Five-sevenths of this loss fell on the first corps, which, with heroic constancy, had maintained the conflict against two-thirds of the whole Piedmontese army. The Piedmontese lost 31 officers and 374 men killed, 71 officers and 2026 wounded, and 3000 prisoners. In the town of Novara, into which their army poured during the night, the most dreadful confusion prevailed. Plundering immediately began; the cavalry charged the fugitive crowds through the streets, and they were soon seen streaming in wild confusion over the

roads to Duomo d'Ossola and Arona, the only ones left open to them. All retreat to Turin or Piedmont was cut off: they had nowhere to retire to but the inhospitable barrier of the Alps, where no supplies could be obtained for the army, and the passage of the artillery and wagons through the narrow valleys would soon have become impossible. It was this which rendered the defeat so decisive: the army was cut off from its base, and driven up against an impassable barrier of mountains. The next day would have seen 80,000 prisoners and 150 guns brought into the Austrian head-quarters. Nothing could save the army but an armistice concluded before the pursuit of the morrow commenced.

Charles Albert, who throughout the day had discharged all the duties both of a skillful general and a gallant soldier, understood the state of affairs in this light. About seven in the evening, when the battle was evidently and irrecoverably lost, he suffered himself to be led away by General Durando, but still lingered under the walls of Novara, under a storm of bullets, saying—"General, this is my last day; let me die." About nine o'clock, having been at length prevailed on to withdraw, he called his generals and principal officers around him, and declared his unalterable resolution to resign the crown in favor of the Duke of Savoy. He then repeatedly announced to those around him, that from that moment Victor Emanuel was their sovereign. "I have sacrificed myself," said he, "to the Italian cause. For it I have exposed my life, that of my children, my throne. I have failed in my object. I am aware that I am individually the sole obstacle to a peace now become necessary to the State. I could not bring myself to sign it. Since I in vain sought death, I will give myself up as a last sacrifice to my country. I lay down the crown, and abdicate in favor of my son, the Duke of Savoy." Having said these words, he dismissed his attendants, sat down and wrote a farewell letter to his wife; and at one in the morning made his appearance unannounced at the Austrian outposts, where he narrowly escaped being saluted by a discharge of grape. He gave his name as a Piedmontese count, the bearer of proposals for an armistice, and was conducted to Count Thurn, to whom he revealed his real character, and with whom he had a long conference. He was allowed a passage through the Austrian lines, and pursued his journey to Nice, where before long his eventful life came to a termination.³

Immense was the sensation which the intelligence of these events, and, above all, of the abdication of the King, produced on the National Assembly at Turin. They had been deceived, as is usual in such cases, by false reports which represented the taking of Pavia and passage of the Ticino as part of a deep-laid plan, which was to draw the Austrians into Piedmont in order to destroy them. When, in the midst of these delusions, intelligence arrived of the disasters of Mortara and Novara, the agitation in the Assembly was extreme, and the most absurd plans were proposed and carried by

² Radetsky's Disp., March 24, 1849; An. Reg. 1849, 282, 283; Ellesmere, 268-271.

¹ Ellesmere, 273, 274; An. Hist. 1849, 599, 600; Radetsky's Disp., March 24, 1849; An. Reg. 1849, 282.

96.

Abdication and escape of Charles Albert.

³ Ann. Hist. 1849, 600, 601; Ellesmere, 274, 275; An. Reg. 1849.

97.

Proceedings in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin. March 24.

acclamation, as that a levy *en masse* should be ordered, and they should all march against the enemy. But these transports gave place to more sober and worthy sentiments when M. Buffa, one of the ministers, read the abdication of Charles Albert, announced in a letter of the Duke of Savoy. M. Tosti then rose and pronounced these just and noble words: "Shall we sink from want of resolution? Is it always to be matter of reproach to Italy that she wants energy in her own cause? For myself, when I consider the littlenesses with which I am surrounded, I see only one great and noble figure raise itself above its contemporaries, and that figure is that of Charles Albert." At these words all the deputies rose and exclaimed, "Honor to Charles Albert! long live the champion of Italy!" The enthusiasm was intense and universal: there was scarce a dry eye in the whole Assembly. Pointing to the picture of Charles Albert, which hung in the hall, the orator continued: "There is the image of the martyr of Italy! Your acclamations will be re-echoed through the entire peninsula. History will do him justice—posterity will recompense him; and at last, when the hour of Italy's deliverance shall have struck, it will

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 600, 601; Moniteur, April 1, 1849. ² Ann. Hist. 1849, 600-606; An. Reg. 1849, 284, 285; El-lesmere, 276-279.

Electrified by these eloquent words, and feeling the justice of this eulogium, the Assembly voted by acclamation several decrees, of no practical use in the circumstances, but characteristic of the spirit by which they were animated. The whole national guards were put on permanent duty from eighteen to thirty-five years of age; they voted by anticipation a great addition to the taxes, and issued proclamations calling on the peasants to rise *en masse*—an invitation with which they were by no means disposed to comply. But meanwhile the fate of the kingdom was determined by cooler heads, which appreciated justly the real state of affairs. At the first intelligence of the disasters of the army, the minister besought the ambassadors of France and England to intercede, in order to obtain an armistice on the most favorable terms possible—an invitation to which they immediately and cordially acceded. The chief difficulty was the financial part of the arrangement; for the demands of Austria, pressed as she was by almost hopeless embarrassments at home, were at first immense. Radetsky was instructed to demand 200,000,000 francs as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. The impossibility of raising such a sum in the little kingdom of Piedmont was so evident, that the field-marshal himself represented to his Government the necessity of modifying their demands. At length, by the strenuous intervention of the French and English ministers, an armistice was concluded, on condition of Piedmont paying to Austria the expenses of the war, without specifying their amount, and the fortress of Alessandria being jointly occupied by an Austrian and Piedmontese force. The Sesia was to be the line of demarkation between the two armies. Eighteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were to be stationed by the Austrians between the Sesia and the Ticino; ten regiments

of Hungarians, Poles, and Lombards, in the Piedmontese service, were to be disbanded, all the places occupied by them in Lombardy, Parma, Placentia, and Modena, evacuated, and their fleet withdrawn from the Adriatic.¹

When this convention was read aloud in the Piedmontese Chamber, which was done after an entire change of Ministry had taken place, the most violent agitation prevailed. A resolution, proposed by M. Lanza, to the effect that the armistice was unconstitutional, and that the Ministry which had concluded it had violated the social contract, was carried by a majority, as also that the Chamber should declare its sittings permanent; and that if the Ministry permitted the entrance of Austrian troops into Alessandria, or withdrew their fleet from the Adriatic, before the convention was approved by Parliament, they should be held guilty of high treason. These, however, were vain words merely; the Chamber had no means of arresting the march of the Imperialists; and but for the powerful intervention of the French and English ministers, the field-marshal would in a few days have planted his victorious standards on the walls both of Turin and Genoa. But the Austrians, fearing the addition of these two formidable powers to the league of their enemies, wisely stopped short in the career of conquest; and the new King of Piedmont, Victor Emanuel, finding the Chamber utterly unmanageable, and set on war to the last extremity, prorogued it on the 30th of March, and dissolved it by proclamation a few days after.²

The armistice was received and obeyed in peace in many places; with thankfulness in every part of Lombardy, except Milan and Brescia. In the former the excitement was extreme, and the depression of the people very great; but the presence of a powerful Austrian garrison, and the speedy arrival of General Appel with his division, detached by Radetsky on the conclusion of the armistice, rendered any outbreak impossible. The latter, however, not being equally overawed, became the theatre of a serious revolt, the more to be lamented that it was alike aimless and hopeless. No sooner did the news of the battle of Novara and the armistice arrive within its walls than the people rose, made prisoner the quartermaster-general of the 3d corps, who was in the town, and shut the garrison up in the castle. Upon this General Nugent approached, with 2500 men and 4 guns, and summoned the town, which contained 50,000 inhabitants, to surrender. The time allowed having more than elapsed, the troops on the outside advanced to the assault of the town, while the garrison of the castle commenced a bombardment from thirty pieces of heavy artillery. The action was maintained with great fury on both sides for two entire days; and such was the exasperation of the combatants that some of the Austrian officers who fell wounded were literally hewn in pieces by the insurgents, and thereafter the Imperialists gave no quarter in any house from which a shot had issued. At length the re-

¹ Ann. Reg. 1849, 284; An. Hist. 1849, 602, 603; El-lesmere, 276-278.

^{99.} The Chamber rejects the armistice, and is dissolved.

March 30.
April 5.

² Ann. Hist. 1849, 600-606; An. Reg. 1849, 284, 285; El-lesmere, 276-279.

^{100.} Revolt at Brescia, which is suppressed.

March 31.

sistance was overcome, and the town subdued. The Austrian loss was very severe, the regiment of Baden alone having lost two hundred men, and on the side of the insurgents above two thousand fell. The field-marshal gave the command of the town after the victory to General Haynau, who contented himself with executing a few guilty of sanguinary acts, and mulcted the citizens only by a heavy contribution. On the 28th March the field-marshal entered Milan in great pomp at the head of his grenadiers, thus bringing the reality of conquest before the eyes of the Milanese.¹

¹ Ellesmere, 281-284; Ann. Reg. 1849, 287, 258.

Genoa ere long became the theatre of an effort at revolution still more serious. No sooner did intelligence of the armistice arrive, than Avezzana, the commander of the National Guard, summoned the citizens to arms. The gates of the city were closed, and the tocsin sounded. General Azarba, the commander of the garrison, thinking that the only object of the people was to make a stand against the Austrians, allowed them to occupy the two forts, Della Sperone and Del Bergato. It soon became evident that the movement was directed more against the Piedmontese Government than the German. Barricades were erected in the streets, and a provisional government proclaimed, at the head of which was Avezzana, and David Murchio, an advocate. This Government called upon General Azarba to surrender the citadel to the insurgents, and he having refused, a severe conflict took place in the streets. The arrival of 15,000 muskets from France at this critical juncture, intended for the Piedmontese Government, which fell into the hands of the insurgents, gave them such a superiority that Azarba was obliged to capitulate, and left the city at the head of 5000 men.²

As soon as the Piedmontese Government received intelligence of this revolt, they took the most vigorous steps to suppress it. Troops, now happily disengaged by the conclusion of the armistice with Austria, were hastily assembled, and directed with the utmost expedition against the insurgent city. General La Marmora, to whom the command of the force was intrusted, broke up from Parma on the 28th March; and with the force he commanded, which rapidly swelled as he advanced, arrived before Genoa on the 4th April at the head of 30,000 men, with a considerable artillery. Unable to resist forces so formidable, the insurgent leaders proposed to enter into a capitulation, and meanwhile an armistice was agreed to, in pursuance of the arrangements made by the Earl of Hardwicke, and La Marmora occupied the suburb of Saint Pietro d'Arena. The terms of a surrender were agreed to, but the revolutionists in the city, composed in great part of strangers and desperadoes from all countries, suddenly broke the armistice and opened fire at all points. Upon this La Marmora brought up his forces, stormed the forts of L'Easione and Bergato, and from them opened a heavy fire upon the town.³ A second armistice was

^{101.} Insurrection in Genoa, and defeat of General Azarba. March 28.

² Ann. Hist. 1849, 608, 609; An. Reg. 1849, 286, 287.

^{102.} Vigorous conduct of the Piedmontese, who reduce the city.

³ Ann. Hist. 1849, 640, 641; An. Reg. 1849, 287.

now concluded, but it too was broken by the insurgents, headed by Avezzana, who set free and armed all the prisoners in the jails, and recommenced the fight.

Their object was, by a sudden attack on the King's troops and the guards of the municipality, to make themselves intrepid commanders of the naval arsenal and duct of Lord batteries, and liberate the galley-slaves, and commence a general pillage. Fortunately an English vessel of war, the *Vengeance*, lay off the harbor, having been stationed there by Admiral Parker, the commander on the Mediterranean station, to protect the lives and property of British subjects in the event of a crisis. So persuaded were the democrats by the general policy pursued by the British Government in relation to the Italian revolution, that they in reality favored the movement, that they could not at first be brought to believe that it had not been stationed there to afford succor to the insurgents; and they accordingly gave hints of such being their understanding to the British commander, the Earl of Hardwicke. But they soon found they had to deal with a man of a very different stamp from what they supposed. Being made aware by the municipal authorities of the danger which was impending, and the urgent necessity for succor, the *Vengeance* was anchored under the mole, with springs on her cables, and cleared for action, in such a position as to command the batteries and overawe the insurgents. Such was the effect of this vigorous act, and such the influence of the flag of England when waved by a commander with moral courage equal to the crisis, that the conflict, which had already begun a second time, both inside and outside of the town, between the King's troops and the insurgents, was quelled, and Genoa saved from probably the greatest calamities ever endured in its long and glorious annals. On the 11th April the town was wholly occupied by the Piedmontese troops. The rage of the disappointed democrats had previously exhaled in an insolent letter to the Earl of Hardwicke, which, of course, met with the contempt it merited, but which deserves to be recorded as a specimen of the bragadocia style of the Italian Liberals of the day, and strikingly contrasts with the temperate and dignified letter of the British commander.⁴

* "In the struggle for liberty you have taken part against the people: you have been active in your unasked-for advice: you have personally thrown the shots overboard from the battery of the people. You have threatened to fire on said battery; you have hauled your ship into the mole, and placed her in a situation for action: in fact, your ship is now ready for fight, with springs on, tomplons out, hammocks in your tops, and has the appearance of an enemy, contrary to the wish of the English people.

"Now, Sir, by such conduct you have shown yourself and the ship under your command without the pale of honor. Circumstances would warrant me to fire on you instantly; but as I wish to take no unfair advantage of your imprudence, I hereby inform you that I will grant you till six o'clock to consider your course; and if your ship is not then in a peaceful attitude, the battery of the people will be turned on you, and I will sink your ship at her anchor; a circumstance that will teach your Government that when they give the command of their national vessels to men of rank, they should be also men of sense."—GENERAL AVEZZANA to LORD HARDWICKE, commanding Her Majesty's ship *Vengeance*, Genoa.

To this insolent letter Lord Hardwicke replied: "Sir, —This is to acknowledge the receipt of your most ex-

^{103.}

Intrepid commanders of the naval arsenal and duct of Lord batteries, and liberate the galley-

Hardwicke.

April 7.

April 11.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 610, 611; Ellesmere, 292, 296.

Driven from Lombardy and Genoa, the extreme democrats took refuge in the mountains which lie between Piedmont and Tuscany, where they remained for some time uncertain

whither to direct their steps, and the Austrian troops were restrained from following them by the apprehension of incurring the hostility of France and England. But meanwhile a revolution of an unexpected and reactionary character broke out at Florence. On the 10th April the

citizens of that city, who were sincerely attached to the Grand Duke their sovereign, rose in a body, and displaced the revolutionary authorities. Guerrazzi, the dictator, was shut up in the fort of Belvidere, the old constitution restored, the National Guard remodeled, and the clubs shut up. All the other towns of Tuscany, except Leghorn, immediately followed the example of Florence. But the revolutionary party in that great sea-port was too strong to yield without a struggle; and it was fortunate that it took place, because it opened the eyes of the world to what might be expected if that faction generally got the ascendancy. The extreme democrats, chased from Florence, took refuge in Leghorn, and immediately adopted the most vigorous measures for their defense. On the 23d

April a mob broke into and plundered the custom-house and municipal buildings, carrying off all the money that they found, and the arms, even those reserved for the guard of the galley-slaves. Next they levied a contribution of 300,000 francs (£12,000) on the city: a burden at least equal to £24,000 in Great Britain, and which fell with extreme severity on a place not containing 100,000 inhabitants. The Revolutionary Government at Rome cordially supported this movement at Leghorn, and took into its pay a body of 7000 refugees from Lombardy, who had assembled in La Spezzia. It was necessary to bring this state of anarchy to a termination, and this was done by the joint interposition of France and Austria. The French frigate the *Magellan*, which lay in the Gulf of La Spezzia, hindered the embarkation of the refugees in that town, while the Austrian corps of

Count d'Aspre crossed the frontier at the earnest request of the Government of Florence, and advanced to Leghorn, and soon forced the revolutionists to submit. The town was surrendered, and the most decided of

the insurgents embarked for Rome, without any opposition from the English cruisers, whither they had been already preceded by General Avezzana, with 450 of those engaged in the insurrection in Genoa.¹

But Bologna, Venice, Rome, and Sicily still

held out, and, under circumstances which all well-informed persons saw to be desperate, still maintained the war of independence. The obstinacy of the insurgents in Bologna led to a prolonged conflict, though it was apparent that successful resistance was out of the question. Count d'Aspre summoned the town to surrender, but this was indignantly refused by the ruling triumvirate, at the head of which was Alessandrini, a literary professor, and General Ballini, the military commander. The garrison consisted only of 3000 men; but with them were incorporated some hundreds of the Swiss Guards in the Papal service, and they made a stout resistance. An attempt made by the Austrians to blow open the Porta Galliera, by bringing up their guns, was defeated, with the loss of fifty killed and one hundred and fifty wounded, and the guns themselves narrowly escaped capture. A similar attack on the Porta Castiglione was repulsed with heavy loss by the Swiss Guards, who left the gate open, but kept up a murderous fire from the walls and houses, shouting out at the same time; "Come on, this is no Vicenza!" The Austrians then contented themselves with blockading the place till the heavy artillery arrived from Mantua on the 12th May. The town was then again summoned, but the Government returned for answer that the *Madonna was all for resistance*, and had repeatedly turned aside the Austrian rockets! They soon, however, had convincing proof that the Madonna was either powerless, or had deserted them on this occasion. A sally, to aid the entrance of a body of insurgents approaching from Eastern Romagna, was defeated, with the loss of one hundred Swiss; and a heavy bombardment having commenced, in an hour the white flag was hoisted, and the town capitulated. The insurgents surrendered their arms, but were allowed to retire whither they pleased: the barricades were removed, the trees of liberty cut down, and the Austrians entered on the following day. At the same time, Ferrara was occupied by Count Thurn without resistance, with four thousand men. After this success, Ancona

was besieged, and being a strong place, required approaches in form; but they were made, and the place capitulated on the 10th June.¹

"Radetsky has drawn a bill upon us, which we must discharge." So said the veteran General Filangieri, commander of the army, to his staff officers at Taormina, when the news of the battle of Novara arrived. He was as good as his word. Yet was the task one of great difficulty; for not only were the Sicilians ardent, and possessed of numerous troops and strong-holds, but England and France had been prodigal of aid, not only in diplomatic protection, but in warlike stores and assistance. Great Britain had furnished arms and ammunition to the insurgents of the value of £420,000, and French officers had superintended the strengthening of the fortifications of the towns in their hands. The Sicilian troops amounted to 20,000 men, who were certainly a match for as many Neapolitans; and they had a foreign legion in their service, composed of Poles, Swiss, French, and Germans, who might measure swords with

¹ Ellesmere, 297-299; An. Hist. 1849, 613, 614; An. Reg. 1849, 286, 287.

¹ Ellesmere, 304-306; An. Hist. 1849, 614; An. Reg. 1849, 296.

The author is indebted for these valuable and instructive papers to his friend the Earl of Hardwicke, to whom he is happy to make this public acknowledgment.

the redoubtable Helvetian Guard which had put down the insurrection in Naples in the preceding year. Above all, it was certain that, in the event of the royal arms being attended with success, Great Britain and France would immediately interpose in behalf of the discomfited insurgents, and arrest the march of the victorious party. Thus the contest was by no means so unequal as it might at first sight appear, and it required

¹ Ellesmere, vigorous and decided action on the part of the Government to bring it to an early and successful issue.¹

During the lull of active hostilities which followed the reduction of Messina in the preceding year, negotiations were set on foot, under the auspices of the English and French ministers, to effect an accommodation between the contending parties. The demands of the King of Naples were moderate in the extreme, and indicated the terror which the recent moral earthquake in the Italian peninsula still excited. His ultimatum was that the two Sicilies were to have one sovereign, one army, one fleet, and one administration of foreign affairs; but Sicily was to have a separate Parliament, finances, tribunals, and municipalities, with the constitution of 1812, under certain modifications. Four millions of francs of taxes in arrear, with one million as the expenses of the war, were to be paid by the Sicilians, who, in return, were to obtain an unqualified amnesty. This was as

² Ann. Hist. 1849, 616; Ellesmere, 285, 296; Mr. Temple to Prince Carliati, Dec. 16, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 602, 610. near an approach to a federal union as was in the circumstances practicable; but, though strongly recommended by the English and French ministers, it was rejected by the Sicilian leaders, and both sides prepared to decide the contest by the sword.^{2*}

The troops embarked from Naples on the 31st March, and in the afternoon of the 2d April were in sight of Taormina. A feeble attempt to defend a strong mountain pass near the ruins of Taormina was defeated, and the royal troops appeared before Catania. Twenty thousand armed men, of whom eight thousand were real soldiers, were within the town, commanded by a Polish general named Microslawski. Notwithstanding this formidable body of opponents, the German Guard advanced with vigor over the lava street at the foot of Mount Ætna, and soon reached the barricades at the entrance of the town. Here a desperate strife ensued. The barricade was first carried by a sudden rush by the Germans, again recovered by the insurgents, and only in the end car-

* The following proclamation announced the resumption of hostilities to the Sicilians: "Sicilians! The shout of war to you is a cry of delight. The 29th March, when hostilities with the despot of Naples are to recommence, will be hailed by you with the same welcome as that of the 12th January, and with good reason, for liberty can only be gained at the price of blood. The peace you were offered was ignominious; it destroyed at one blow every interest created by the revolution. Even though victory be not certain, when honor is at stake, a nation, like an individual, has the superior right to immolate himself. Better to be consumed in the flaming ruins of our country than to exhibit to Europe the spectacle of vile cowardice. Death is preferable to slavery. But no, we shall conquer. Look at the flaming desolation of Messina! War is to us the symbol of vengeance and of love. One city of Sicily alone remains under the yoke of the enemy of liberty. To arms! To arms! We must conquer or die."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1849, p. 612.

ried by a Swiss regiment from Berne, the advance of which excited the admiration of all who witnessed it. This body reached the barricade at half past seven P.M. Colonel von Muralt, who commanded the regiment, conducted the attack with skill and judgment. He made his men advance in single file close to the wall on either side, with orders to fire at the opposite windows whenever a light or living object showed itself. Two howitzers advanced up the middle of the street, followed by two more in reserve, which fired alternately with those in front, so as to render the discharge of artillery incessant. Behind them came the column of grenadiers, which at every fifty paces moved to the front, halted, and fired. Every house from whence a shot issued was broken into and set on fire. In this manner the great street was carried, and three guns taken—the officers leading their men with the utmost courage. The "Piazza del Cathedrale" was next carried by a simultaneous attack up two streets leading to it by the Swiss Guard. Two batteries, one of three, one of four guns, were next stormed, and by midnight Catania was entirely in the hands of the victors.¹

The insurgents had cruelly tortured and cut into pieces a Swiss officer who fell into their hands early in the action, which exasperated his comrades to such a degree that thereafter they gave no quarter. The success was

gained by the royal troops with the loss of 38 officers and 340 men—a most unusual proportion, being 1 to 8, and proving how gallantly they had led their troops. On the side of the insurgents, 352 were buried, and 215 prisoners made, mostly wounded. Dear-bought as this success was, it was attended with most important consequences; it terminated the war in Sicily. A few days after, a defensive position taken up by the Sicilians was forced, and next day Syracuse and Augusta surrendered. Continuing his march toward Palermo, Filangieri was met by a deputation from the city, with the archbishop at its head, to propose a capitulation. The moderate party, however, from whom this proposal came, soon lost their ascendancy; the National Guard, assailed by the populace, was obliged to take refuge on board the royal fleet; and when the king's army descended the hill toward the city, their advanced guard were assailed by the armed multitude, and driven back. The arrival of the Swiss restored the combat, and the insurgents were driven back into the city. Negotiations were now resumed, and soon came to a successful issue. Filangieri had the good sense, as well as humanity, to award an amnesty, which, at the earnest request of the revolutionists, was made to include offenses of every description. The chiefs of the insurrection, who had already escaped, were alone excluded: they had disappeared, despite their appeals to the people to conquer or die, the moment danger approached. On the 15th May, the anniversary of the victory of the royalists in Naples the year preceding, the royal army entered Palermo. Gergenti and Trapani also surrendered, and peace was restored in the whole of the island.²

¹ Ellesmere, 287; An. Hist. 1849, 617, 618; An. Reg. 1849, 618. ² Submission of Palermo, and end of the war in Sicily. April 9. April 10. April 22. May 15. ³ Ellesmere, 290, 291; An. Hist. 1849, 618.

The overthrow of the insurrection in Genoa, Leghorn, Bologna, and Ferrara, with the capture of Ancona and Brescia, and counter-revolution in Florence, caused the revolutionists, closely followed by the Austrians, to recoil from all quarters to Rome. Venice still hoisted the colors of independence, but it was strictly blockaded; the Eternal City alone presented an accessible rallying-point to the discomfited insurgents, and it was in consequence rapidly filled by them. It was under the command of the most noted leaders from all parts of Italy—Mazzini, Garibaldi, and Avezzana. The first brought to the cause the aid of unbounded revolutionary enthusiasm, devout trust in human perfectibility, considerable powers of eloquence, and unscrupulous ambition; the second led under his standard all the ardent spirits and refugees who had been expelled from Lombardy and Tuscany by the Austrian arms; while the third, who had come from Genoa with five hundred followers, and been created Minister at War, imported the knowledge of command which he had acquired when at the head of the National Guard of Genoa. But though the real powers of government were shared among these three persons, the triumvirate in whom they were formally vested were, Mazzini, Annellini, and Saffi; the first of whom was a Lombard, the two last Romans, by birth. Avezzana, when called before the Constituent Assembly at Rome to state what forces he had at his disposal, declared they did not exceed ten thousand men, for the most part young troops; the remainder, eight thousand in number, were on the Neapolitan frontier. But the arrival of Garibaldi in Rome, with some thousand refugees from the combats in the north of Italy, inspired such terror or confidence, that all thoughts of an accommodation were laid aside, and the most determined resistance was resolved on.¹

The resolution of the Romans to resist brought a strange and unexpected champion on the field, and opened a new phase in the history of modern Italy. It has been seen that Great Britain and France had throughout the contest covertly but very effectively aided the insurgents; in one case by actually supplying them with arms and ammunition, and elsewhere by throwing the shield of diplomatic interference over them the moment they experienced a reverse, and the Austrians threatened to drive them into an ignominious peace. In pursuing this conduct the British Government appear to have been actuated by the vague and popular feeling that the British empire was interested in the establishment of constitutional monarchies in every part of Europe. But the French rulers were less influenced by this cosmopolitan principle than by a material consideration, which acquired additional weight as the war rolled on. They contemplated with secret uneasiness the progress of the Austrian arms in Northern and Central Italy, and were seized with serious alarm when they beheld Piedmont vanquished, and the fortresses of Romagna and Tuscany occupied by the Imperial forces. Influenced by these considerations, Louis Napoleon gladly availed himself of an invitation addressed to the cabinets of Paris, St.

Petersburg, Naples, and Berlin, to co-operate for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. It was part of this plan that a French expedition, with troops on board, should appear off Civita Vecchia, at the mouth of the Tiber, and the Neapolitan forces cross the frontier of the Abruzzi, and invade the Papal territories from the south, while the Austrians passed the Po at all points, and occupied the northern part of the same dominions. In conformity with these proposals a joint military and naval expedition was with the utmost haste collected at Toulon. The land forces of this armament consisted of three brigades, mustering six thousand combatants, in the highest state of discipline and equipment, under the command of General Oudinot, son of the celebrated marshal of the same name in the Empire.¹ They embarked at Toulon on the 22d April, and appeared off Civita Vecchia on the 25th of the same month.¹

So completely had the Italian Liberals been misled by the diplomatic interferences of France, along with England, in their favor, that when the French armament first appeared off their shores they never doubted that they were coming as friends. Accordingly they allowed the troops to land without opposition; and for some days the French and Roman soldiers mounted guard side by side. They were soon, however, undeceived. The French advanced steadily toward Rome, without paying any regard to the protests of the triumvirate there, or the indignant proclamations calling upon the people to resist. On the 29th of April they were before the walls of Rome, and Oudinot replied to a deputation sent out to warn him that if he attempted to enter the city he would be resisted, "Take care how you oppose me, for my troops are good." The advanced guard incautiously approached the walls, and was received with cannon-shots. Oudinot upon this brought up reinforcements, and the French, hearing the Marseillaise sung in the streets, thought the town was taken from the Portesi Gate, which also was attacked, and advanced, so as to get close to the gate of San Pancrazio. Here, however, they were received with a discharge of grape, from two guns placed under the archway, and driven back. In the retreat they were surrounded by the Lombard legion of Garibaldi and a battalion of regular troops, and 200 men were made prisoners. At the same time the attack on the Porta-Portesi was also repulsed with heavy loss, and Oudinot, convinced that the town was not to be taken without regular approaches, sounded a retreat. In this untoward affair the French lost 4 officers and 180 men killed, 11 officers and 400 men wounded, and 11 officers and 560 men made prisoners, while the entire loss on the side of the Romans was only 320.²

Had this bloody repulse not been sustained, the French general would have had some difficulty to explain the conduct of his Government, or find a decent pretext for the siege and military occupation of a city heretofore in alliance with France, and over which she had re-

110.
Recoil of the
insurgents
from all quar-
ters to Rome.

¹ Ann. Reg.
1849, 297, 298;
Ann. Hist.
1849, 621, 622.

111.
The French
Government
resolves to at-
tack Rome.

¹ Ellesmere,
309, 316; Ann.
Hist. 1849,
621-623; Ann.
Reg. 1849, 297,
298.

112.
The French
approach
Rome, and
are repulsed.

April 28.

April 29.

² Ellesmere,
315, 316; An-
Hist. 1849,
623, 624.

113.

Additional
preparations
on both sides.

cently thrown the shield of diplomatic protection. But after this reverse there was no longer any difficulty experienced by the French Government in recognizing the rational feelings in regard to the war. The French army had sustained a serious reverse; nothing but victory and the capture of Rome could wash out the stain. Oudinot retired to Palo, a league from Civita Vecchia, to await reinforcements, which, on the first receipt of the disastrous intelligence by the Government at Paris, were dispatched from Toulon in great numbers. In the course of May and the first week of June eight additional regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a considerable train of siege artillery, were sent. Meanwhile the Neapolitan army, consisting of seven thousand infantry, fifteen hundred horse, and fifty-two guns, under General Casella, crossed the southern frontier of the Papal States, and advanced slowly toward Rome. But the French general refused to admit of any co-operation of the Neapolitans with him, which enabled the Roman chiefs to send out Garibaldi, with the whole Lombard legion, against the latter. The Neapolitans advanced without much resistance to Albano, but finding that the French "reserved the occupation of Rome for

May 26.

June 3.

¹ Ellesmere, 318-321; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 624-626; *Ann. Reg.* 1849, 299-301.

The proceedings of the French led to more decisive results. In order, if possible, to attain their object of occupying the siege of Rome to the exclusion of the Austrians, the Cabinet of Paris sent out M. Lefrege as a diplomatic agent, to mediate between the Roman triumvirate and the enraged army, panting for revenge, encamped without the walls. The views of the pacific negotiator and the military commander were soon found to be irreconcilably at variance. The former, in the end of May, entered into a convention, in virtue of which the French troops were not to enter Rome, but to take up quarters outside the walls; and the restoration of the Pope, or the choice of another form of government, was to be left to the unbiased determination of the inhabitants. This convention, which was meant to throw a veil over the open attack of a

revolutionary republic by the great parent democracy, was far from being satisfactory either to the French President or General Oudinot. Accordingly the latter refused to abide by it, and on 1st June he signified this to the Roman triumvirate.²

The military authorities in Rome had turned to good account the breathing-time afforded them since their brilliant success at San Pancrazio. The walls were repaired and strengthened, additional heavy artillery placed on the ramparts, and the barricades inside brought to an unprecedented state of perfection. They had even established a defense of the latter description capable of being moved from place to place, which was very much admired. Their

hope was to prolong the defense by these means till the autumn, when the pestilential air of the Campagna might be expected to destroy the besiegers. Their hopes in this respect were not so illusive as might be imagined; for they had 20,000 armed men and 200 pieces of artillery within the town, with ample supplies of ammunition; and not only had the spirits of the troops been much elevated by their success, and by the subsequent retreat of the Neapolitan army, but their real efficiency had been materially improved during the interval of rest thus procured for them. Garibaldi in particular, and the officers of his Lombard Legion, were intoxicated with their triumphs, which they ascribed entirely to their own prowess, without any reference to the French jealousy of Neapolitan interference, and anticipated from this commencement a long train of glories equal to those which had immortalized the Roman Republic in ancient story. But if the means of defense had increased, those of attack had augmented in a still greater proportion. Oudinot had under his command, in the beginning of June, 28,000 men, with a train of 90 pieces of artillery; and the troops, besides being in the highest state of discipline and equipment, were burning with anxiety to wipe out the affront which they had recently experienced.¹

The armistice having been denounced, the French general commenced operations by an advance to the Ponte Molle, which was occupied without resistance on the 2d June. Having

thus secured his communications, he moved on, and established his troops on the Monte Mario, which overlooks the walls on their northwestern extremity, and began regular approaches. The Roman Triumvirate meanwhile issued a proclamation, in which they declared their resolution to discharge to the last extremity the duty intrusted to them of defending the standard of the Republic, and the capital of the Christian world.* The first serious attack was made on the Villa Pamphili-Doria, which was carried after a sharp encounter, in which they lost two hundred killed and wounded, by the French troops, who made as many prisoners. Thereafter the siege was conducted in a regular manner, by pushing forward the sap and forming trenches. The attack was directed against the front of the Janiculum, and the utmost care was taken to avoid private houses, or any of the stately monuments of antiquity with which the city abounded. It would have been an easy matter to have stormed the salient angle, on which St. Peter's and the Vatican stood; but this was not attempted, from a laudable desire to preserve the inestimable treasures of art which they contained. The Villa Corsina, during the course of the approaches, was three times taken and retaken, but finally remained in the hands of the French. Though the progress of the besiegers was steady, the besieged made an honorable defense, being supported by the hopes of a

* "We never betray our engagements. In the execution of the orders of the Assembly, and of the Roman people, we have undertaken the engagement of defending the standard of the Republic, the honor of the country, and the capital of the Christian world. We will keep our word."—*The Roman Government to GENERAL OUDINOT*, 14th June, 1849. *Ann. Reg.*, 1849, p. 563.

¹ *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 628, 629; *Ann. Reg.* 301, 302; *Ellesmere*, 321, 323.

116.

Siege and capture of Rome. June 2.

June 3.

democratic revolution overturning the Government of Paris, and converting formidable enemies into powerful friends. The sap having been pushed close to the walls of the June 30. Janiculum, and a practicable breach formed, an advanced bastion was carried by assault at three in the morning of the 1st July, and the defenders, four hundred in number, precipitated over the walls, or put to the sword.*

By this success the French were established in a solid manner within the walls, and the guns of the bastion, of which they had got possession, commanded the inside of the gate of San Pancrazio, which was no longer tenable. Further resistance was impossible; at six in the morning the entire Janiculum was evacuated by the besieged, and their troops brought back to the Strada Longara, the principal street of the Transtevere suburb. In the forenoon of the same day the Assembly met, and after discussing several extravagant propositions for defense brought forward by Garibaldi, it was agreed that a surrender was unavoidable. At four o'clock the white flag was hoisted on the Castle of St. Angelo; at midnight Garibaldi marched out of the city, with Mazzini, the chief of the Government, and five thousand men, chiefly of the Lombard Legion: at noon on the 3d, July 3. Oudinot entered at the head of his troops, and on the 8th he heard high mass in the Church of Saint Louis, the patron of France. The city was immediately declared in a state of siege; all the Papal troops who were in it were placed under the command of French officers, and all the others disarmed. In the first instance, the French colors were hoisted on the Castle of St. Angelo and the walls; but after a week they were replaced by those of the Pope, in whose name the Government was carried on. The Supreme Pontiff remained at Gaeta, being unwilling, after

Aug. 14. Rossi's murder, to intrust his person to his rebellious subjects; but later in the Sept. 18. year he issued a *Motu Proprio*, establishing a council of state to carry on the Government, confirming the provincial councils and municipal corporations, and promising further administrative reforms.

1 Ann. Hist. 1849, 629-631; Gen. Oudinot's Disp., Ibid., 265; Ellesmere, 325-327; An. Reg. 1849, 304-307. An amnesty was afterward published, but containing so many exceptions, that it rather retarded than promoted the reconciliation of the Pontiff with his subjects.¹

After leaving Rome, on the night of the first July, with five thousand men, Garibaldi took the road to Naples. Finding, however, that the ap-

proach to that capital by Terracina was shut by Marshal Nunziante with a large force, while another was moving on his flank through the Abruzzi, he altered his course, taking a cross-road to Terni. On the 16th of July he reached

Orvieto, where the Neapolitans could not pursue him, as it was occupied by French detachments. His followers, destitute of every thing, committed so many acts of violence that the peasantry fled on their approach, and they were soon reduced to the greatest straits from want of provisions. Two days after he entered Tuscany, still keeping in the mountains. Several Austrian columns, however, were now on his track, and it was impossible he could long escape. On the 31st his band, now reduced by fatigue and desertion to one thousand men, encountered at St. Leo, near San Marino, the brigade of the Archduke Ernest, and nine hundred surrendered at the first summons. Garibaldi himself, with a hundred desperate adherents, escaped to Cesenatico, where they seized some fishing-boats and put to sea. The greater part were captured by the Austrian cruisers; but Garibaldi himself again contrived to escape almost alone, and has since been a wanderer in the wide world. Most of his followers found their way back to their homes. Some took to the mountains, and, in bands of twenty and thirty, swelled the troops of robbers who have so long infested the Papal and Neapolitan frontiers.¹

. Of all the states in Italy which had taken part in the revolutions of 1848, none was now in arms but Venice; and its inhabitants owed this distinction not so much to their superior courage or constancy as to their insular situation, and the powerful flotilla at the disposal of the insurgent Government, which kept the Austrian vessels at a distance. In addition to these natural advantages, the Venetians had formidable forces at their command: the regular soldiers were 15,000, and 2500 marines, without including the burgher guard; 350 guns were mounted on the defenses, with a strong outwork at Malghera, the *tête de pont* of the railway bridge of 222 arches, 4000 yards long, which connected the main land with the city; and the whole was under the command of General Pape, an officer of skill and determination, who was supported by Manin, a man much beloved by the people, who had been invested since March, 1849, with the powers of dictator. After the Milan armistice the defense was prolonged, in the hope of a favorable diversion from the side of Hungary, Piedmont, or Paris; and the operations of the Austrians were limited to a strict blockade both at sea and along the shores of the Lagunes. A diversion in favor of the Piedmontese, attempted when the armistice was denounced by Charles Albert on the 20th March, which at first was attended with some success, was in the end repulsed just as news arrived of the battle of Novara; and as soon as the second armistice was concluded between the Austrians and the Piedmontese, General Haynau, who commanded the blockade force, received orders to undertake the siege of Fort Malghera.²

This small fortress, constructed by the French in 1807, situated on the main land on the edge

* Upon receiving intelligence of this disaster, the Triumvirate addressed the following proclamation to the Roman people: "Romans! In the darkness of the night, by means of treason, the enemy has set foot on the breach! Arise, ye people, in your might! Destroy him, fill the breach with his carcasses! Blast the enemy, the accursed of God, who dare touch the sacred walls of Rome. While Oudinot resorts to this infamous act, France rises up and recalls its troops from this work of invasion. One more effort, Romans, and your country is saved forever. Rome, by its constancy, regenerates all Europe. In the name of your fathers, in the name of your future hopes, arise and give battle. Arise and conquer! One prayer to the God of battles, one thought to your faithful brethren, one hand to your arms. Every man becomes a hero! This day decides the fate of Rome and of the Republic.—MAZZINI, ANNELLINI, SARTI."—It was hardly to be expected, after issuing this high-sounding proclamation, that the authors of it dared steal out of Rome in the following night, with Garibaldi, the general, and 5000 men, leaving the city and their fellow-citizens to their fate.—An. Reg., 1849, p. 306.

117.

Flight and dispersion of Garibaldi's band.

July 31.

¹ Ellesmere, 323, 323.

118.

Blockade of Venice.

March 20.

² Ellesmere, 331-333; An. Hist. 1849, 635.

of the Lagoon directly west of Venice, was a pentagon, with earth walls and wet ditches, bomb-proof barracks, and regular outworks. It was intended to cover the bridge-head which connected the city with the main land, and therefore its reduction was an essential preliminary to an attack on the city.

119. Siege and capture of Fort Malghera; surrender of Venice.
April 20. Trenches were opened against it on the 20th April, at first armed with a very insufficient artillery, which was entirely overmatched by the enemy's guns, admirably served by their cannoners. The Austrians, whose operations were much impeded by heavy rains, were obliged to send to Mantua for a larger siege-train, which arrived on the 20th May, when the bombardment was renewed, and this time with such effect that on the night of the 26th May,

May 26. the ramparts being untenable, and the breach ready for an assault, the place was evacuated by the garrison, who withdrew into the city after a most honorable defense. Notwithstanding this disaster the insurgents prolonged their resistance, though even the English agents earnestly counseled a surrender, being buoyed up with hopes of a decisive intervention by the efforts of the Hungarian insurrection. Batteries were meanwhile constructed by the Austrians along the nearest points of the Lagoon, which opened a fire on the city; but the distance was so great that very few of the shot took effect, though from the 29th July to the 22d August the average number discharged was four hundred and fifty 24-pound shot and four hundred shells daily. But the Hungarian insurrection having been suppressed by the Russian intervention, and the war in Italy terminated by the capture of Rome, the contest had evidently become hopeless, and the war had no longer a legitimate object. On the 22d August a

Aug. 22. deputation from the Venetian chiefs arrived at the Austrian head-quarters, and a capitulation was speedily concluded on the most liberal and humane terms on the part of the conquerors. Excepting a few of the Imperial officers, who had deserted their colors and gone over to the insurgents, a universal amnesty was accorded to the people, and all duties on imports were immediately removed to assuage the sufferings of the laboring classes, who had become

Aug. 25. much straitened for the necessities of life. On the 25th August the Austrian colors were again hoisted on all the forts, batteries, and islands of Venice, amidst cheers as loud, if not so sincere, as had resounded when they were lowered on the 23d March in the preceding year.¹

To complete the picture of the Italian Revolution, it only remains to add that the 120. Restoration of the Grand Duke of Tuscany resumed possession of his states, where he was received with unanimous demonstrations of joy, and that a definitive treaty of peace between Austria and Piedmont was signed on the 6th, and ratified on the 17th August. The terms were moderate in the extreme: no concessions of territory were exacted; an amnesty was accorded; and the only difficulties experienced in conducting the negotiation related to the sum to be paid by Piedmont as

an indemnity for the expenses of the war, and the number of exceptions from the amnesty which were to be admitted. At length the first was fixed at 75,000,000 francs (£3,000,000); and the last reduced to 86—all from the Austrian provinces in Italy. Happily the greater part of them had already escaped into Switzerland or elsewhere, and no great energy was shown in seeking them out, the Austrians being chiefly anxious to get the dangerous characters out of the country. Charles Albert died at Oporto on the 28th July; and the profound indifference of the rural population for their electoral rights acquired during the revolution, and still subsisting, having left the elections entirely in the hands of the urban Liberals, the Chamber returned was almost entirely democratic, of which they gave proof by electing, the moment they assembled, M. Parito, one of the leaders of the Genoese insurrection, president. All efforts to render the Chamber manageable having failed, the King, in order to carry on the Government, was obliged to have recourse to a dissolution. Aug. 20. He made a noble appeal to the country, without attempting any change on the representative system introduced, during the fervor of the revolution, by Charles Albert: the rural electors listened to his voice, and came forward to give their votes, and a Chamber was returned giving a majority of fifty to the friends of constitutional monarchy.¹

The conditions thus accorded to Austria, however, were much more favorable to that power than those which, at an earlier period, the Cabinet of Vienna would have been willing to accept; for such had been the exhaustion of the monarchy from the double war which was raging in its vitals, and such the straits to which the Government had been reduced by the successes of the Hungarian insurgents, that they had acceded to the proposal that a separation of the *Regno Lombardo-Veneto* from the Imperial dominions should take place. This the Cabinet of Vienna regarded as the only mode of preventing the armed intervention of France, which they were well aware would at once turn the balance against them in Italy. A long negotiation on this subject went on between the cabinets of London and Vienna, by the former of whom it was warmly supported, in the hope of averting French intervention. The basis of the proposal was, that Austria should abandon the whole dominions which she held in Italy, and the inhabitants should elect a sovereign totally independent of Austria or any other power. The new kingdom

was to have its own Parliament,² finances, and treasury, on condition only of paying 10,000,000 florins (£1,000,000) annually as their contribution to the debts of the Empire. The Austrian minister declared, at the same time, that, if the French troops crossed the Alps, and advanced into Lombardy, they would oppose no resistance to them, but retire first behind the Mincio, and then behind the mountains of Carinthia, leaving Italy to the full en-

¹ Treaty signed Aug. 6, and ratified Aug. 17, 1849; An. Hist. 1849, 199, App. 638.

² The Austrians had previously acceded to a separation of Lombardy from Austria.

¹ Ellesmere, 341-343; An. Reg. 1849, 291; An. Hist. 1849, 636.

120. Restoration of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and peace between Austria and Piedmont. August 6.

² Lord Ponsonby to Lord Palmerston, Vienna, May 12, 1848; M. Himmelman to Lord Palmerston, May 23, 24, 26, 1848; Baron Wismenberg to Count Carabi, June 18, 1848; An. Hist. 1849, 191-195, Doc. Hist.

joyment of the blessings of French intervention. This arrangement, which was proposed and even urged upon Great Britain by the Austrian Government, proved abortive, partly from the disinclination of the Milanese to take upon themselves any part of the Austrian debt, partly because it did not meet the ambitious views of any of the parties who had instigated the insurrection.

The conduct of the British Cabinet, under the direction of Lord Palmerston, during the whole of the critical period which followed the Italian Revolution, can not be regarded by any impartial observer with approbation.

Admitting that the circumstances were complicated and difficult, and that it was essential to leave no pretext for French interference, their conduct went much beyond the real neutrality which Great Britain should ever observe in regard to the intestine dissensions of other nations. She did not remain neutral; on the contrary, she interposed covertly, but most efficiently, in support of the insurgents. The language of her official agents and ministers in urging organic changes upon the Italian Governments universally inspired the belief that they secretly favored the Liberal cause, and that, in the last extremity, the insurgents might confidently rely on their interposition. Nor were they disappointed in these expectations, for repeatedly France and England interposed on their behalf, and arrested the arms of Austria when on the point of achieving decisive success. Incalculable were the evil consequences of this one-sided policy both upon the internal concerns of Italy and the general interests of Europe, for it led the Italian Liberals to reject all terms of accommodation, and thus needlessly prolonged the war under circumstances evidently hopeless. It weakened the influence and damaged the character of England, by spreading the belief that she lacked the means or wanted the courage openly to support a cause which she had secretly fomented. Still more disastrous were the effects of this policy upon the general balance of power in Europe, for it led to the occupation of Rome by the French, and division of the Italian peninsula, in respect of influence, between them and the Austrians; and, by proving to Austria that she could not rely on the support of Great Britain, it threw her into the arms of Russia, induced the Muscovite intervention in Hungary, and brought about that vast increase of the Czar's influence in the East which led him to invade Turkey in 1854, and which was only checked by the blood poured out at the Alma, Inkermann, and Sebastopol.

The conduct of the military commanders on both sides, in the memorable Italian campaigns of 1848 and 1849, is worthy of the highest praise, and must ever render their operations a subject of deep interest to the military student. Both stood up boldly and manfully for the cause with which they were intrusted; each struck redoubtable blows at his antagonist, and each showed the greatest military skill, both in following up a success and retrieving a disaster. Of the two commanders, the higher praise must be conceded—at least in the earlier part of the war—to Radetsky, for he was at the head of an army which was daily melting away from the insurrections in the provinces

from which it was drawn, was greatly overmatched in point of numbers, and had to contend with a superior regular army in front, and an insurgent population, not merely among his enemies, but in the very provinces and cities which his forces occupied, and which threatened his communications in the most serious manner. He was enabled to contend against these disadvantages, and finally to rise victorious over them entirely, by the skillful use of an interior line of communication and by rapidity of movement, which counterbalanced inferiority of force. Perhaps the most signal instance of that, the highest feat of strategy, was afforded by Lord Clyde in the relief of Lucknow and defeat of the Gwalior Contingent at Cawnpore in 1857—an achievement the more memorable that it was effected by less than six thousand men against sixty thousand; that the troops defeated were inferior to none in the world in the defense of strong-holds and fortifications; that among the garrison safely brought off were above two thousand sick, or women and children, not one of whom was lost.

Struck with astonishment at the wretched figure cut, with very few exceptions, by the Italian volunteers in this war, the nations of Northern Europe have generally settled into the belief that the Italians are incapable of self-defense; that a double efflorescence of civilization has emasculated their character; and that independence is hopeless, because the virtues have been lost which are necessary to assert it. It can not be denied that the facts of the case, at first sight, seem to warrant this conclusion. Never had a country such an opportunity for asserting its independence as Italy had in 1848; never were circumstances so favorable for maintaining it. An enthusiastic passion for liberty and independence animated the whole urban, and a considerable part of the rural population; and the regular army of Piedmont, superior in numbers at first to that of Austria, was equal to it in valor and efficiency. Austria, on the other hand, was so distracted by the discordant passions of race, as well as the rising ones of civilization, that the only army she could rely on was that which the veteran Radetsky commanded. The population of the Italian peninsula exceeded twenty-five millions; and if the compactness of the territory, the extent of sea-coast, and the incomparable riches of the soil, are taken into consideration, its material resources greatly exceeded those of the Austrian Empire. It is no wonder that, when all the efforts of the Italians to achieve their independence in these circumstances were unsuccessful, the opinion should have become general that they failed because they wanted the military virtues necessary to insure success.

It is hard to arrive at such a conclusion regarding the descendants of the ancient Romans; and events were not wanting, in the course of the contest, which proved that, when properly disciplined and led, the modern Italians were capable of emulating the deeds of their forefathers. The soldiers of Charles Albert were equal to any in Europe, and they maintained this character in the great tournament in after-times in the Crimea. Even the new levies and volunteers exhibited on some occasions—particularly in the defense of

122.
Reflections on
the conduct of
Great Britain
on this crisis.

124.
To what the
defeat of the
Italians was
owing.

123.
Conduct of
the military
commanders
on both sides.

125.
Their divi-
sions occa-
sioned it.

Rome and Messina—a courage worthy of a different fate. The real causes of the failure of the Italians were two, either of which is sufficient to account for it. The first of these was their own divisions. Their passion was for freedom and independence, and their rallying-cry “Liberty and *Unity!*” It was evident that the first could be won only by commencing with the last. How did they set about it? The Sicilians, in the very outset, revolted against the Neapolitans, and drew upon themselves the Swiss Guard, which might have turned the scale in the contest in Northern Italy; next the Romans rose up against the Pope, the first leader in Italian reform, and paralyzed the Papal Guards, previously engaged on the side of Italy; the Lombards, on the first reverse, besieged Charles Albert in his hotel at Milan, and fired into his windows; the Venetians set up for themselves in their islands on the Adriatic; the inhabitants of Leghorn rose in insurrection against the authority of Florence; the people of Tuscany expelled the Archduke from his dominions; the Liberals of Genoa strove to shake off the rule of Piedmont, and yielded to the dream of a Ligurian Republic; Rossi attempted, out of these discordant materials, to form a league for mutual defense, and they murdered him. Thus, at the moment when Charles Albert was contending with one of the greatest military powers on the Continent, intestine division paralyzed all the forces from which he should have derived support in his rear. It is in these lamentable divisions, the result of separate interests and selfish ambition in the leaders of the movement in the chief Italian cities, that the chief cause of their common subjugation is to be found. What would have been the fate of England if, when contending for life or death with Napoleon, Scotland had risen up against England, Wales against Scotland, Cornwall against both, and all Ireland had universally followed the seductive voice of the great Liberator?

But though these divisions were without doubt the main cause of the overthrow of the Italians in the war of independence, they were not the only ones. Another source of weakness, scarcely less powerful, was to be found in the almost entire want of any regular military force in the Italian States, with the exception of Piedmont, when the war broke out. Except the guards of Naples and the Pope—which, being for the most part composed of Swiss or German mercenaries, were admirable soldiers—the states of Central and Southern Italy had scarcely any military forces. This want of real troops was deemed of no importance by the enthusiastic Liberals; they thought the ardor for freedom, the passion for independence, would soon produce invincible soldiers. They ere long found out their mistake. The volunteers of Lombardy and Rome soon disappeared

from the ranks of war on the Adige; the new levies of Central and Southern Italy are scarcely ever mentioned, except to record their defeats, in the subsequent annals of the contest. We should err if we ascribed this uniform want of success to any inherent want of courage in the Italian people. It was the absence of previous preparation and military organization which was the chief cause of their overthrow. No opinion is so erroneous, however generally entertained, as that it is possible to improvise soldiers, and that long previous preparation is unnecessary, because it is expensive, and they can be raised when required. Three or four years’ training is required to make a real soldier. A nation which disregards this truth is always on the verge of destruction, because, on the first breaking out of hostilities, it is sure to be defeated.

Perhaps, however, the senseless retention of these political divisions, and this general want of previous military preparation, in the Italian States at the commencement of the struggle, is to be itself ascribed to another and a more general cause. Nature has not been lavish of *all* her gifts to any one people, and experience has abundantly proved that the passionate longing after the ideal, which is the main-spring of excellence in the fine arts; is inconsistent with the practical view of things and sound good sense which is essential in this world to the attainment of the real. The Italians had fixed their desires on a confederacy of little republics, like the Greeks in ancient and their forefathers in medieval times; and they shut their eyes to the evident truth, that such a league could not maintain its ground for a month against the assault of any of the great military monarchies of Europe. Separate interests, individual ambition, prevailed over all considerations of the general good. In works of genius and imagination, in all the fine arts save poetry, the Italians are superior in modern, as the Greeks were in ancient times, to any other people: Great Britain or France can exhibit nothing to compare with their painters, sculptors, and musical composers. But while the modern Italians, like the ancient Etruscans, have been absorbed in the contemplation of the ideal in the fine arts, the inhabitants of England and France, like the Romans in former days, have been intent only on the means of subduing mankind. Great Britain has not produced a painter like Raphael, a sculptor like Michael Angelo; but she has colonized America and Australia; she has conquered India; and her language will be spoken over half the globe.

“Excudent alii spirantia mollius aera,
Credo equidem: vivos ducent de marmore vultus;
Orabunt causas melius; coelique meatus
Describent radio, et surgentia sidera dicent;
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:
Hæ tibi erunt artes; pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbis.”

Æneid, vi. 849.

126.
Total want
of military
organization
in Southern
Italy.

127.
The Italian
mind was in-
consistent
with the ex-
ercise of free-
dom.

CHAPTER LIII.

GERMANY, BELGIUM, AND DENMARK, FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 TO THE PACIFICATION OF THE NORTH BY THE TREATY OF OLMÜTZ IN 1850.

MORE even than the imaginative people of the Italian peninsula were the inhabitants of Germany shaken by the moral earthquake which cast down the thrones of Louis Philippe in France. Among the Germans were found united nearly all the qualities likely to render that event the parent of great results—the Teutonic love of freedom; a turn of mind eminently speculative; an ardor which mocked at difficulties; an enthusiasm which despised danger. Wide-spread and profound had been the discontent which pervaded the German mind, when the solemn promises of free institutions, which had been made by the sovereigns during the war of liberation, were either openly broken or kept only in name, and Germany remained subject to military and despotic government, at a time when its inhabitants were teeming with energy, its cities resplendent with genius, its fields over-spread with laborers, its commerce whitening the ocean with its sails. Many and zealous had been the efforts made by the people in every part of Central and Northern Germany to obtain from their sovereigns the performance of their promises; but all their efforts had proved unsuccessful.

In addition to these vehement political and social passions, there were others, of yet deeper origin and more lasting endurance, which were adding to the convulsion. The religious division of the northern and southern states, which had formerly so violently agitated the country, was indeed in a great measure lulled; but the opposite turn of mind which the Protestant and Catholic creeds had produced still retained its influence. The free-thinking student of the universities in Hanover or Prussia, who had adopted the whole creed of Rationalism, and aspired to introduce its independence into political institutions, was as much divided from the devout Austrian or Tyrolese, who mingled in their prayers the names of the "Heilig Vater" and "Kaiser," as the Jacobin of Paris was from the peasant of La Vendée. But in addition to this, there had now sprung up, especially in the eastern provinces of the empire, a still more serious and enduring cause of discord, in the ancient and now revived passions of RACE. Exposed by their geographical situation on the eastern frontier of Europe to the perpetual inroad of the Asiatic hordes, the Oriental states of Germany contained in their bosom various and antagonistic families of mankind. Numerous and opposite conquerors had at different times swept over the land, and left on its surface descendants animated by passions as warm, and hostility as implacable, as had impelled their fathers from their native seats. The firm hand of government and weight of military power, resting on the strong martial passions of the people, had hith-

erto restrained these discordant feelings, and turned them to national rivalry rather than intestine broils; but the passions of race were compressed, not extinguished, and, on the first removal of the superincumbent weight, were ready to flare up in fearful violence.

AUSTRIA was, from its local situation, the most exposed to those discordant passions, and at the same time, by its weight and power, the most important state in the German confederacy. Beyond any other country in Europe it had been exposed from the most remote antiquity to the inroads of those barbarous nations which, impelled by hunger or the lust of conquest from the wilds of Tartary, sought in the southern and highly-cultivated countries of Europe at once the relief of their necessities and the gratification of their desires. Vienna was on the direct line from Scythia to Rome. Hungary was the great alluvial plain which, however, attracted the wandering tribes bent on the invasion of the Lower Empire. Wave after wave of these formidable invaders has rolled over the country, according as the accumulation of other barbarians in rear impelled them forward, or the decline of the Empire in front weakened the barriers which kept them back. The dark-haired Celts first appeared, and being the original invaders, for the most part passed on and settled in Gaul, Italy, and the British Isles; the blue-eyed Goths, with their flowing yellow locks and sturdy feelings of independence, next appeared, and having rested on the banks of the Danube, formed the basis of the present population of Upper and Lower Austria and Tyrol; the Slavonians succeeded, during the declining days of the Roman Empire, and, spreading over Moravia, Bohemia, Galicia, and the north of Hungary, have left in their descendants the half of the whole present inhabitants of the Austrian Empire. The Magyars, an entirely distinct race, pre-eminent for their courage and energy, settled in the great plains of Middle Hungary, and have ever since formed the ruling power over its whole surface, while the Wallachians occupied Transylvania and the eastern parts of Hungary; and the descendants of the original Celtic invaders, pushed forward by the pressure from behind, penetrated the valleys of the Alps, and overspread the beautiful plains of Lombardy. Some of these races, especially the Magyars in Hungary and the Germans in Austria Proper, held the Celts and Slavonians in subjection on the same territory, and thence a lasting source of mutual irritation and heart-burning, which were the main cause, when the bonds of society were loosened, of the extreme violence of the revolution, which all but dissolved the Austrian Empire.*

* The inhabitants of the Austrian Empire at this period

PRUSSIA WAS NOT so much distracted by variety of race and the effects of successive conquests of quarts as its great southern neighbor, but Prussia. It contained other elements of discord not less formidable. Its inhabitants, consisting of Goths from Southern Scandinavia, were the descendants of a bold and intrepid race, which had maintained on the banks of the Elbe, and in the Hyrcanian Forest, a desperate conflict with Charlemagne in the plenitude of his power, in defense of the gods and rites of their fathers. Second to no people in the world in courage and martial zeal, they were distinguished by that ardent love of freedom, mingled with the reverence for antiquity, which in every age has distinguished the Teutonic race, and which, by separating the passion for liberty from the desire of headlong innovation, has rendered its progress slower but more certain, and its ultimate triumph secure. This peculiarity in their character had caused them to embrace with ardor the doctrines of the Reformation, when they made their appearance in the latter part of the sixteenth century, while the slower and less energetic inhabitants of Southern Germany stumbled on in subjection to the dictates of the Vatican. The prevalence of the Protestant doctrines, which are eminently favorable to variety and independence of thought, had reacted, in its turn, in the most powerful manner, on the progress of liberal opinions; and the ardent soldiers who had taken up arms in 1813 in the great war of liberation, returned home, after their triumphs, chanting the cries of Körner, and dreaming of the freedom of the Fatherland. The passion for liberty, accordingly, was much more ardent and widespread in Prussia, Saxony, Westphalia, Hanover, and the lesser central states of the confederacy, than in Southern Germany, where knowledge was much less generally diffused, and the people were in general ranged for or against the new opinions according as they inhabited the towns

were classified, according to the best statistical authorities, as follows:

I. Germans in Upper and Lower Austria, Tyrol, part of Styria and Carinthia...	7,368,000
II. Slavonians in Moravia, Bohemia, Galicia, Silyria, Croatia, Servia, and Northern Hungary.....	17,000,000
III. Magyars in Central Hungary.....	4,000,000
IV. Italians in Lombardy, Venetian States, and Southern Tyrol.....	5,122,000
V. Wallachians.....	2,160,000
VI. Jews.....	678,000
VII. Gipsies.....	120,000
Total.....	37,358,000

—Königsberg Zeitung, 1942

or the country. Prussia was not without the causes of discord which spring from diversity of race and the heart-burnings of successive conquests, for Silesia and Old Prussia contained great numbers of Schiavonians, and in the provinces which had fallen to the lot of Prussia in the recent partition of Poland that race formed a decided majority of the inhabitants. But the heart-burnings inevitable on that iniquitous act had been almost obliterated in Prussian Poland by the wise legislative measures and paternal administration which, as already explained, had so greatly improved the condition of the people, that they had ceased to sigh for the restoration of their stormy Comitia and the license of a democratic noblesse.¹

Two most important effects had followed the triumph of the German arms in the latter years of the Revolutionary war, and the formation of the confederacy which had secured for them the inestimable blessings of internal peace for three-and-thirty years. The first of these was the great increase of wealth, industry, and population, which had taken place during that long period of repose.† The benefit of this suspension of all strife was felt the more sensibly from the contrast which it had exhibited to the ceaseless wars which had watered the German fields with blood, almost from the foundation of the states of modern Europe. Immenso was the change when, by the triumphs of 1813 and the establishment of the formidable German confederacy, the evils consequent on these desolating wars were terminated—when the Rhine or the Nieman were no longer crossed by hostile hosts, and the German disposition, essentially pacific and industrious, had free scope for its exercise within the protected limits of the confederacy. During the three-and-thirty years, accordingly, which elapsed from 1815 to 1848, Germany over its whole extent, but especially in the north, had made extraor-

Great and general prosperity of Germany during the peace.

* Landed property in Prussia is very much subdivided, and the number of separate possessions has greatly increased since 1848—a sure proof, when coupled with simultaneous augmentation of industry, of general well-being. From a statistical table published lately it appears that

In 1848 the land-owners in Prussia were..	1,750,000
In 1878	2,041,545

	Acres.
Waste lands reclaimed since 1899	7,168,829
Possessions from 5 to 50 acres—in 1899 ...	367,988
" " in 1905 ..	57,914
Possessions below 5 acres—in 1899	990,845
" " in 1905	1,040,567

—Statistical Table, 1999, p. 67.

† REPLACEMENT OF THE UNIDENTIFIED COPIES OF THE ORIGIN ENTERED AT THE UNIDENTIFIED PERIODS.

State.	Population in 1894.	Population.	Extent in Sq. Miles.	Population in Sq. Mile.
1. German states of Austria	2,494,100	11,725,540 in 1880	2650 5	2,225
2. German states of Prussia	2,100,000	11,000,168 in 1880	3200 94	2,000
3. German states of Bavaria		4,440,877 in 1880	1804 8	2,221
4. Saxony		1,707,800 in 1880	171 00	4,705
5. Hanover		1,750,000 in 1880	600 00	2,917
6. Württemberg		1,701,705 in 1881	300 4	4,810
7. Baden		1,335,000 in 1880	370 5	4,000
8. Hesse-Cassel		737,073 in 1880	300 9	2,401
9. Hesse-Darmstadt		654,579 in 1880	177 7	3,600
10. Holstein and Lauenburg		626,050 in 1880	175 5	3,600
11. Luxembourg		300,310 in 1847	90 7	3,300
12. Brunswick		612,300 in 1848	30 37	0,001
13. Mecklenburg-Schwerin		300,046 in 1860	70 00	3,701
14. Oldenburg		370,000 in 1860	27 0	2,317
15. Frankfurt-on-Maine		60,000 in 1860	110 00	2,400
16. Hamburg		100,000 in 1860	7 1	21,011
17. Bremen		100,000 in 1860	7 1	21,000

—Gardner of Ford, was "Germany," p. 973. London, 1956.

dinary advances both in wealth and population. The inhabitants of Prussia during this period had increased sixty per cent.; they had swelled from ten to sixteen millions. Its industry and resources had advanced in a still greater proportion.* The same was the case almost in the same degree with the lesser central states, and even the huge Austrian monarchy had felt in an extraordinary degree the vivifying influences of the period of repose. With the enjoyment of peace and prosperity had sprung up, as a natural consequence, a general desire for the free institutions enjoyed by other countries in a similar state of civilization and advancement; and the long eluding of the promises made for their concession had at length inflamed this desire into a perfect passion.

The next circumstance which had generally prepared the German mind for revolutionary convulsion was the universal diffusion of education. The care of this important branch of public economy had not been left to individuals, but had been almost every where taken up by the Government; and the education by parents of their children was in many states not merely recommended as a duty, but enforced as an obligation by the executive. No less than 21,000 primary schools existed in Prussia, and 1000 colleges or academies, almost all maintained at the public expense. In all Germany there are 6,000,000 children at school, being 1 in 7 of the entire population. Those in Prussia are 2,328,000, out of 15,473,000 inhabitants in 1843; in Saxony 303,506, out of 1,709,000 souls. The German rulers having great standing armies at their command, and, in the Catholic states at least, the entire control of the books which were to be read, both at school and for the most part after it, deemed it perfectly safe to give this vast ex-

tension to general education—nay, they thought, with Napoleon and the Chinese emperor, that, by affording the means of regulating the *thoughts* of men, they would succeed in establishing government on a much stronger basis than could ever be done by means of material coercion, because they would take away from their subjects even the desire to revolt. They were yet to learn that, whatever may be the enervating effect of the universal power of reading, while co-existing with a despotic government, and a press enslaved either by the bayonets of soldiers or the precepts of a priesthood, nothing but tumult and dissension were to be anticipated from it when first introduced into a country where free discussion has become unavoidable, ¹ *Ante, c. xxvii. § 7, 8, 9.* al determination.¹

A third circumstance at this period rendered revolution in a peculiar manner formidable and hard to resist in Germany, arising from the general arming of the people, which had been forced upon the country by the severities of the French invasion. It has been already explained how Baron Scharnhorst, when Prussia was constrained, by the treaty forced upon it by Napoleon in 1806, to have only forty thousand men under arms, contrived to elude it by keeping the soldiers only three years with their colors, and thereby training triple the number to the use of arms who at any one time were present with the standards.² Beyond all doubt it was this admirable system which was the main cause of the resurrection of Prussia in 1813, and the glorious stand which she then made on behalf of the liberties of Europe. The perception of the advantages derived by Prussia from this system led to its general adoption by the lesser German states, and to its becoming in a manner a fundamental principle of government in the whole of Northern and Central Germany. Every where the whole male inhabitants, without distinction of rank, between eighteen and twenty, were liable to serve in the ranks of the regular army, in which they did duty for three years, and then retired into pacific life, to make way for others, who were to go through the same system of military training and discipline. In this way the whole male population was trained to the use of arms. Immense was the effect of this military organization both in war and peace, but with directly opposite tendencies. As much as it multiplied the means of defense and national strength, in the event of foreign invasion or external warfare, did it augment the public danger when internal dissensions arose, and Government was called on to make a stand against internal revolt; for it brought them into contact, not with undisciplined mobs, but with experienced soldiers. Hence the common saying in Germany in 1848, that it was no wonder the sovereigns were overthrown, for their enemies were all old soldiers, and their supporters were young recruits.

To these observations on the tendency in periods of civil trouble of the military organization of Germany, an exception, and a very important one, must be made of the Austrian army. The great military force of this vast monarchy, amounting on its peace establishment

* MEAN VALUE OF EXPORTS FROM AND IMPORTS INTO AUSTRIA, 1831-1845.

Years.	Imports. Florins.	Exports. Florins.	Custom Receipts. Florins.
1831-'35...	80,611,128	87,605,010	11,940,622
1836-'40...	102,854,914	102,184,185	15,218,659
1841-'45...	115,455,060	111,854,587	16,282,945

—*Gazetteer of World*, voce "Austria," p. 466.

In the Zoll-Verein, in Northern Germany, the movement of industry since the peace may be judged of by the following figures:

Years.	Zoll-Verein Customs. Thalers.	Population.
1834.....	14,515,000	23,478,000
1845.....	27,422,532	28,438,000

VALUE OF EXPORTS AND IMPORTS INTO ZOLL-VEREIN.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.
1845.....	\$178,015,000	\$219,893,000
1846.....	170,164,000	221,483,000

—*Ibid.*, "Germany," p. 578.

Roman Catholics in Germany in 1846, exclusive of Hungary and Poland.....	18,016,000
Protestants.....	12,030,000

POPULATION OF AUSTRIA IN

1818.....	29,813,586
1837.....	35,878,861
1848.....	38,201,671

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 467.

RELIGIOUS DIVISION OF AUSTRIAN EMPIRE IN 1841.

Catholics.....	24,695,527
Greek Church.....	6,451,396
Protestants.....	3,287,575
Jews.....	605,447
Other sects.....	49,764

—*Ibid.*, "Austria," p. 468.

organization of Germany, an exception, and a very important one, must be made of the Austrian army. The great military force of this vast monarchy, amounting on its peace establishment

to 286,000 men, besides 54,000 in the military colonies, was raised on a different principle. The soldiers were there all enrolled for twenty-one years, whether raised by voluntary enrollment or conscription; and every regiment consisted of three battalions, two of which were on active service in any part of the monarchy, while the third remained as a *dépôt* in the circle to which it belonged, to train the recruits to their military duties. The early disasters which Radetsky sustained on the breaking out of the revolution in Lombardy, were, as already mentioned, mainly owing to this cause. The whole *dépôt* battalions in Lombardy, forming nearly a third of the effective military force to the south of the Alps, went over to the insurgents on the first raising of the standard of independence in Milan. But in other parts of the Empire the fidelity of the troops, owing chiefly to this peculiarity in their organization, was attended with the most important effects. Generally speaking, with the exception of the Hungarians, with whom the war speedily assumed a national character, the troops remained loyal; and even these continued faithful to their colors in Radetsky's army. Beyond all doubt, it was this fidelity of the soldiers, in the midst of the defection of the greater part of the nation, which saved at its utmost need the Austrian monarchy.* The soldiers formed—as they generally come to do when long embodied, and especially after having gone through real service together—a body apart, with which military honor and fidelity to their colors were the ruling motives to action. The citizen had come to be forgotten in the soldier. There is no doubt that the growth of such a military caste at the command of Government may often be at-

tended with danger to public liberty; but situated as the Austrian Empire was, composed of various and hostile races, and surrounded by powerful military monarchies, it was the only force which could either defend or hold together the State.¹

The great question at issue between the aristocratic and democratic party in Germany, as in Great Britain at the passing of the Reform Bill, was the principle on which the national representation should be founded. The former contended for a representation of “*estates*,” that is, of *classes of society*; the latter for a simple representation of numbers, told by head, as in Spain by the constitution of 1812. The dispute on this subject was of very old standing, and had begun when the terms of the Federal Act first came under discussion. Baron Stein, the celebrated and able Prussian minister, then proposed that the famous 13th clause of that act, which embraced this subject, should run thus: “A *popular* representation shall be *introduced* into every state of the confederacy.” This was strenuously opposed by Prince Metternich, who contended that it should be altered to this: “Assemblies of *estates* shall find a place in every state of the confederacy.”†

* The soldiers of the Austrian army, when the insurrection broke out in 1848, were divided by race as follows: “106,436 Germans; 104,000 Slavonians; 44,000 Hungarians; 60,000 Italians.”—*Universal Gazetteer*, 473, “Austria.” A proportion perilous in the extreme when a war of races begins.

† Stein's article was—“In jedem Bundestaat soll eine

The difference here was more than verbal; it lay at the foundation of the whole question. Nearly all the German states already had a “*Ständische Verfassung*,” or representation of the people in their several classes; and they were divided into four classes—the clergy, or “*Geistlichkeit*,” the higher nobility, or “*Herrnstand*,” the common land-owners, or “*Ritterstand*,” and the citizens of towns, or “*Bürgerstand*.” In the Tyrol, as in Sweden, the peasants, or non-noble owners of land, formed an order by themselves; and the whole nobility, higher and lower, one only. All the members of the estates met in one house, and the votes were taken by head. They had no legislative power, their duties being chiefly to apportion the public burdens among the different classes of society, and to regulate matters of local interest. The influence of Austria prevailed in this dispute, and the 13th article was drawn as Metternich desired. This, however, was very far, indeed, from meeting the views of the Liberal party. They desired to have one deputy for every seventy thousand inhabitants. The parties, therefore, split upon a vital point, regarding which it was next to impossible to effect a compromise; for the concession of the demands of the Liberals would have vested the uncontrolled government of the country in the lowest class, because the most numerous; and the retention of the existing system would have continued it, without any effectual restraint, in Austria, &c. the privileged ones.¹

The system of estates in Hungary differed essentially from that in the proper German states: it was purely aristocratic, without any intermixture of the other classes, or any semblance even of control over their proceedings. The Legislature there consisted, as in Great Britain, of two chambers, but there the resemblance to the English constitution ceased. The House of Lords consisted of hereditary greater magnates; the Elective, of deputies from the higher clergy, the free towns, the lesser landholders, and the widows of magnates. But of these the deputies from the country, who required to be themselves magnates, and elected by magnates, were alone entitled to vote; the deputies of the free towns were only entitled to sit and speak, without voting. The whole Legislature was thus in the hands of the magnates, who were, with very few exceptions, Magyars, and thus influenced not only by the interests and prejudices of rank, but by the still more inveterate and dangerous feelings of race. This difference rendered the revolution much more wide-spread and perilous in Hungary than in any other country of Europe; for there it was not so much the revolt of the people against the Government as a great aristocratic movement of a third of the inhabitants, composing the dominant race, to secure their exclusive privileges alike against the sovereign above and the burghers and working class below them.²

The exclusive privileges which, in this highly aristocratic state, the nobles had come to enjoy, far exceeded those in possession of the French nobility before the Revolution, and were such as

Volkvertretung eingeführt werden;” Metternich's—“In jedem Bundestaat eine *Ständische Verfassung* wird Statt finden.”—BAUER, Weiss, 1848.

would seem incredible, if not proved by undoubted evidence. They are thus described by one of the latest authorities on the subject, whose testimony is the more valuable that he belongs to the aristocratic interest: "So great were the privileges of the Hungarian nobility, that the person of the noble and his property were alike inviolable: no creditor could either arrest the former or attach the latter. He and his servants were relieved from every impost, national or local. The charges of the State were borne exclusively by the *misera plebs contribuens*, as they were called. To such a length had the abuse of these privileges been carried, that the nobles and their servants paid no toll on passing the bridge of Pesth, though it constituted one of the principal sources of revenue enjoyed by the town. The peasants, bourgeoisie, and mechanics were alone burdened with it. The peasant alone paid the hearth-tax; he alone contributed to the expenses of the Diet and the county charges; he paid the dues of the schoolmasters, guards, notaries, clergy, and curates; he alone kept up the roads, the bridges, the churches, the public buildings, the dikes, and the canals; he alone paid the whole war-taxes, and furnished the recruits to the army; and, in addition to all this, he was compelled to hand over a ninth of his income to his lord, and to give him fifty-two days' service in the year. In fine, besides the charge of transporting wood for his lord's family, he was burdened exclusively with the quartering of soldiers; and he was compelled at all times, and for a merely nominal remuneration, to furnish such to the county authorities or their attendants. The Spartan Helots were kings in comparison." There are certainly sufficient causes here to account for a revolution, and probably render it inevitable; but the extraordinary thing is, that it began in, and was mainly supported by, not the *misera plebs contribuens*, but the haughty Magyar nobles, who lived upon these iniquitous exactions.

The demand for equal and uniform representation was not the only one which had long been made in Germany. An-unity in the other cry had arisen, connected with the former, and deemed indispensable to secure its full and secure development; this was the wish in Germany, as in Italy, for unity. The inhabitants had felt so long and so bitterly the evils of divided government and the contests of sovereigns within the confederacy, that the first desire, when invested at all with the power of self-government, was to mould the confederacy into a real empire, ruled by one government, governed by one set of laws, and directed by one sovereign. Comparing the distracted state of Germany anterior to the formation of the confederacy in 1815, with the power and influence of France on the one side, and Russia on the other, they were impressed with the idea, which was undoubtedly in a great degree well founded, that the superior strength and weight of these powers were owing to their homogeneous character and unity of government. If Germany, with its forty millions of inhabitants and two thousand walled cities, were similarly united, it would, from the advantages of its central situation, compact territory, fertile and yet

varied surface, and numerous navigable rivers, soon acquire still greater influence, and become beyond all question the leading state in Europe, commanding at once internal peace and securing external respect. Such was the dream of the patriots and Liberal leaders in Germany—a dream largely intermingled with truth, and rendered difficult of realization only from the contending interests and separate jealousies of the various nations and chiefs composing the confederacy.¹

The jealousy of the Cabinet of Berlin of Austrian influence, and their desire to establish a preponderating ascend-ency in the north of Germany, had led to another change in political institutions some time before, which powerfully contributed to swell the same cry for unity in the central government. The Prusso-Bavarian league which, under the name of ZOLL-VEREIN (toll-alliance), was established at the time when the ferment of Liberal opinions was very strong in 1833, and came into full operation in 1834, had this effect in a remarkable degree. This league embraced Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Baden, Hesse, Brunswick, Nassau, and a number of lesser states, including all Central and Northern Germany, and containing a population of twenty-four million souls. Its object was two-fold: 1. To establish a perfect freedom of commercial intercourse, and mutual abolition of all duties on import and export within the states of the union, and levy one uniform rate of impost on all foreign productions; the produce of the taxes being remitted to a common treasury, from whence it was proportionally divided between the states comprising the union. 2. To establish so considerable a tax on all imports as should effectually exclude the competition of foreign industry. This last part of the system was specially leveled at the English manufactures.

"We should not have complained," said the *German Kunke*, in 1835, "that all our markets were overflowing with British manufactures—that Germany received in British cotton goods more than the whole British subjects in India—had not England, while she was inundating us with her productions, insisted on closing her markets to ours. Mr. Robinson's resolutions in 1815 had in fact excluded our corn from the ports of Great Britain. She told us we were to buy, but not to sell. We were not willing to adopt reprisals. We vainly hoped that a sense of her own interest would lead to reciprocity; but we were disappointed, and we were compelled to take care of ourselves." This is a manful statement of the principles of free trade; and if the Germans had acted accordingly, they would be entitled to credit for having thus early enunciated them. But they have not done so; their reciprocity has been all on one side. England took off the whole duties on grain in 1846, and materially lowered those on foreign animals and other rural productions; but the Governments of the Zoll-Verein have made no advance toward a similar concession;² and through all the states of the union the import duties, where not raised, continue at the original rate—nominally of ten per cent. on the declared, in reality of from thir-

¹ Balleydier, Rev. d'Au-triche, I. 22, Introduction.

¹ Dr. Schutte, Die Wiener Oktober Revolution, 32-47.

² The Prussian Zoll-Verein; its objects.

² M'Gregor's Germanic Customs Union, 171-177; Newdegate, Tariffs of all Nations, 73-88.

ty to fifty per cent. on the real value. Nay, in 1845, the very year when free trade was in course of being carried in Great Britain, increased duties were introduced over the whole of the Zoll-Verein on foreign iron, raw and manufactured, and cotton yarns, the principal articles of British export.

The effects of this change have been very great, both upon the material prosperity and the moral feelings of the German people. Since it was introduced, the internal trade of the different states of the union with each other has very much increased, and their industry, being in a great measure sheltered from foreign, and especially British competition, has largely augmented. In 1834, when the population of the Zoll-Verein states was 23,478,000, the custom-house receipts were 14,515,000 thalers; in 1845, when the population was 28,498,000, they had risen to 27,422,000 thalers; and in 1850, when the population had swelled to 29,803,000, the receipts were still 22,144,000 thalers, notwithstanding the effects of the monetary crisis of 1847 and Revolution of 1848 in checking both consumption and industry. The industry of the union, as measured by its imports and exports, had increased in a similar proportion. Great as had been the effect of this expansion of domestic industry upon the material prosperity, it was still greater upon the moral and political feelings, of Central and Northern Germany. The influence of Prussia was greatly increased by the change, for the lesser states thereby found their own prosperity wound up with hers; and, by making the petty sovereigns chiefly dependent for their future revenues on the permanence of the Germanic Customs Union, she rendered their fidelity to her in peace and war the condition of their existence as independent sovereigns.¹

While so many causes were conspiring to spread far and wide in Germany the passion for change, and longing after an undefined future, which is the first stage of the revolutionary fever, another circumstance, arising partly from the original character of the mind, partly from their geographical and political circumstances, rendered the malady in its case peculiarly violent and dangerous. The situation of the empire in the heart of Europe having rendered the maintenance of great standing armies the condition of existence, the larger states had at their command huge bodies of armed men. Relying on the support of these formidable pretorians, the Governments every where thought there could be no danger, but rather the reverse, in permitting an unlimited freedom of writing and publishing upon all subjects, excepting such as touched on the forbidden field of politics, or as concerned the actual administration of affairs. This state of things fell in singularly with the peculiar turn of the German mind, which, especially in the north, eminently imaginative and speculative, was by nature turned rather to the contemplation of the ideal than the improvement of the real. Thus the minds of men, in a country where education and the power of reading were universal, were habituated to the most perilous of all exercises in a political point of view—that of bringing

to the solution of subjects of thought, not the powers of reason, but the flights of imagination; not the lessons of experience, but the visions of fancy.

So completely had the minds of men in Germany been prepared by these causes, and the skillful use which the Liberal leaders in Switzerland and Italy had made of them, for a great and general convulsion, that when the news arrived of the revolution in Paris and the fall of Louis Philippe, it seemed as if the match had been suddenly applied to a train previously laid, with branches in every direction. Unlike the first French Revolution, when the progress of the new opinions had been slow, and they had to surmount vigorous resistance from the privileged classes at every step, it was immediate and almost universal. Instead of taking up arms, as they had done both in 1792 and 1830, in their own defense, the Governments of the adjoining states at once yielded to the tempest, and sought only, by immediately bending, to escape its fury. Great resistance was made in several quarters in the end, and the conservative cause was generally at last triumphant; but in the beginning nothing of the kind was thought of, and the annals of the German states for some months are nothing but a series of encroachments imperiously made by the revolutionists, and concessions weakly yielded by the sovereigns.

BELGIUM was the country where, from proximity of situation, and the news of the Paris convulsion being first received, the shock was earliest felt, and where at the same time, from the Government being of a revolutionary character, it might be expected to be most violent. The effects of the blow, however, were lessened, and the throne of Leopold surmounted the concussion, partly by moderation on the part of the Liberal leaders, partly by wisdom and address on that of the sovereign. Knowing that he had no legal title to the throne, unless his election by the people could be esteemed such, Leopold most prudently took the initiative. No sooner did the intelligence arrive of the fall of Louis Philippe than he convoked the council of his ministers, and, after reminding them that the throne of Belgium had been none of his seeking, offered to resign if his ministers thought it would avert calamity, or conduce to the public welfare. The ministers replied that the form of a constitutional monarchy was the one best adapted to the wishes of the Belgian people; that the republican form of government was neither suited to their habits nor adapted to their wishes; and that the existing constitution, having been approved by a constituent assembly, the organ of the public will, and nominated by an immense majority of electors, might be considered as a fair index to the wishes of the people. The result proved that their opinion was well founded: the spirit of the nation was still, as in former days, religious and monarchical, not free-thinking and revolutionary. The King retained the throne: the democratic societies in Brussels all met on the following evening, and attempted a revolutionary movement; but although at their bidding some crowds assembled in the streets, there was no general move-

¹ Vague and imaginary ideas afloat in society in Germany.

¹ McGregor's Germanic Customs Union, 27-34; Gazetteer of the World, 577.

16.

General yielding of the established Governments to the French opinions.

17.

Belgium survives the shock.

Feb. 26.

Feb. 27.

ment, and a few of the leaders were arrested without difficulty. On the day following, the Minister of the Interior announced an electoral law, in virtue of which the franchise was fixed at the lowest point allowed by the constitution—viz., twenty florins' worth of property (40s.), being nearly the same as the lowest point of the county qualification in England. By this change the number of electors was at once doubled; and the liberal intentions of Government were soon after still further evinced by another law, which reduced the qualification for municipal councils to forty-six francs (36s.). These timely and wise concessions gave general satisfaction, and so completely disarmed the extreme democratic party, that when the French revolutionists, who were by no means satisfied with these temperate reforms, endeavored to penetrate into the country, they were, as

March 28. already mentioned, met and with ease defeated by the loyal troops of Leopold.¹
¹ Ante, c. iv. § 37.

The existing Government was soon afterwards still further strengthened by a document from the pen of M. Potter, who had taken so active a part in the revolution of 1830, in which he exhorted his countrymen to rest contented with the real freedom which they enjoyed under their constitutional monarch, and not to endanger it by aspiring after a perilous and impracticable republican régime.⁴

But although Belgium thus avoided the great risk of a change of government on the occurrence of the French Revolution, yet it could not escape the serious evils arising from the shock given to commercial credit, and through it to general industry. They fell with unmitigated severity in that great emporium of mercantile and manufacturing industry; England itself did not suffer more severely. The discounts at the Bank, which in 1847 had been 160,200,000 francs, sank in 1848 to 87,900,000; and the current accounts fell from 183,000,000 to 96,000,000 francs. The general panic soon rendered the payment of notes in cash impossible. The Government acted with equal energy and prudence on this trying occasion. By a law passed on 20th March, 1848, cash payments were suspended, and the Bank was authorized to issue inconvertible notes to a limited extent. Under protection of this law, the notes of the Bank in circulation, which during the panic had fallen to 3,000,000 francs, rose before the end of the year to 10,300,000 francs. The other great banking establishment, the "Société Générale de Bruxelles," was at the same time authorized to issue notes of 20 francs and 5 francs to support the circulation during the temporary absence of specie; and their circulation, also protected, rose from a million to thirty-two millions. The notes of neither establishment underwent any depreciation, notwithstanding the large increase in their paper circulation, a clear proof that it was issued in sufficient but not excessive quantities. The consequence was, that public credit was restored by this seasonable support to the banking establishments, and industry revived so quickly, that Government were enabled, before the end of the year, to surrender to the towns the tax on personal property and patents, in consideration of

their giving up the *octroi* on articles of consumption imported into them, which had been loudly complained of. These changes, and the effects of the crisis, occasioned a deficit in the public accounts for the year of 9,000,000 francs, which in the next was much more than compensated by a great reduction in the army, the cost of which was lessened to the extent of nearly a half of what it had been ten years before. This mode of dealing with the monetary crisis of 1848, which was exactly the same as has been shown to have been adopted in France at the same period,¹ is well worthy of observation, ¹ Ante, c. ii. § 7, 8 for both were diametrically the reverse of that followed in England during the corresponding time of suffering. France and Belgium sought to supply the want of a metallic currency, temporarily drawn away, and to support a credit for the time shaken, by a temporary issue of notes to supply the place of the former and uphold the latter; England was resolute to adhere to a system which forcibly contracted the notes when credit was all but ruined by the withdrawal of the gold. The former said, "If the beef is taken away, give the soldiers more bread;" the latter, "If the beef is taken away, ² Ann. Hist. take away the bread also, and all will 1848, 369-373. soon be right."²

HOLLAND also felt, though in a lesser degree, the shock of 1848, both in politics and commerce. Being the advanced-post ^{19.} Changes in the legitimate monarchies, it was the Constitution of Holland of the revolutionary power, if hostilities broke out; and accordingly military preparations were made on a very extensive scale. The whole militia or landwehr, for 1845, 1846, and 1847, were called out, and a considerable addition was made to the regular army. But these defensive preparations were accompanied by wise and timely concessions to public opinion, violently agitated there as elsewhere by the events which had taken place in France. On the 26th Feb. 26. February, immediately on receipt of the news from Paris, a project for certain fundamental changes in the constitution was submitted to the King by the Council of State, and approved by him, after which the Chambers were convoked to take them into consideration. The result of their deliberations was a new constitution, which was formally promulgated on the 14th October. By it Holland received the whole immunities of a free government, and her inhabitants came to enjoy nearly the same rights and liberties as those of Great Britain. All traces of the aristocratic privileges retained by the constitution of 1815 were swept away. All citizens were, without distinction of rank or creed, made eligible to all employments; the King's person was declared inviolable, but his ministers responsible. He commanded the forces by sea and land, declared war and made peace, and nominated to all public offices with the advice of his ministers. The States-General were to be still divided into two Chambers, but their composition and mode of appointment were changed. The members of the Upper House, who by the constitution of 1815 were all named by the King, were to be no longer appointed by him, but by the provincial estates, and to be taken from a roll of the persons paying the highest amount of direct taxes within their respective limits. They

were to be elected for nine years, and to receive an annual salary from Government of 3000 florins, or £300 a year. The Lower Chamber was elected for four years, and to be elected by all persons paying above 20 florins (£2), and below 160 florins (£16) a year. A deputy was to be chosen for every 45,000 inhabitants; and, to be eligible for the second Chamber, the candidates required to be above 30 years of age. This Chamber was exclusively invested with the right of voting taxes and supplies, which was to be done annually, and with that of proposing and moving amendments to laws. The debates in both chambers were to be open, and published in the newspapers; and the people enjoyed the right of petitioning either the local estates or the general Legislature, as well as, under certain limitations, that of meeting in public to discuss their grievances or express their wishes. These provisions contained

¹ See Constitution, 1848; Ann. Hist. 1848, 377-379. the whole elements of real freedom, and made as large concessions to democracy as were consistent with its existence.

While the kingdoms of Belgium and Holland were reaping in this manner the fruits of a sage administration on the part of their respective Governments, and moderation on that of their people, the lesser states in Germany were falling, one after another, with unheard-of rapidity, before the revolutionary tempest. Such was the swiftness with which the storm advanced, and the universality of the overthrow which it effected, that it could be compared to nothing but a tropical tornado sweeping over the land, and overturning in its fury towers, churches, and palaces. Nothing like it had ever been witnessed in the civilized world before, and probably never will again. On the 29th Feb.

Feb. 29. the Government at Carlsruhe, to allay the hourly-increasing effervescence, announced to the Chamber of Deputies that they were about to bring forward proposals for the liberty of the press, trial by jury, and the general arming of the people; and on the evening of the same day the citizens, already armed, thronged the streets, and the rule had slipped out of the hands of the sovereign. At Stuttgart,

March 2. on the 2d March, an assembly of bourgeois addressed to the Emperor a petition, in which they demanded the immediate convocation of a German Parliament, the institution of trial by jury, the entire liberty of the press, equality in taxes and privileges, the abolition of *Corvées*, and general arming of the people. The immediate convocation of the Estates was the consequence of that petition. In the Duchy of Nassau a similar petition, on the same day, led

March 3. to a similar result. On the 3d March the German Diet sitting at Frankfort yielded to the loud and menacing demand of the public voice, passed a decree virtually abandoning all general control or right of direction over the confederacy, and permitting every separate State to regulate the liberty of the press within its dominions as it deemed expedient.

March 4. On the 9th the same body adopted a tricolor flag—black, red, and gold being taken as the arms of the confederation. At Cologne a tumult got up, and a petition was largely signed and paraded through the streets, de-

manding universal suffrage and popular government, unrestricted liberty in speech and publishing, the abolition of the standing army, general arming of the people, security for employment to all by the Government, and education of all at the public expense.

When such extravagant ideas were fermenting in the public mind, it was not to be

21. expected that the sovereigns of the All the lesser lesser German states could oppose German Sov- any effectual resistance to the tor- ereigns yield.

rent. In truth, they were so thunder-struck by the Revolution at Paris, and so overawed by the great parent democracy on the other side of the Rhine, which they expected every moment to burst in armed bands of liberators upon them, that they nowhere attempted it. Concession to whatever was demanded was universal and immediate. At Munich public discontent had been long excited by the avowed influence of Lola Montes, a celebrated dancer whom the King had created Countess of Lansfeld, over the royal mind, and the Revolution of Paris blew it into a flame. The Countess having taken a body of

Feb. 9. students named *Allemanden* under her protection, they were publicly insulted by the other students; and matters became so serious that, by a royal ordinance, the university was closed for a year. This strong step excited

Feb. 14. such indignation, that tumults arose, in the course of which death ensued, barricades were erected, the King himself was slightly wounded, and the Countess, after having had her hotel pillaged, was obliged to leave the country. Matters being in this distracted state, the intelligence of the French Revolution, which immediately after arrived, brought matters to a crisis.

March 3. On the 3d March the King dissolved the Lower Chamber, and announced the meeting of the new one for the 30th May; but this was far too long a delay for the movement party. On the next day a tumultuous mob passed

March 4. the windows of the royal palace, and proceeded to pillage the arsenal, where they got arms in abundance; and the King, having no longer any means of resistance, two

March 6. days after issued a decree convoking the Chamber for the 16th March, and at once abolishing the censorship of the press, and ordering the army to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution. On the 5th March the Grand-

March 5. Duke of Baden, destitute of all means of resistance, convoked the Chambers, publicly acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, and established a National Guard; the King of Würtemberg engaged to establish civic

March 6. guards and abolish feudal rights; at Weisbaden similar concessions were made by the reigning prince; while at Heidelberg a body of democrats, self-elected as rulers of the empire, published a declaration, stating that the existing Diet at Frankfort did not possess the confidence of the nation, and appointing a standing committee to arrange the preliminaries for a real representation of the people over the whole confederacy. On the same day the King

March 6. of Saxony published an edict, making an entire change in the ministry in favor of the Liberals, and ordering the immediate convocation of a Chamber to settle the basis of a new constitution.¹

¹ Balleyd. l. 13, 14; Ann. Hist. 1848, 386, 387.

It might have been expected that, though the lesser states of the confederacy were unable to resist the storm which set in with such violence from the left bank of the Rhine, the case would be different with the great military monarchies which were farther removed from the scene of danger, and possessed a powerful armed force to support authority and stifle insurrection. But it was just the reverse: the tornado fell with more violence, and speedily produced effects more important, at Vienna and Berlin than at Munich or Dresden. In the Prussian capital the panic was extreme when the intelligence from Paris first arrived; nothing less than an immediate invasion by the arms of France was anticipated. Meetings in consequence were held, at which petitions were agreed to, and straightway signed, especially at Coblenz, Dusseldorf, and the other cities in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, praying for a general arming of the people, and the immediate concession of all the points on which the two Chambers had agreed at their last sitting; and the King, to appease the public mind, had no alternative but to accede to the demand. On the 11th of the same month, a programme of the changes intended to be introduced was published by the Government, by which absolute liberty of the press was at once conceded in the mean time, and hopes were held out of a law for a common constitution of the whole confederacy. From the early and decided step thus taken by the Prussian Government, which in this manner put itself at the head of the *Liberal Unitarians* of Germany, it was evident that they had in view a great augmentation of the ascendancy of Prussia in the liberalized confederacy, and that visions were already entertained of an imperial crown, supported by the Liberal states, adding fresh lustre to the house of Brandenburg.¹

¹ Balleyd. l. 16, 17; Ann. Hist. 1848, 387-389; An. Reg. 1848, 376, 377.

This was rendered still more apparent by a royal proclamation, issued on the 18th March, in which the King said, "Above all, we demand that Germany shall be transformed from a confederation of states into one federal state. We acknowledge that to effect this a temporal federal representation must be formed out of the chambers of all German states, and convoked immediately. We demand a general military system for Germany, and we will endeavor to form it after that model under which our Prussian armies reaped such unfading laurels in the war of independence. We demand that the German federal army be assembled under one single federal banner, and we hope to see a federal commander-in-chief at its head. We demand a German federal flag; and we expect that the period is not far remote when a German fleet shall cause the German name to be respected on the ocean. We demand a federal tribunal for the settlement of all differences between princes and their states, as between different German Governments. We demand a common law of settlement for all Germany, and an absolute right of all Germans mutually to migrate to any part of the Fatherland. We demand the abolition of all custom-houses which shall impede the internal commerce of all Ger-

man states; a general Zoll-Verein for the whole of Germany, and an entire uniformity of weights, measures, and coins throughout the entire union. We propose the same liberty of the press throughout all Germany, with the same guarantees against its abuse. To accomplish these our intentions, we convoke the General Diet for the 2d April; and in the mean time the censorship of the press is abolished, all laws relating thereto abrogated, and offenses of the press : Proclamation, March 18, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 377.

From the terms of this very remarkable instrument, it was evident not only that the King of Prussia was disposed to put himself at the head of the party professing Liberal opinions in Prussia, but that he had embraced the views of the still more numerous body in the whole confederacy which aspired to restore a German empire, no longer a disjointed confederacy of independent states, but one powerful and united monarchy. It was not difficult to see who was designed for its head; and as it was not to be supposed that Austria would yield the palm, the confederacy, at the very threshold of its Liberal advances, and when panting for pacific union, was threatened with a serious war between the rival aspirants for its direction. But ere this inevitable jealousy could break out in open acts, the direction of affairs was taken out of the hands of the King, and the Prussian Government afforded another example of the eternal truth that those who aspire to acquire or retain the lead in public affairs by the support of the democracy end by becoming puppets in its hands. The King of Prussia was virtually dethroned the very day after this proclamation had been issued. On the evening of the same day an immense crowd assembled in the König-Strasse and in the square in front of the palace, to testify their gratitude to the monarch who had thus early made such concessions, and loud acclamations rent the sky when he appeared at the balcony to receive the grateful homage of his subjects. But the extreme Liberals and revolutionists had no intention of allowing the direction of the movement to remain in the hands of the Government, and in order to wrest it from them, and excite the popular passions against the sovereign, they determined to provoke a collision between the citizens and the royal troops. For this purpose, in the midst of the tumult and rejoicings at the appearance of the King at the balcony, a few shots were fired from the König-Strasse on a squadron of cavalry, which were drawn up under the windows of the palace. At the same time barricades began to be erected in that street, within sight of the royal dwelling.²

² Proclamation, March 19, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 378; An. Hist. 1848, 390, 391.

Upon this the cavalry moved forward to clear the square, but at a walk only, and without unsheathing their swords. At the same time two muskets were discharged from the infantry ranks, whether by accident or command is unknown, which was immediately followed by a general discharge of fire-arms from the mob in the König-Strasse, and along the square. The students at the University were at the head of

^{23.} Important Proclamation by the King of Prussia. March 18.

Bloody conflict, and submission of the King.

the insurrection; but it was soon supported by a battalion of the Guard, the Chasseurs of Neufchâtel, which joined the popular side. The cavalry now drew their sabres, and charged the mob in good earnest. A sanguinary conflict ensued, for the insurgents had among them a great number of old soldiers as well trained to arms as the royal troops, and the students combated with the utmost resolution. The conflict continued till nightfall, and even long after it had become dark, by the light of the burning houses, several of which were broken into, and, after being sacked, set on fire by the combatants. Overwhelmed with terror at this calamitous event, which cost sixty persons their lives, besides four times that number wounded, the King issued a proclamation, addressed to "my beloved Berliners," in which he expressed the utmost regret at the events which had occurred, and declared that the conflict had arisen from accident, and the shots first fired from the König-Strasse. Next morning the King gave token of his submission by accepting the resignation of his whole ministers, who were immediately succeeded by a new cabinet composed of known Liberals, at the head of which was Count d'Arnim, and M. d'Auerswald was made Minister of the Interior. On the 20th a general amnesty was proclaimed, and the whole persons in custody on account of the insurrection were liberated without bail, and two additional ministers were appointed, known to belong to the most advanced Liberals; and on the 22d the

March 20. bodies of the citizens who had been killed in the affray on the evening of the 18th were paraded with great pomp before the royal palace, and the King was obliged to submit to the humiliation of inclining his head before the lifeless remains of those who had perished under the sabres of his guards. At the same time the King published a decree appointing a national guard in the capital, and ordered the royal troops to leave the city; and after riding through the streets in the German uniform, in the course of which he made repeated protestations of his anxious desire for German freedom, he issued two proclamations, in which he 1 Ann. Hist. 1848, 331, 332; openly announced his intention of An. Reg. 1848, 379. putting himself at the head of the restored and united German nation.¹

While these events were passing in Prussia, Bavaria had become the theatre of a revolution less bloody, but still more strange. A report got up, whether well founded or not is unknown, that the favorite Lola Montes had returned from her banishment, and was in secret lodged in the palace. Upon this the populace, dreading the removal of the Prince of Wallerstein, who had been appointed prime minister on occasion of the former disturbances, rose up, and several conflicts ensued between them and the royal troops, in which the insurgents were generally worsted. But the public discontents soon assumed a more pacific but not less formidable form. A petition to have the favorite dismissed, and the popular demands conceded, was presented to the King, who was constrained to yield, and withdrew from the Countess her patent of naturalization. An order was even issued to arrest her if she returned to Bavaria.

26.
Revolution in
Bavaria, and
resignation of
the King.
March 17.

On the 20th, the King, overwhelmed with vexation, and seeing himself deprived of all real power, resigned the crown in favor of his son Maximilian, a man of thirty years of age, who immediately ascended the throne. The accession of this prince, who was married March 22. to a sister of the King of Prussia, was the signal of a speech by the new sovereign to the assembled Chambers, specially convoked, in which he announced a general amnesty, the responsibility of the King's ministers, the liberty of the press, the general election of the deputies to the Lower Chamber by the people, an immediate and complete representation of the Palatinate in the Chamber, the redemption of seigniorial rights, the introduction of trial by jury, laws against the Jews, a revision of the regulations regarding the landwehr, and the general arming of the people. This was immediately followed by a change of ministry—the new cabinet being entirely composed of men of the most Liberal principles—Baron Thon de Dittmar, a noted leader of that party, being at its head.¹

Rapid and decisive as had been the triumph of the Liberals, both at Berlin and Munich, it ere long appeared that the people, as a whole, in neither country were unanimous on the recent changes, and that the seeds of future and frightful divisions were already sown while the *Io Pæans* of victory were still resounding over the land. The provinces first hoisted the signal of resistance; and some of them, in assemblies as numerous as that which had effected the revolution in the capital, openly condemned the changes effected on the 18th March, and stigmatized them as concessions extorted from an unwilling sovereign by a rebellious capital. This was in particular done in Pomerania, the old marquissate of Brandenburg, and the circle of Westhavel. The Poles, too, emulous of the movements of their Liberal brethren in Berlin, were already preparing a formidable agitation in the Grand-Duchy of Posen, and demanding an extension to them of the privileges won by their German fellow-subjects. The movement of the Prussian monarch in favor of a new German empire, of which he was to be the head, was loudly condemned in Bavaria and all the Catholic States of the south. At Munich the portrait of Frederick William was publicly burned in the midst of the cheers of an immense concourse of spectators. Pressed by so many difficulties without and within, the Liberal Prussian ministry, installed on the 19th March amidst the smoke of the barricades, found itself unable to carry on the Government. Ten days after he was appointed minister, Count d'Arnim found himself compelled to retire from the cabinet, which was remodeled by large concessions to M. Camphausen and the extreme Liberals; and the new cabinet with difficulty held its ground till the 16th June, when a third ministry was appointed under the pressure of a second popular insurrection. The Catholics in the monarchy all took part against the Protestants and the new order of things; the Poles were preparing a revolt against both; the inhabitants of the country generally stood aloof, or openly condemned the encroachments of the Liberals in the towns; and Germany, while still re-

¹ Ann. Hist.
1848, 391-395;
Moniteur,
March 26,
1848.

27.
Divisions in
Prussia on
the recent
changes.

March 22.

April 2.

sounding with the cry for a great and united Fatherland, was in reality threatened with the horrors of a war of races and a religious strife, super-added to the distractions of a social revolution.¹

The Prussian Estates, convoked for the 2d April, found themselves suddenly invested with the powers and called to the duties of a constituent assembly. Upon them had devolved the duty of fixing the basis of the new and liberal constitution of Prussia in a manner suitable to the lights of the age, and conformable to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. The first thing to be done was to fix the principles on which the elections for the popular part of the Legislature were to be conducted—the *Reform Bill* of Prussia—upon which, if it remained durable, its future would in a great measure depend. The King, in opening the Assembly, did not disguise his expectation that Prussia, in taking a lead on this occasion, was in effect laying the corner-stone of the edifice on which the whole fabric of German liberty and independence was to be reared. “His Majesty,” said he, “has promised a real constitutional charter, and we are assembled to lay the foundation-stone of the enduring edifice. We hope that the work will proceed rapidly, and that it will perfect a great constitutional system for the whole German race. The Government recognizes in its mission the invigorating power of the State closing again the broken bonds of order, the reviving of confidence and credit, and the giving an upward impulse to trade and labor. It will endeavor to maintain peace without as long as the honor of Germany will permit, and to the honor of Germany also restore peace within.”²

Proceeding on these principles, the bases of the new constitution proposed by the King, unanimously and enthusiastically agreed to by the Chamber, were as follows: 1. Every householder of twenty-four years of age, not convicted of a crime, or having received public or parochial relief, to have a vote for the representation in the Lower House. 2. Every five hundred of the primary voters to elect one elector, to be determined by the absolute majority of votes. 3. Every householder of thirty years complete, in possession of civil rights, to be eligible as an elector. 4. Two deputies to be chosen for every town or district with a population of sixty thousand inhabitants, according to the census of 1846, and for every forty thousand more one deputy in addition. 5. The investigation of the legality of elections to be conducted by the Assembly itself, and the elections to be determined by a majority of votes written by the electors themselves, and conducted by the magistrates or municipal authorities. 6. The deputies to vote according to their own opinions, not according to any written instructions from their constituents. In regard again to the general constitution of the kingdom, the monarch promised that proposals should be laid before them providing for the freedom of the press, personal liberty, the right of meeting and petitioning, the publicity of judicial proceedings and *viva voce* examination of witnesses; trial by jury, especially in political

cases; abolition of heritable jurisdictions; equality of civil and political rights and of all persuasions; a general arming of the people; a popular law of election thoroughly representing all interests; a decisive ascendancy of a simple majority of the popular assembly in the administration and legislation of the State; the responsibility of ministers; and swearing of the army to the constitution.¹

This regulation of Prussia as to the election of members for their own Diet, of course, could bind no other State, and it was even doubtful how far that Diet possessed the power of electing the representatives of Prussia for the General Diet of the confederacy. Thinking, however, that they possessed that power, the Prussian Diet elected these representatives. This gave great offense to the General Diet, which maintained that, by the existing constitution of the confederacy, its members were to be chosen by direct election for itself, and not by the suffrages of any other body; and as the Prussian Diet insisted on their supposed right, the matter at first assumed a very serious aspect. At length, however, the Prussians gave way, annulled the first election, and agreed to send deputies chosen by direct election. The other states of the confederacy all sent deputies directly chosen, in terms of a resolution of the General Diet on 31st March; and such was the enthusiasm which universally prevailed, that they were practically chosen by universal suffrage, and were generally adopting extreme opinions. One deputy was to be returned for every seventy thousand inhabitants; and the opening of the General Diet, which was to consist of five hundred members, was fixed to be at Frankfort-on-the-Maine on the 4th May, the anniversary of the opening of the States-General of France sixty years before.²

On the 26th March a great meeting took place at Heidelberg, around the ruins of the magnificent castle which has there so long been the object of universal admiration, at which speeches were made eminently descriptive of the German mind at that juncture. The assembly, which consisted of above thirty thousand persons, was addressed in heart-stirring strains by the leading Liberals of Central and Northern Germany. One of these, Welcher, spoke wisely as well as eloquently, and it would have been well for Germany if his counsels had been followed. “Do not,” said he, “mistake license for liberty, nor suppose that because much must be remodeled, all must be overturned. Far be such a thought from us! Let us progress, but steadily and thoughtfully. Let us lay the foundation of our freedom, a national Parliament: let us be citizens of one united country; but do not imagine such an object can be attained by proclaiming a republic. Look at France. She now for the second time possesses that form of government in which alone, according to some, true freedom is to be found. What has she gained by it? What is her present condition? what her future prospects? To say the

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 380, 381; Ann. Hist. 1848, 392-394.

^{28.} New Prussian Constitution. April 2.

² Moniteur, April 5, 1848; An. Reg. 1848, 332, 333.

^{29.} Its provisions.

King's Speech, April 2, 1848; Ann. Reg. 1848, 383, 384; Moniteur, April 5; Ann. Hist. 1848, 394, 395.

^{30.} Dispute of the Prussian with the General Diet.

April 10.

April 7.

March 31.

^{31.} Ann. Hist. 1848, 395, 396; An. Reg. 1848, 395-397.

^{31.} Great meeting at Heidelberg. March 26.

least, they are not encouraging; and I am delighted that among my own countrymen no desire has been expressed to follow in her steps. But regard the present condition of England! (Thunders of applause.) Let her be our model. She has long enjoyed free institutions; she alone remains unshaken in the storm which 1848, 363, is howling around. It is to her we 364 must look to be our model and guide."

A question both of delicacy and difficulty arose in the very outset as to the mode in Elections for which the Assembly was to be elected. It was universally felt that the Diet.

existing Diet, elected under the old aristocratic régime, could not be maintained. Several meetings in various parts of the country had condemned it, and public opinion had loudly declared itself to the same effect. A self-con-

voiced assembly of Liberal representatives from nearly every part of Germany had met at Heidelberg on the 2d March, and, after March 2 passing resolutions in favor of German unity, independence, and the general representation of the people in one assembly, had appointed a committee of seven to draw up the plan of a general German representation. The old Diet, erected under the aristocratic régime,

March 8 met at Frankfort on the 8th March; and feeling themselves not strong enough to resist the torrent, invited seventeen of the most popular of the Liberal leaders, including the seven appointed by the Radical assembly, to unite with them in framing a scheme for the general national representation; and this proposal was acceded to. A united assembly, accordingly, con-

March 30. sisting of three hundred persons, met to discuss the mode of election, and it soon appeared that the extreme Radicals had a decided majority. Resolutions were passed to the effect that a National Assembly for all Germany should be elected on the principle of one deputy for every seventy thousand persons, the lesser states of the confederacy being, however, entitled to a deputy, though containing a smaller number of inhabitants. M. Mittermayer was chosen president of this preliminary or Vor-Parliament, and MM. Dahlmann, Blum, Itzstein, and Jordan, all decided Radicals, vice-presidents. Having decided the mode of election on this highly popular basis, the Vor-Parliament dissolved itself, having previously appointed a committee of fifty to watch over the public interest till the day of meeting of the new national representatives. Thus was the first great step in the career of revolution made, almost without resistance from any of the aristocratic classes—namely, the fixing of the general federal representation on the footing of the population *told by head*, in direct opposition to the old system in every European state, which was the representation of classes.

Such was the importance attached by all Germany to the idea of a united federal 33. empire, that it soon came to supplant, Composition of the General Diet. in general estimation and interest, the proceedings of the separate Diets in the different states. Even the greatest monarchs looked to this Assembly as the only remaining channel for influence and supremacy. Austria sent the Archduke John, the most Liberal of the Imperial family, as one of her representatives to the General Diet, and openly can-

vassed for the presidency. But although a prince of the house of Hapsburg was a member of the Diet, that gave no indication of the real inclinations of the Assembly. All the efforts of the princes, dukes, and potentates of the confederacy could not prevent the representatives chosen being for the most part of the most violent character. In vain the chiefs yielded to the torrent, and every where put themselves at the head of the movement, in order to obtain its direction; in vain they brought forward the most celebrated persons in philosophy and literature as candidates for the suffrages: the Revolutionists were more than a match for them, and the choice of the newly-aroused German people fell on persons of a very different and far more dangerous character. M. Dahlmann, the celebrated professor of history in Göttingen, who had obtained additional celebrity by being removed from his chair by the King of Hanover, was rejected in Prussia; M. Albrecht, his colleague, was thrown out in Saxony; M. von Gagern in Hesse; M. Uhland, the beautiful and popular poet, and a distinguished Liberal leader, in Würtemberg; M. Welcher in Baden. It was already evident that these the first apostles of freedom, the original leaders of the movement, were passed in the race by bolder and more unscrupulous men, and that the lead in the German Revolution would fall into the hands of decided Republicans. From the very outset of their meetings extreme opinions were advocated by men destined to acquire a melancholy celebrity in future times; the word "Republic" was heard from the lips of M. Robert ; Ann. Hist. Blum, M. Struve, and M. Ronge, 1848, 394-397; the revolutionary representative of An. Reg. 1848, Silesia. 363, 364.

So strong and general was the passion for German unity, as well as freedom, 34. that before even the new National German en- Assembly had met, and during the croachments sitting of the Vor-Parliament, pre- on Schleswig- tensions of the most iniquitous kind Holstein. had been put forward by the German democracy, which, if persisted in, would, it was evident, lead to a general war, and could not be carried into effect without the most violent invasion of the rights of other states. The duchies of Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenberg contained a considerable proportion of inhabitants of German descent; but a great number of them were Slavonians or Celts, and for two centuries they had formed part of the Danish dominions. Under the influence, however, of the events which had taken place in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, a great ferment got up in these provinces, especially among the inhabitants of German descent, and the cry was raised for a union with the Fatherland. The Government of Denmark had recently before sustained a serious loss by the death of the wise and popular King Christian VII., who had mounted the throne on 3d December, 1839, and died on 20th January, 1848. He Jan. 20. was succeeded by his only son, Prince Frederick, who was born in 1808, and immediately ascended the throne by the title of Frederick VII. His first act was, in con- Jan. 28. formity with the general spirit of the age, to give a constitution to his subjects. By it a united Parliament was constituted for the kingdom of Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig

and Holstein. This Parliament was to consist of fifty-two members in all, and to be invested with the powers of legislation and laying on taxes. It was to meet within two months of the promulgation of the decree constituting it. The number of deputies was to be one half for Jutland and the isles, and one half for Schleswig and Holstein, so that they gained greatly, and obtained in every respect a suitable place in the united Parliament. The constitution was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy in Denmark proper; but it was otherwise in the duchies, where opinion was much divided, from the desire generally felt for a separate Legislature of their own. Matters were in this state when the news arrived, in the end of February, of the revolution in Paris. The cry immediately arose in the duchies that they should be detached from the Danish crown, and incorporated with the great German Confederacy. This was cordially supported by emissaries from Berlin and the leading German patriots, who encouraged the people to persevere in their demands, and promised them the support of the whole Confederacy in asserting them. The effervescence instantly became extreme over the duchies. Public meetings, very numerous attended, were held in all the great towns, in which a union with Germany was demanded; and the excitement was carried to the highest point by the arrival of summonses from the Vor-Parliament at Frankfort, which, treating them as already

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 479, 480; parts of the Confederacy, ordained An. Reg. 1848, them to send deputies to the approaching General Diet.¹

This step on the part of the German confederative assembly was a most important one, both in a social and political point of view. It was the first assumption of pretensions altogether at variance with existing rights, and evinced a determination to disregard former treaties, how solemn or ancient soever. The Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein had, from a very remote period, been, not a part of the kingdom of Denmark, but an appanage of the Danish crown. The right of the King of Denmark to these duchies was sold in the year 1326, when Waldemar, King of Denmark, gave the Duchy of Schleswig, or South Jutland, to Count Gerhard de Holstein, as a hereditary fief, on condition, however, that it should never be united with the kingdom of Denmark. The states of Schleswig-Holstein, in consequence of this limitation, claimed soon after the right to choose their own duke, and this was agreed to by Christian I.,

King of Denmark, who on 6th March, March 6, 1540, acknowledged the right of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig to choose their duke from any son of his family that they chose. This right of election, however, remained in abeyance till 1588, when it was exercised by the Estates of the duchies with the sanction of the regnant Queen-mother of Denmark. Thereafter it became obsolete, and in 1608 the Duke of Schleswig executed an entail of the succession to the heirs-male in the Gottorp portions of the duchies; and in 1650 a similar entail was made of the royal duchies; and the right of election in the Estates became again obsolete. In 1658 Christian IV., King of Den-

mark, was obliged to cede, by the treaty of Roskeld, the Gottorp portion of the Duchy of Schleswig to the Duke of Gottorp, and various wars were waged between the King of Denmark and the Dukes of Holstein-Gottorp until 1714, when the forces of the King of Denmark, having driven the Swedish troops, who took part with Holstein, out of the disputed territory of Gottorp, took possession of it for the crown of Denmark. This was followed, in 1715, by a treaty by which France, England, Russia, and Prussia guaranteed to Denmark the perpetual and peaceable possession of the ducal part of the Duchy of Holstein, while the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was declared to belong to the Duke of Holstein as a prince of the Empire. In 1767 the Empress Catherine of Russia, regent of the Gottorp portion of the Duchy of Schleswig, exchanged it for the countries of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, which belonged to Denmark. In 1773 the Gottorp portion of Schleswig was formally ceded to the King of Denmark, who thus became vested with the entire right to the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, which have formed part of the Danish dominions ever since.¹

¹ See Twiss on the question of Schleswig and Holstein, 32-40; and An. Reg. 1848, 340-343.

There was ample room, in this long deduction of titles, for the industry of antiquarians and the ingenuity of lawyers to exercise their talents upon, and the Estates of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig had for several years before the French Revolution been engaged in a respectful and amicable contest with the Crown of Denmark, chiefly relating to the reunion of the duchies, for which they contended, and the claims they advanced to be considered as part of the German Confederacy. But under the influence of the French and German Revolutions, they took higher ground, and, by a deputation of five of the chief leaders in the agitation, openly demanded of the King a formal recognition of the independence of the duchies of Holstein and Schleswig, and their forming part of the German Confederacy. The King replied, with great judgment and moderation, that he was not opposed to a closer connection between Holstein and the German Confederacy, of which its inhabitants formed a part; but that, in that event, it must be separated from Schleswig, which had never formed part of the German Confederation, and which he neither had the legal power nor the inclination to compel its inhabitants now to enter. The Cabinet, though remodeled, and chiefly composed of Liberal men, inclined to the constitutional system, and cordially supported the King in this resolution; and it soon appeared that it was entirely in unison with the wishes of the people of Schleswig. As one man they rose to assert their independence of the Germanic Confederation, and maintain their connection with the paternal and much-loved Government of Denmark. The revolutionists of Holstein, in connection with the German emissaries, had already prepared a revolt; and so eager were they to commence it that it broke out before the answer was received from Copenhagen to the demands of the Holstein deputies. It began in Kiel, in Holstein, where Prince Frederick of Noor, a younger brother of the Duke of Augustenburg, who had

^{36.} Claims of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig.

^{35.} Great importance of this question in a social point of view. The Schleswig-Holstein question.

joined the insurgents, hoisted the standard of insurrection on the 24th March, and a provisional government was formed. No sooner was intelligence of this received at Copenhagen than the enthusiasm rose to the highest point; a great meeting was held, at which all classes joined in the most earnest expression of loyalty and affection to the reigning family, and preparations were made to prosecute the war with the utmost activity both by sea and land.¹

Prussia, from its geographical position, was first implicated in these hostilities, as its territory adjoined that of the Danish duchies. On the 4th April the first meeting of the insurgent Estates took place at Rendsburg, on the Eider, at which the motion for an incorporation of both duchies with the Germanic Confederacy was carried with only two dissentient voices. This led to an immediate movement on the part of the German powers. On the 6th April a body of Prussian troops, under the command of General Von Wrangle, crossed the Holstein frontier, with the avowed object of supporting the insurgents, while at the same time the Cabinet of Berlin issued a hypocritical declaration that they entered the duchy with no intention of invading the rights of the King of Denmark. Meanwhile their troops immediately joined the insurgent bands; the Frankfort Diet, by a formal decree, acknowledged the provisional government of the duchies, and ordered troops from Hanover, Mecklenburg, and Oldenburg, to advance into them to support the Prussian army which had first entered. The King of Denmark upon this addressed, by means of his ambassador at Frankfort, a formal note protesting against any attempt on the part of the German Confederacy, and a war immediately ensued between the two powers. It seemed hopeless on the part of Denmark, which was then brought into collision, with half its forces, with the vast strength of the German Confederacy. Nevertheless it came to a successful and glorious termination for the Danish crown—so great was the patriotic spirit of her people, and so indomitable the courage of the descendants of the old sea-kings of the North. It was a curious circumstance that over the gate of the town of Rendsburg, on the Eider, which the troops of the Confederacy entered first on their invasion of Schleswig, and where the standard of revolt against Denmark was first hoisted, stood the old inscription, which had been there for centuries, “*Eidora Romani terminus Imperii*”—thus affording a standing reproach against the aggression, and proof of the justice of the Danish claims.²

The first operations of the war were eminently favorable to the Danes, and ominous of the ultimate issue of the contest. The Danish regular troops entered Schleswig on the 7th April, and by a skillful flank attack completely routed the insurgents, 4000 strong, supported by 6000 regular troops of the Confederation, with the loss of 1100 men, while the victors were weakened only by 250 *hors-de-combat*. On the same day the Danish fleet destroyed the batteries which had been erected by the enemy near Kiel, and a few days after the land forces drove the Germans

over the Eider, and regained the entire province of Schleswig. Upon the receipt of this intelligence one unanimous cry of indignation arose in every part of the Confederacy; every where the Liberals preached a crusade against the audacious Danes, who had ventured to brave the German colors, and impede the resurrection of the Fatherland. The governments of the neighboring states were swept away by the torrent; the Diet strongly supported the same views; the principle was openly asserted, that wherever the German language was spoken there were the bounds of the great Teutonic Confederacy. The fact was totally overlooked that the German population was little more than a third of the whole inhabitants of the disputed territory, and that a vast majority of the entire population was warmly attached to the Danish connection.* Indeed, the greatest difficulty which the Danish troops experienced was in restraining the furious indignation of the inhabitants, which broke out in acts of savage hostility against the retreating Germans. They had signaled their entry by blood and rapine, and the women, in return, poured boiling water upon them from the roofs of the houses as they withdrew. Inflamed beyond measure by the recital of these mutual atrocities, the Prussian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick Governments directed formidable armies against Holstein. Without any declaration of war, they invaded the duchy, took possession of the fortress of Rendsburg, in which they placed a garrison of 5000 men; and an army of 40,000 men was collected to carry the terrors of German vengeance over the whole Cimbric peninsula.³

The forces of Denmark were unequal to the encounter of so large an armament, notwithstanding the gallant spirit with which they were animated. She could not bring more than twelve thousand regular troops into the field against forty thousand of the Confederation. They made, however, a noble defense. The King having refused to obey a peremptory order of the Diet at Frankfort to withdraw his forces from Schleswig, the Prussian troops received orders to enter at all points the Danish territories; and the Danish Government, in reply, laid an embargo on all German vessels in their harbors, and issued orders to their cruisers to capture all vessels bearing the Prussian flag. Each party was successful on the element on which its forces preponderated. The Danes reasserted their ancient maritime superiority on the Northern Ocean; the Prussian flag was swept from the ocean, their harbors blockaded, and their foreign trade nearly destroyed. But at land the Danes experienced in the outset very considerable reverses. On Easter Sunday, 28d April, the Danish troops, ten thousand strong, under General Hedemann, were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked at Danewirke, near Schleswig, by General Von Wrangle, with thirty thousand Prussians, and, after a heroic

* Total inhabitants of Schleswig 330,000
Of which, Danes..... 185,000
Of which, Frisians..... 25,000
Of which, Germans..... 120,000
————— 330,000

—Ann. Hist., 1848, p. 493.

resistance of eight hours, compelled to retire. They withdrew in the best order, however, without losing a single tumbril or piece of artillery; but the town of Schleswig fell into the hands of the enemy. Finding himself decidedly over-matched, the Danish general wisely withdrew from the main land, and stationed his troops on the islands of Alsen and Funen, lying on the east coast of Schleswig, where they could not be followed by the invaders, and maintained a secure and yet menacing position on their flank. Von Wrangle, upon this, having no longer an enemy in his front, divided his army into two columns, one of which entered Jutland, and

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 347, 348; carried the war into Denmark proper, where they levied a contribution of two million crowns, while the other occupied Schleswig.¹
Ann. Hist. 1848, 484, 485.

The entrance of the German troops into Jutland, avowedly beyond the limits of the Confederation, brought new actors on the scene, and it was evident that, if persisted in, it would bring the whole of the North into the contest. As soon as it was known at Stockholm, the Cabinet of that place addressed a warm remonstrance to that of Berlin, in which they announced that, if the invasion of Denmark was persisted in, they would be under the necessity of sending a *corps d'armée* into Funen, or some of the other Danish islands, to resist the attack, and secure the safety of the Scandinavian kingdoms. The Prussian Government replied that they had no intention of permanently occupying any part of Jutland, but that the measure had been rendered necessary by the seizure of a number of Prussian ships by Danish cruisers, and as a means of compelling their restitution. The

Prussian troops, however, continued to advance, and reached Kolding, upon which the Swedes landed a considerable body of troops in Funen to support the Danish forces there; while a Russian squadron set sail from Cronstadt under the Archduke Constantine, and began to cruise along the coast of Jutland to be ready for any emergency which might occur. Matters now began to look serious, and to threaten a general war in the North. To avert it, a conference was opened in London of the ambassadors of Russia, Prussia, England, Sweden, and Denmark, and a Russian diplomatic agent was stationed in Hamburg to communicate the result of their deliberations to the belligerent parties. By their intervention the advance of the Prussian troops was at length arrested in Jut-

land, and they were withdrawn from that peninsula, though not before a bloody combat had taken place with the Danish troops, in which the invaders were worsted, and driven back to Gravenstein.²

To avenge this affront, the Prussian and Hanoverian troops, notwithstanding the pending negotiations, made a combined attack on the Danish forces, who had taken up a position at Duppeln. The superiority of numbers in the land forces was decidedly in favor of the Prussians; but on the other hand, the Danes had the advantage of a strong position and of the support of a flotilla of gun-boats in the strait between the main land and the island of Alsen, which lay on their flank,

and the guns of which reached the field of battle. General Hedemann commanded the Danes, and, in order to throw no obstacle in the way of the mediation of the allied powers, his orders were to act strictly on the defensive. The forces under his command were only fourteen thousand; the Germans brought twenty-four thousand sabres and bayonets into the field. The first line of the Danes was carried after an obstinate struggle and great slaughter on both sides; but they retired to a still stronger position in their rear, which was commanded both by heavy artillery on the opposite heights in the island of Alsen and the gun-boats in the straits. The fire from these was so heavy upon the advancing columns of the Prussians, when they came within range, that they were driven back, and the Danes re-occupied the positions which they had held in the earlier part of the day. The attack was resumed next morning; but though the Prussians gained some advantages, they made no material progress; and after a useless slaughter, both parties remained nearly in the same position as they had occupied in the commencement of the conflict. Another combat, equally to the honor of the Danes as the weaker party, took place on the 29th June, when the Danish rear-guard repulsed an attack by the insurgents, headed by the Prince de Noor.³

Anxious to terminate a contest so unequal, though waged with so much honor to himself and his forces by sea and land, the King of Denmark addressed, on the 15th June, a note to the ambassadors of Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden, at Copenhagen, requesting their mediation between him and the German Confederacy. The result of this was an interposition of these powers, which led to an armistice for seven months, on the 26th August. The conditions of this convention were, that both duchies should be evacuated alike by the Danish and German forces; that prisoners on both sides should be restored; all vessels captured, or on which an embargo had been laid since the commencement of the war, be restored; a garrison of four hundred men be allowed to be kept by the Danes in the island of Alsen, and one of equal strength by the Confederacy in the town of Altona; and the administration of the duchies in the mean time to be intrusted to a mixed commission of five persons—two chosen by the King of Denmark, two by the King of Prussia, in the name of the German Confederation, and a fifth by the whole four, who was to have the president's chair. Both contracting parties claimed the guarantee of Great Britain for the faithful execution of this treaty. Thus were hostilities for the time stopped, and on the 28d October, the King, in opening the Chambers, announced the approaching concession of a constitution, and congratulated his subjects in deserved terms on the noble stand they had made against the unjust invasion by the German democracy, with which they had been visited. The conditions of the armistice, though in appearance fair, were, however, in reality eminently favorable to the Confederacy, for by it the Danish troops were compelled to keep aloof from both duchies, which were in a manner sequestered and withdrawn

⁴² Negotiations for an armistice, which is concluded.

⁴³ Cayley, ii. 53, 54; Ann. Reg. 350; Ann. Hist. 1848, 485.

⁴⁴ Aug. 5d.

⁴⁵ Oct. 23.

from the Danish crown, to which they had so long belonged. It was as if an armistice were to be concluded between Great Britain and France, on condition of Scotland or Ireland being evacuated by the forces of both parties, and put under neutral government. The British Cabinet, enamored of the Liberal cause throughout the world, looked on, a passive spectator of this oppression of the weaker State by the greater, and permitted an independent monarchy to be bereaved of half its dominions without either drawing the sword or exerting any effective diplomatic interposition in its behalf.

¹ King of Denmark's Speech, Oct. 23, 1848; Convention, Aug. 26, 1848, 351; An. Reg. 1848, 351; Cayley, ii. 53, 54; An. Hist. 1848.

Lord Palmerston proposed that Schleswig should be neither Danish nor German, but independent, connected with Denmark by a "political tie," forgetting that, under the appearance of impartiality, this was, in effect, deciding the question of aggression in favor of the Confederacy.¹

Meanwhile the commission of seventeen members of the Vor-Parliament, which had been charged with the preparation of a constitution, and the first German National Assembly, met at Frankfort on the 18th May. Much alarm was occasioned at this time by an insurrection which broke out in the southern provinces of Central Germany, under two democratic leaders, Hecker and Struve, who drew together some thousand lawless characters, and commenced levying contributions, during the suspension of authority, on their own account. They were pursued by the troops of the Confederation, and at length brought to bay on the heights of Schlechtonau, near Randeon, when they were totally defeated by General Von Gagern, and Struve made prisoner. Von Gagern was perfidiously murdered by the insurgents, in a parley. This tumult being appeased, the Assembly commenced their labors, and elected Baron Von Gagern, brother of the general who had defeated Struve, President, and Von Sorion, Vice-President of the Assembly. It was quite distinct from the German Diet, elected under the old constitution, which was sitting in Frankfort at the same time—a strange juxtaposition, somewhat similar to the Chartist conventions which have sometimes been assembled in London at the time when the British Parliament was sitting in Westminster. The respective situation and consideration of the two rival houses was very different from what they had been in the British capital, for the whole eyes of Germany were fixed on the new Assembly; and the Diet, when their sittings commenced, were glad to conceal their insignificance under a pacific message, expressive of a desire to act in friendly unison and co-operation with the newly-elected representatives.²

² Ann. Reg. 1848, 364, 365; Ann. Hist. 1848, 390.

The debates on the new constitution which had been prepared by the committee of seventeen commenced immediately after the Assembly met, and lasted till the 28th June, when it was finally adjusted, after repeated divisions. By this constitution it was provided that there should be a "Provisional Central Power" for the government of the entire Confederacy, which should exercise generally all the

functions of the executive, direct the armed force, nominate cabinet ministers for the exercise of all the duties of government, appoint the commander-in-chief, ambassadors, and consuls to foreign powers, decide on peace and war, and conclude treaties with foreign states in connection with the Assembly. The provisional government was, by a majority of 878 to 176, to be centred in a single regent, who was himself irresponsible; but the ministers whom he appointed were responsible, and were entitled to seats in the Assembly. The whole powers of the old German Diet were to cease the moment that the Provisional Government began to exercise its functions, and it in its turn to cease as soon as the permanent constitution was established. The constitution, as a whole, was approved finally by a majority of 450 to 100. These resolutions indicated clearly the revolutionary tendency of the Assembly, which had already in effect overturned the whole Germanic constitution. But a different result appeared in the choice of a Regent, which demonstrated that the old traditions still lingered among them, and that the influence of Austria was rather for a time in abeyance than permanently destroyed. Shortly after the approval of the constitution, the regent was elected, and the Archduke John was chosen, the numbers being 486 for His Imperial Highness, and 52 for the President of the Assembly, Von Gagern. The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers in every part of the Assembly. On the next day the German Diet, still sitting, like the ghost of its former self, at Frankfort, also elected the Archduke regent, who thus centred in his person all the authority which could be conferred both by the ancient and the revolutionary authorities in the Confederacy.* His Imperial Highness, when chosen to his high office, was sixty-seven years

* The representatives for the Assembly from each of the undermentioned States were as follows:

Prussia.....	198
Austria.....	110
Bavaria.....	66
Württemberg.....	26
Hanover.....	24
Saxony.....	21
Baden.....	19
Hesse (Duchy).....	12
Hesse (Electoral).....	11
Schleswig.....	11
Nassau.....	6
Mecklenburg-Schwerin.....	6
Luxemburg and Limburg.....	6
Oldenburg.....	5
Brunswick.....	5
Saxe-Weimar.....	4
Saxe-Coburg.....	2
Saxe-Meiningen.....	2
Altenburg.....	2
Hamburg.....	3
Lesser States, 18—1 each.....	18
Total.....	552

The Assembly contained, divided by classes:

Professors.....	95
Doctors of philosophy, law, and physic.....	81
Editors of newspapers.....	14
Clergymen.....	17
Civil functionaries, as notaries, attorneys.....	200
Land-owners.....	98
Military officers.....	18
Merchants.....	23
Manufacturers.....	16
Total.....	562

—CAYLEY, ii. 51, 52.

of age, having been born on 28th January, 1782.

¹ Hist. of Europe, c. lix. § 53, 54; Constitution, June 23, 1848; An. Reg. 1848, 365, 366; Ann. Hist. 1848, 422-429. He had lived, respected and beloved, in retirement, occupied with scientific and literary pursuits, since the unhappy time when, by the tardiness of his advance from Hungary, he had marred the deliverance of Germany on the field of Wagram.¹

^{45.} Mortification of the Cabinet of Berlin at this result. This anomalous and unexpected result in an Assembly elected under the first fervor of revolutionary passion was a subject of extreme mortification to the King of Prussia and his Cabinet, which had expected a very different result from the votes, and confidently anticipated the establishment of an imperial throne for the royal family of Prussia from the changes in progress. This election, accordingly, is to be regarded as an important turning-point in the annals of the German Revolution, for it detached the Prussian Government from the cause of innovation. They now saw things in their true colors, and became alive to the dangers of the abyss on the edge of which they stood. From this period, accordingly, may be dated a decided change in the policy of the cabinet of Berlin, which ere long brought them into open collision with the innovating party, and contributed more than any other circumstance to the deliverance of Government from the revolutionary bonds, and the restoration of the royal authority over the whole of the Prussian dominions.²

^{46.} Installation of the Grand Duke John as Regent of Germany. July 21. Meanwhile the installation of the Archduke as Regent of Germany took place with great pomp at Frankfort, on the 21st July. He made his solemn entry into the town, and being nominated by both Assemblies, he united for a brief period all suffrages in his favor. The President of the Assembly, Von Gagern, addressed him in these terms: "At this moment, when all the authorities of Germany have united to cement their alliance, a new era commences for our common country. August Archduke, Vicar of the Empire, you are welcomed in the National Assembly, which has come under the solemn engagement, in the face of the country, to assist your Imperial Highness in the arduous task which you have undertaken, with all its strength. To accomplish that object, the Government of the Vicar of the Empire may rely on their support in contributing to whatever tends to strengthen the bonds of unity, to secure the liberty of the people, to re-establish public order, to restore confidence, to augment the common prosperity. The German people proclaim with gratitude the patriotism of your Highness; but it demands that all the energy and activity of the Archduke John should be consecrated, without division, to the general interests of the country." "In entering upon my functions," said the Archduke, in reply, "I declare anew that I will maintain, and cause to be maintained, for the general glory and prosperity of Germany, the law which has placed me at the head of the central power. I declare, at the same time, that I will devote my entire time to my functions; and I will pray the Emperor of Austria to charge me with the care of representing it at Vienna as soon as I have opened the

Diet. That done, I shall devote myself without reserve to the discharge of my functions." The Archduke immediately constituted his ministry, which was finally arranged on the 9th August, the Prince of Leiningen being President of the Council; M. Heckscher, Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Penckher, of War; ¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 427, 428. M. Schmerling, of the Interior.¹

The National Assembly of Germany at Frankfort, which had only sat since the 18th of May, a period of less than ^{47.} three months, had now made extraordinary advances to supreme power, and achieved what in the beginning of the year would have been deemed impossibilities. It had, by falling in with, and acquiring the direction of, the flood-tide of enthusiasm which now swept away the German mind, succeeded in that short time in compelling all the separate states of the Confederacy to bow to its authority; dissolved the Germanic Diet, the work of the Congress of Vienna; elected, by an immense majority, a Regent of the Empire, whose power was paramount to that of Austria and Prussia, and who wielded the military force of forty millions of men. All this had been done, too, with the cordial approbation of the most intelligent and highly educated classes, and amidst the loud applause of the multitude. The sovereigns who had been shorn of their lustre, and cast down from their high estate by this vast usurpation, if not cordial in approving, were at least quiescent under it; they were overawed into submission, or hopeless of resistance, and the revolution seemed to be as cordially approved by the Emperor, Kings, and Princes, as by the burghers or students. So general was the concurrence, ^{July 3.} that the protest of Ernest, King of Hanover, asserting the independence of his dominions, was scarcely noticed amidst the general chorus of approbation.²

The unanimity, however, as is usually the case where great changes are introduced ^{48.} under the influence of terror, was on Polish Revolt. the surface, and seeming only. Beneath it there lurked the seeds of divisions most serious, and discord the most inveterate, which ere long distracted the apparently united society, and covered the fields of the Fatherland with mourning. The Polish provinces of Prussia were the quarter where the conflicting passions first broke out; for there the divisions of race, and the sore feeling arising from extinguished nationality, coincided with the revolutionary desires there, as elsewhere in the world, afloat. The Grand-Duchy of Posen, from the very first, was violently agitated by the intelligence of the revolution at Paris; and the general discontents were brought to a crisis by a decree of the King of Prussia, which on grounds, to say the least of them, questionable, made a new division of the duchy, by which the whole western portion of the province, up to the very gates of its capital, were assigned to Germany. This division, which was intended to swell the ^{April 16.} deputies of Prussia in the National Assembly, and in reality had that effect, at once blew into a flame over all the eastern frontier of Germany the hereditary animosity of the Slavonic and Teutonic races. The Germans in all the provinces on the frontier trampled under foot the

Polish cockades; the Poles did the same to the Germans. Hostilities and mutual massacre soon ensued between the contending parties, and Prince Czatorinski set out from Paris to organize the movement, thinking that the hour of Polish deliverance had at length struck.¹

But he was soon miserably undeceived. The peasants in Lithuania and all Russian Poland took part with the Russians — a mark-worthy circumstance, indicating the commencement of a new era in Slavonic history, and bespeaking the practical benefits which the cultivators of the soil had obtained from their change of masters. Thus the collision was confined to the Polish provinces which had fallen to the lot of the German powers, and there it was for a short time very violent. The peasants reappeared, armed with scythes; the flame spread to the borders of the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, and the revolt became general in Western Poland under Microslawski. The peasants immediately gave way to the most frightful atrocities. Hands and feet were cut off, eyes scooped out, and women, even in an advanced state of pregnancy, beaten to death, under circumstances of the most frightful cruelty. Murder, lust, and arson stalked triumphant through the land; neither age nor sex, church nor dwelling, was spared. Maddened by the sight of these enormities, the German troops retaliated in like manner, and the insurrection, from the very first, assumed a character of frightful atrocity. It was soon, however, suppressed.

A bloody conflict, rather to the advantage of the insurgents, took place at Rozmin; but the little town of Xroni, defended with obstinacy by the Poles, was stormed by the Prussians, and great part of the defenders put to the sword. A desperate struggle, with various success, took place at Milodan, where the Poles had established an intrenched camp, which, after being taken and retaken several times, finally remained in the power of the Prussians under General Blum. Several small corps of insurgents having united at Schrode,

they were surrounded and attacked on the 8th May by Generals Colomb, Pfuell, and Widel, and forced to capitulate, with their leader, Microslawski. This success terminated the insurrection in Poland, and extinguished there for a time the hostility of the German and Slavonic races. The revolt was the more easily suppressed, that it was only partially shared by the inhabitants of the country, thanks to the experienced beneficence of the Prussian rule; and being supported by the extreme revolutionary party in the towns, it shared in the obloquy into which that portion of the community, from the experience of their excesses, were beginning to fall in every country in Europe.²

The new constitution which had been prepared by the Liberal ministry was at length announced at Berlin by the King; and it was calculated, if any thing could, to satisfy the demands of the democratic party, for it contained all the elements of real freedom. It declared the equality of all citizens in the sight of the law, personal liberty in the highest degree, security of property, inviolability of private

homes; freedom of religion, unless it endangered public tranquillity; the entire liberty of the press, the censorship being forever abolished; the right of meeting and deliberating unarmed, the right of association and petition; the inviolability of the King's person, and responsibility of his ministers, who were liable to be impeached by the Lower House and tried by the Upper; the division of the Legislature into two Houses, the one elective, the other in part hereditary. The princes of the blood-royal and sixty peers, to be nominated by the King, to form part of the Upper House; the remainder, consisting of 180 members, to be chosen by the people: when once elected, the dignity to be hereditary in the first sixty; but the seat to be for eight years for the latter portion. The former required a property qualification of 8000 dollars a year; the latter, 2500. The members of the Lower House to be elected for four years, and subject to no property qualification; but they were to be above thirty years of age. The sittings of the courts of law to be public, and the facts in criminal cases ascertained by verdicts of juries.³

This constitution, how great a concession soever to public freedom, was far from satisfying the democratic party. Debates immediately began upon its several articles, which were conducted with great acrimony, and continued through the whole summer and autumn.

The Assembly being elected practically by universal suffrage, the speeches were extremely violent, and of interminable length. The chief trial of strength took place on a speculative question, "whether the events in March in Berlin were a transaction between the Crown and the people, or a revolution;" and it was carried, after a furious debate, by a small majority of 177 to 160, in favor of its being a transaction. This decision gave the utmost offense to the democratic party in the Assembly, as did several other votes at the same time, refusing to sanction the principle of revolution, and they were soon cordially supported by the mob in the streets, who proceeded to vent their rage against the obnoxious members. At length they got worked up to such a pitch that they made an attack upon the Assembly and the arsenal, which immediately adjoined its hall, which they carried by storm, and pillaged—the Burgher Guard, intrusted with their defense, making very little resistance. This indecision on their part cost the State 500,000 dollars. The mob destroyed every thing in the arsenal which they could not carry away. The arms were broken and thrown out of the window; antiquities of great value, rare pieces of artillery, arms inlaid with silver and ivory, were stolen or destroyed. This outrage immediately became the subject of a warm debate, the Ministry having brought forward a motion for the protection of the Assembly by an armed force; the Revolutionists meeting it with an amendment to the effect "that the Assembly needed no armed protection, but placed itself under the safeguard of the people of Berlin." So intimidated were the members by the recent outbreak that the amendment was carried by a large majority. Upon this the Ministry resigned, and no small difficulty

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 398.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 398, 399; An. Reg. 1848, 395-397.

³ New Constitution of Prussia. May 22.

¹ Constitution, May 22, 1848; An. Reg. 1848, 888; An. Hist. 1848, 156.

^{51.} Riots in Berlin, and change of Ministry. June 10.

June 16.

was experienced in forming another. At length, however, a cabinet was arranged, with M. von Auerswald President of the Council; M. Schlei-
1 Ann. Reg. 1848, 389, 390; Ann. Hist. 1848, 416; Cayley, ii. 79. nitz, Foreign Affairs; and M. Schre-
 kenstein, War; and the mob of Berlin, satisfied with their victory, relapsed for a short period into quiet.¹

This lull was not of long duration. The Auerswald Ministry, which from the be-
52. Ministry again changed. Measures of the King. Sept. 9. ginning was in a very tottering condi-
 tion, fell under a hostile vote on the 9th September. Still greater diffi-
 culty was experienced in now form-
 ing an administration, but one was at
 length constituted under the presidency of Gen-
 eral Von Pfuel. These repeated changes in so
 short a time indicated unequivocally a lamenta-
 ble weakness in the executive, which seemed to
 be approaching a state of complete prostration.

On the 23d September General Pfuel
Sept. 23. issued a proclamation to the army, in
 which he stated, "According to the draft of the
 constitution which has been proposed by his Maj-
 esty to the Assembly, the officers of the army
 will be obliged to take an oath to the constitu-
 tion, in the same manner as the civil officers are
 obliged to do, and no reactionary tendencies will
 clash with the duties of an officer in the army."
 The allusion here to "reactionary tendencies"
 was owing to the well-understood feelings of the
 army, which had become thoroughly ashamed
 of the events of March, and the inglorious part
 they had borne in them, and were panting for
 an opportunity to wipe out their disgrace in a
 more honorable conflict. The King, however,
 had now become alive to the extreme danger of
 putting himself at the head of the revolutionary
 movement, and the elevation of the Archduke
 John to the office of Regent had dispelled all the
 ambitious illusions which had formerly obscured
 his vision in regard to it. He determined, ac-
2 Ann. Reg. 1848, 339, 390; Cayley, ii. 79, 80; Ann. Hist. 1848, 451, 452. cordingly, on repressive measures, and
 the first step was to appoint General
 Von Wrangel, on his return from the
 seat of war, now suspended by the arm-
 istice, to the command of the troops in
 Berlin and the Brandenburg Marks.²

The accession to the command of this sturdy,
 plain-spoken soldier was inaugurated
53. Address of Gen. Von Wrangel to his troops. Sept. 22. by an address to the troops, of historic
 value, as indicating at once the alter-
 ed policy of the King and the misery
 of the country. For some days be-
 fore, a great concentration of forces
 had taken place by means of the railways, and
 fifty thousand troops of the line were now as-
 sembled in and around Berlin. On the 22d Sep-
 tember a review was held at Potsdam, and, in an
 order of the day addressed to them, the General
 said, "The King has honored me with the high-
 est proof of his confidence, in giving me the
 command of all the troops in the Marks. I will
 establish order when it is disturbed, and support
 the laws when they are infringed. The Burgher
 Guard is primarily charged with this duty; but
 when I find it fail in discharging it, we will ad-
 vance, and we shall succeed. *The troops are
 staunch; their swords are sharpened, and their
 muskets are loaded.* It is not against you, men
 of Berlin, that this is done, but to protect you—
 to protect the liberty given us by the King, and

to defend the laws. For you, and with you, we
 shall act. No reaction! but protection for or-
 der, for the laws, and for freedom. How mel-
 ancholy does Berlin now appear to me! Grass
 is growing in your streets; your houses are emp-
 ty; your shops are full of goods, but void of pur-
 chasers. Your industrious citizens are without
 work, without wages, without profits. This must
 be changed, *and it shall be changed.* I bring you
 order and its attendant blessings. Anarchy must
 cease, and it shall cease. I swear it to
 you; and a Wrangel never yet failed
1 Ann. Reg. 1848, 391. in keeping his word."¹

In truth, the disorders in the streets had reach-
 ed such a height as to render these
 stern words absolutely necessary, and the conduct of the Burgher
54. Disorders in Berlin, and pusillanimity of the Burgher Guard. Guard had sufficiently proved that
 no reliance whatever was to be
 placed on them to avert these. On

the 22d August a serious riot occurred at the
 hotel of M. Auerswald, where a diplomatic soiree
 was going on, when the populace threw stones at
 the windows, and nearly killed the Bavarian
 minister. They were not dispersed till several
 lives had been lost, and thirty of the policemen
 wounded. These violent demonstrations met
 with the greatest favor from the democratic clubs,
 several of which passed resolutions that the cap-
 tain of the Burgher Guard who had deserted his
 post when the arsenal was attacked had deserved
 well of his country. So notorious had the vacil-
 lation of the Guard become, that, in answer to a
 deputation from their number promising fidelity
 to the constitution, the King replied, "It would
 be better to prove it by deeds than to make
 promises." The discussion of the articles of the
 constitution, which began on the 11th
Oct. 11. October, still further augmented the pub-
 lic alarm and excitement; for every article be-
 came the subject of a trial of strength between
 the conservative and revolutionary parties, at-
 tended by a vehement agitation in the clubs, and
 terror in the city. The whole of the first day
 was taken up with a debate on the title the King
 was to assume; and it was decided, by 217 to 134,
 that the words, "by the grace of God," should be
 omitted. The object of this was to make it ap-
 pear that his sole title to the throne was the will
 of the people. On the other hand, they decided
 that his title should be that of "King of Prus-
 sia," not the more popular one of "King
Oct. 2. of the Prussians." Meanwhile the capi-
 tal was in a state bordering on distraction; for,
 in addition to the excitement arising from polit-
 ical changes, distress of the severest kind—their
 invariable concomitant—was setting in upon the
 people. The chief manufactories were closed;
 thousands of workmen were without bread, and
 added to the dangers arising from upward of
 eight thousand convicts at large in Berlin, who
 were always ready to join in any popular explo-
 sion. Four thousand of this unruly rabble join-
 ed in an attack on the mills of Copermich-
Oct. 17. erfeld, to destroy the machinery erect-
 ed there. They were at length beat off, but not
 until several lives had been lost and barricades
 erected in the streets. The Assembly, so
Oct. 30. far from discouraging, gave the greatest
 encouragement to the authors of these disorders,
 for on the 31st October they passed a
Oct. 31. resolution "that all Prussians are equal

before the law; that neither privileges, titles, nor rank are to exist in the State; and that the nobility are abolished." On the next day Herr Waldeck moved a resolution pledging the Government to give assistance to the inhabitants of Vienna, then engaged in a contest with the Government.¹

This brought matters to a crisis. The King had for some time been only waiting for an opportunity to repress the anarchist faction without departing from the constitution, which he had sworn to respect, and the violence of the revolutionists now furnished it. Not content with the majority which they already possessed in the Assembly, the mob from without, with the avowed purpose of intimidating the conservative members, broke into its hall, amply provided with ropes, nails, and nooses, as a preparation for summary hanging. They even went so far as to mob their former leader, Behrend, whom they accused of having become "lukewarm in the cause of the people," and singed his long red beard with their torches. After

a violent struggle, the Burgher Guard, which for once did its duty, succeeded in expelling the intruders. The Assembly had now evidently become altogether unmanageable, and a mere puppet in the hands of the mob. It was evident that a new revolution was imminent, which would altogether overthrow both the throne and the constitution, and establish a republic on their ruins. Thus menaced, the King at once adopted a decided course, and threw himself without reserve into the hands of the conservative party. The Pfiel Ministry had all resigned immediately after this outrage, as they felt themselves altogether unable to carry on the Government, and held office only till their successors were appointed; and in the interim a deputation of the Assembly waited on the King at Potsdam, whither he had retired, to point out to him the danger of appointing a ministry not chosen from the majority, or not of conservative principles. The King heard them, but refused to give an answer in the absence of his responsible ministers. "Will you not hear us on the state of the country?" said Herr Jacobs, the spokesman of the deputation. "No," replied the King. "It is the misfortune of kings that they will not hear the truth," rejoined Jacobs; and they separated.

Soon after, on the 9th November, the *Royal Gazette* announced the formation of a new administration. Count de Brandenburg was at its head and Minister of Foreign Affairs; M. Mantouffell, Interior; General de Stoosha, War; M. Ladenberg, Public Instruction; M. Kisker, Justice; M. Kuhne, Finance; M. Pommes Erche, Commerce.²

As this ministry was composed of men of decided conservative principles and known firmness of character, a collision between them and the Assembly was immediately anticipated. It was not long of occurring. On the very day on which the *Gazette* containing the new ministry appeared, Count Brandenburg rose in the Assembly to address the House, but was stopped by the President, as he was not a mem-

ber of the Assembly, and could not speak but with its consent. Upon this the Count sat down, but handed in a royal decree, which, after mentioning the display of republican symbols in the streets, and the frequent attempts to overawe and intimidate the Assembly, transferred its sittings to Brandenburg, and appointed it to meet there on the 26th November, till which time its sittings were suspended. The reading of this decree was interrupted by repeated cries of "Never! never! we will not consent! Perish rather here. It is illegal, it is unconstitutional; we protest, we will remain here—we are masters." In the midst of this tumult Count Brandenburg rose, and calmly said, "In consequence of the decree which has just been read, I summon the Assembly to suspend its sittings forthwith, and to adjourn till the time specified. I at the same time declare all further prolongations of the deliberations to be illegal, and protest against them in the name of the Crown." Having said these words, he withdrew with the whole ministers.¹

A scene of the utmost violence ensued when the ministers had retired. It ended in the adoption of resolutions—1. That there are at present not sufficient grounds for removing the sittings of the Assembly to any other place; it will therefore remain at Berlin. 2. The Crown is not entitled to adjourn or displace the Chamber against its will. 3. The responsible functionaries who may have advised the Crown to issue the above message are not qualified to do so or to represent the Government; on the contrary, they have thereby rendered themselves guilty of dereliction of duty toward the Crown, the country, and the Assembly. These three resolutions were put separately and carried almost unanimously, fifty-nine of the monarchical party having withdrawn along with the ministers and the diplomatic body. The Assembly resolved to sit in permanence, and thirty of the members remained in the House all night. The night passed off in a state of feverish excitement, but no actual outbreak took place. The ministers during the night intimated to the President the illegality of their persisting to meet at Berlin, and that he would be responsible for the consequences; and the minority of fifty-nine who had retired with Count Brandenburg, protested formally against its continued sitting at Berlin. Early next morning the Assembly was summoned to meet in its hall; but when the members began to arrive at five they found the building surrounded by troops, who had orders to allow any one to go out, but none to come in. The President then rose and said that the House was completely surrounded by the military. The commander of the Burgher Guard asked General Wrangel why he had assembled his troops. "To protect the Assembly," was the reply. "They would rather decline the honor of your protection," rejoined the commandant; "how long do you mean to keep your troops here?" "For a week, if necessary; my troops are accustomed to bivouac. I shall be happy to allow any member to withdraw, but none shall enter." Upon this the President desired the members to retire under protest, and meet elsewhere on the following day. They

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 390, 391; Cayley, ii. 81, 82; Ann. Hist. 1848, 463, 464.

^{55.} Riot at the Assembly Hall, and change of Ministry.

Oct. 30.

Nov. 9.

² Ann. Reg. 1848, 391; Ann. Hist. 1848, 463; Cayley, ii. 83, 84.

^{56.} Dramatic scene in the Assembly. Nov. 9.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 391, 392; Cayley, ii. 84, 85; Ann. Hist. 1848, 463, 464.

57.

bly resolve to resist.

Nov. 10.

Nov. 11.

accordingly retired in a body, attended by the Burgher Guard, which warmly espoused their cause. Early next morning they met, by appointment, in the hall of the Schützen Gild, which before daylight was surrounded by the Burgher Guard in great strength, where they remained all day to the number of two hundred and twenty-five, and received deputations expressing sympathy and condolence from the Municipal Council and most of the public bodies. The mob outside naturally and loudly expressed their concurrence, as they generally do in periods of excitement, with whoever resists legal authority. In the course of the day a royal proclamation appeared, dissolving the Burgher Guard, and requiring them to give up their arms. At the same time a proclamation was issued, assuring the people that the King would faithfully observe the constitution, and that no infringement of their liberties should take place.* No atten-

tion was paid to this order; on the contrary, the citizens met and agreed to refuse to deliver up their arms. Upon this it was renewed in still more peremptory terms on the day following; and as the aspect of public affairs had become in the highest degree menacing, troops in great numbers were marched in, the landwehr called out, and the capital was declared in a state of siege. Before

¹ Cayley, ii. 86, 87; Ann. Reg. 1848, 392; Ann. Hist. 1848, 463.

midnight thirty thousand soldiers, stanch and true, were concentrated in Berlin—a force nearly double of the Burgher Guard, and incomparably more disciplined and effective.†

To all appearance the contest could only be decided now by an appeal to arms; but the crisis passed over without bloodshed, in consequence of the firmness of the Government and the united gentleness and steadiness of the soldiers. On the next day the members again met in the Schützen Gild-hall, and their proceedings were interrupted by the entry of an officer from General Wrangel, summoning it, as “an illegal assembly, to disperse.” The Vice-President was in the chair, and refused to leave it unless forced to do so. The whole Assembly

^{58.}
The Assembly is dissolved by force.
Nov. 13.

* “I give you this inviolable assurance, that nothing shall be abrogated from your constitutional liberties; that it shall be my holiest endeavor to be unto you a good constitutional King; so that we may mutually erect a stately and tenable edifice, beneath whose roof, to the weal of our German Fatherland, our posterity may quickly and peaceably rejoice in the blessings of genuine and true liberty for centuries to come. May the blessing of God rest upon our work.”—CAYLEY, ii. 90.

† The Frankfort Assembly sent Herr Bassermann, a leading Liberal on their side, to Berlin, at this period, to report on the crisis then pending in that capital, and his report is valuable as the testimony of an unwilling witness, and prejudiced, if any thing, on the popular side. It was extremely unfavorable to the Berlin democrats. “The liberty of the press is atrociously abused; the most mischievous placards and flying-sheets are printed and circulated: one representing a man asleep with a number of lamps around him, and a man hanging from each, is called ‘The Republican’s Dream.’ The red flag has been hoisted before the door of the Assembly, and the most violent threats are uttered against the unpopular members. Thrice have they petitioned the Assembly to pass laws to secure them from mob intimidation, and as often have they refused to do so. On the very staircase of the Assembly a mob orator has called on the people to come next time with pick-axes and knives, saying it is easier to find obnoxious members when so provided. The aspect of the streets is melancholy in the extreme; the Assembly is always surrounded by a frightful mob.”—HERR BASSELMANN’S Report, November, 1848.—CAYLEY, ii. 97–98.

shouted, “Never, till forced by arms!” Upon this three officers entered the hall, attended by a body of soldiers, and, repeating the same summons, were received with the same answer. Thereupon the officers advanced, and quietly lifted up the chair on which the President sat, and carried it out with its occupant into the street. The members followed, loudly protesting against the violence, and the Assembly was adjourned to another time and place. The members separated and retired, attended by multitudes loudly cheering them; but the military had orders to fire upon the people if they remained in crowds in the streets after being ordered to disperse. Subsequent to the declaration of a state of siege, there was no actual collision or lives lost. The disarming of the Burgher Guard immediately after commenced, and continued during the following day with nothing more than a passive inert resistance on the part of that body.¹

¹ Cayley, ii. 86, 87; Ann. Reg. 1848, 392; Ann. Hist. 1848, 464.

During this struggle, public opinion was daily more strongly declaring itself in fa-

vor of the Government. But the Assembly were not discouraged, and, trusting to the unanimous fervor

^{59.}

Continued contest with the Assembly.

which had attended their election and first installation in power, firmly continued the contest. On the 15th they again met in the hall of the Town Council, but the military appeared, and the members withdrew under protest. In the evening of the same day two hundred and twenty-six of the members met in a café in the Linden, and passed a decree refusing to grant any supplies to the Government. Another resolution was proposed, declaring that the Brandenburg Ministry were not authorized to

Nov. 15.

levy taxes till the National Assembly shall resume its duties in safety at Berlin. When the discussion on this motion was just beginning, an officer of the line entered the room, with six grenadiers who were posted at the door, while a battalion was drawn up in the street opposite. The officer approached the President, and informed him that he had orders from General Wrangel to cause the chamber to be evacuated. Great agitation arose upon this being announced from the chair. “No, no! a thousand times no! we will not leave this room till compelled to do so by bayonets!” re-echoed from all sides of the hall, and sixty deputies rushed forward toward the officer and his escort, and by their gestures threatened to drive them from the hall; while the remainder crowded in a state of extreme excitement round the President. The officer and his escort remained perfectly calm, but communicated with the battalion outside, and sent to head-quarters for further instructions. Meanwhile the Assembly passed by acclamation the second resolution proposed, and then, on the motion of the President, M. Unruh, who had been informed by the officer that he had orders to employ force, and would do so if necessary, withdrew and dispersed, exulting in the belief that they had done as much mischief to the Ministry of Count Brandenburg as in the circumstances was practicable. No attempt was made to meet again.²

² Cayley, ii. 93, 94; Ann. Reg. 1848, 391, 392; Ann. Hist. 1848, 494, 495.

During this critical time the Brandenburg Ministry remained firm, and, by a happy union

of decision with moderation, they prevailed in the contest. They were clearly 60. Completion of right in the question at issue: the the victory of King, beyond all doubt, was entitled the Crown. either to prorogue or dissolve the Assembly, and assign the place of its reassembling, and to dissolve the Burgher Guard. It might be a question, of course, whether it was wise or expedient, at any particular time, to resort to these extreme measures; but of the right of the King to do so when it became absolutely necessary, not a doubt could be entertained. The events, which were fresh in every one's recollection, had demonstrated that this necessity had now arisen. Accordingly, in the stand which he now made against the encroachments of the Assembly and of the Burgher Guard, the King had the support, not only of the army, but, in the end, of the great bulk of the respectable portion of the people. This could hardly have been expected in the earlier stages of these troubles; for in the outset of their career the National Assembly had the sympathy of the great majority of the people in their favor. They had forfeited this good opinion by the violence of their language and acts, and, above all, by their evident want of business habits and acquaintance with the real wants of the nation. Accordingly, the King was generally supported by the nation in the measures by which he followed up his victory. Numerous arrests took place in Berlin of the leaders in the late tumults, which effectually broke the neck of popular insurrection. Circulars were at the same time sent to all the "royal governments" in the kingdom, warning them not to pay any regard to the illegal resolutions of the Assembly. These were every where obeyed, and the collection of the revenue went on without interruption. When the news of the stopping of the supplies by the Assembly at Berlin reached Frankfort, the National Assembly there passed a resolution, by a majority of 234 to 189, condemning the resolution of the Prussian Assembly in the strongest terms; and the Archduke Nov. 21. John, as Regent of Germany, immediately after issued a circular letter to all the states of the Confederacy in the same terms, and declaring that the Government of Germany would permit no such illegal proceedings as had disgraced the cause of liberty in Prussia, and endangered the prosperity of all Germany.¹*

This resolution of the Frankfort Assembly completed the defeat of the anarchical faction in Prussia, by depriving them of the moral sympathy and support of the great body of the Lib-

erals in Germany. In his subsequent measures, accordingly, the King experienced 61. no difficulty. The crisis was past; Completion of it only remained by vigor, com- the King's bined with moderation and pru- victory, and dence, to follow up the victory. On dissolution of the day appointed, the monarch- the Assembly. ical deputies met at Brandenburg; but as the refractory members refused to join them, they could not at first make a House, as the legal number was wanting. At length Unruh, with the two hundred and twenty-five dis- Dec. 1. sentients, made their appearance, in order to have a trial of strength; but being in a minority in one vote, they again withdrew, announcing their intention of returning on the 7th December, when it was expected Unruh would be re-elected President. To counteract this design, the Assembly was dissolved by royal proclamation on the 5th December; and Dec. 5. as it had not yet devised or agreed to any constitution, notwithstanding the interminable debates in which its members had indulged, the King accompanied the proclamation by the draft of a new constitution, which amply redeemed his pledge to secure all the rights of freemen to every class of his subjects. The dissolution took the revolutionary party quite by surprise, and they were unprepared with any counter-move to meet it. But their rage exhaled in several impotent riots and mobs in 1 Cayley, the streets, which, however, were not IL 98; Ann. Reg. 1848, suppressed till the military had fired 894; Ann. in several places, and seven lives had Hist. 1848, been lost.¹ 465, 466.

By this constitution, which was in the main modeled on that of Belgium, of which 62. an account has already been given, King's Con- all the elements of real freedom were stitution. obtained.² It declared the equality Ante, c. III. of all Prussians in the eye of the law, § 18. freedom of the person and of the press, and right to emigrate. Letters going through the post-office were to be inviolable, and offenses of the press judged of by the ordinary tribunals. The civil ceremony was to give validity to marriage. Feudal tenures, entails, and all exclusive privileges of rank were abolished. The person of the King was inviolable, but his ministers were responsible for his acts. Judges, whether supreme or inferior, were to be irremovable, except by sentence of competent courts; the right of meeting and petitioning secured, and ample provision made by the state for universal education. The Legislature was to consist of two Chambers; the first, or Upper House, to contain 182 members, all elected by persons paying 12 florins (24s.) of direct taxes, or holding £75 a year worth of land. The Lower Chamber was to consist of 350 members, chosen by double election; the primary electors, or the persons choosing the delegates, to be the whole male inhabitants, and the members persons above twenty-four years of age, who had resided six months in the place of voting, and received no parochial aid. A delegate was to be chosen for every 750 inhabitants. The members of the Upper Chamber required to be forty years of age, and to have resided five years in Prussia. All exemptions from taxation were abolished; laws and ordinances were to be valid only when passed in legal form; but, on urgent occasions, ordinances

* "A part of the Prussian deputies have resolved to withhold the taxes. By so doing they have loosened the bonds of political existence, deeply shaken the foundations of civil society, and brought Prussia, and with it the whole of Germany, to the verge of civil war. The Imperial Assembly has solemnly pledged itself to maintain the rights and liberties promised to you, and promised you protection against any who would violate them. It has, however, declared the resolution of the Prussian deputies to withhold the taxes null and void. Prussians! The Imperial Assembly at Frankfort represents the German nation in the aggregate, and its decision is supreme law to all Germans! I will act in full accordance with the Imperial Assembly. I will not allow the resolution which, by preventing the levying of taxes in Prussia, endangers the prosperity of the whole of Germany, to be carried into effect."—ARCHDUKE JOHN to the Kings and Princes of the Empire, 22d November, 1848; Ann. Reg., 1848, p. 394.

having the interim force of laws might be issued, to be sanctioned by the Chambers, however, on their next sitting. This programme gave general satisfaction, and even the revolutionists were abashed, as well they might be, for the King had conceded to his subjects all the guarantees of real freedom. Indeed, the only question was, whether he had not gone too far in yielding to the prevailing thirst for popular power; for here was a constitution with both the Houses of Lords and Commons elective, and the latter elected by *universal suffrage*, guarded against only by the feeble barrier of a double election. This was

the royal constitution published by the King in the moment of his triumph! Nothing is more certain than that the British people, with their business habits, practical turn of mind, and centuries of freedom, could not stand the strain of such institutions three months.¹

On 1st January, 1849, the King, deeming the danger at an end, published an address to the troops of the line and the landwehr,* in which he congratulated them in warm but not undeserved terms on their loyalty and steadiness, and expressed his gratitude for their unequalled conduct. He might well do so, for beyond all doubt the Prussian army, by its loyalty, had saved the Crown from destruction, the people from the extinction of liberty by democratic despotism. The constitution which their fidelity enabled the King to give them contained, as the event proved, at least as much liberty as they could bear; any thing beyond it would have been nothing but republican tyranny. The evil effects of the troubles which had already been experienced from popular rule in Berlin gave no inviting foretaste of its ultimate consequences. The appearance of the city was dreary

* "I congratulate my brave army—the line and the landwehr—on the opening of the new year. At the close of the eventful year 1848, it is a heartfelt pleasure to me to express my acknowledgments for its unequalled conduct. When, without God's assistance, Prussia would have sunk under treason and deception, my army has preserved its old renown, and acquired fresh glory. Both King and people regard with pride the sons of our Fatherland! They remained faithful when events prevented the development of those free institutions which I had introduced to my people. When Germany required their arms in Schleswig, they covered our banners with fresh laurels. When the insurrection in Posen was to be suppressed, it underwent victoriously both toils and dangers; its co-operation in the task of preserving order in Southern Germany acquired a new tribute of acknowledgment to the Prussian name. Finally, when in Prussia itself the violation of the laws made necessary the interposition of the armed power, and the calling out of the landwehr, the men of that force cheerfully abandoned hearth and home, wife and children, to discharge their duty, and both landwehr and troops of the line justified the confidence. I have always trusted in them, and proved how admirable is that organization of the whole army which was established by the late King my father. Every where the troops have done their duty. But higher still than their achievements in the field do I value the conduct they have observed for months together under the most detestable attacks; under insults, slanders, and attempts to seduce them from their allegiance, against which they have opposed unshaken the spirit of loyalty and a noble self-command. I knew my army when I called them out; there they stood, unshaken, in unbroken fidelity and perfect discipline. In Prussia's most glorious epochs the army could have done no more. To the generals, officers, and soldiers of the troops of the line and landwehr, I return thanks, both in my own name and in that of our common country.—FREDERICK WILLIAM."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1848, p. 344.

in the extreme; the principal families had left it, the houses were empty, the streets deserted; no one was to be seen but a few workmen mournfully going to earn their diminished wages, or the patrols who traversed the streets to prevent insurrection. In the seven months immediately succeeding the insurrection, a twentieth of the shops in the capital were closed, from their tenants having become bankrupt; a serious diminution took place in the public revenue; the state of the treasury became so alarming that a voluntary loan to a considerable amount was unavoidably contracted; and the condition of the working classes had become so miserable that, on their own urgent petition, two preliminary decrees were of his own authority issued by the King for their relief.¹

The political storm which occasioned such dissensions in Prussia in the latter part of the year 1848 produced convulsions also at Frankfort, where the Diet was sitting, and in the south of Germany. Immediately after his installation as Regent, the Archduke John appointed his ministers, the Prince of Leiningen, one of the most Liberal of the German princes, being the President of the Council; M. Hukscher, of Hamburg, Foreign Affairs; M. Von Schomberg, of Vienna, the Interior; and General Von Bencker, War. One of the first steps of the Assembly, after a long and eloquent debate, was to decree the abolition of capital punishment over all Germany. This was carried by a majority of 288 to 146. The next important point which came under discussion was the armistice of Malmö, between the Prussians and Danes; and as this involved the great object of extending the German name and influence, it was carried, by a majority of 238 to 22, not to ratify the armistice, in consequence of which the Archduke's ministry resigned, and the greatest difficulty was experienced in framing a cabinet to succeed them. But the conduct of the popular assemblies in the two duchies ere long became so violent, and the insubordination of their levies so excessive, that the sympathy of the majority in the Assembly at Frankfort was alienated from them, and two days after they passed a resolution virtually recalling the former. By this decree, which was carried by 257 to 236, it was declared—1. That nothing shall be done in the mean time to prevent the execution of the armistice; and, 2. That the Central Power of Germany be requested to come to an understanding with Denmark, for the introduction of such terms into the armistice as that power may deem admissible.²

As this resolution indicated a desire to return to the paths of reason and moderation, instead of following the phantom of democratic ambition, it excited the utmost indignation in the extreme revolutionary party. The clubs were immediately put in motion, the streets were covered with threatening placards; crowds, with menacing cries and gestures, assembled in all the public places, and resolutions were immediately passed by these self-constituted meetings, to the effect that "the members of the majority,

¹ Constitution, Dec. 5, 1848; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 850; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 466, 467; Cayley, ii. 101.

^{63.}

Address of the King to troops of the line and landwehr.

¹ Cayley, ii. 96; *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 369; and Royal Speech, Feb. 26, 1849; *Ann. Reg.* 1849, 345.

^{64.} Proceedings of the Diet at Frankfort and the Regent. Aug. 4.

Sept. 5.

Sept. 16.

² *Ann. Reg.* 1848, 368, 369; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 442, 443.

^{65.}

Violent outbreak at Frankfort.

who had ratified the infamous armistice of Malme, had been guilty of high treason against the majesty, liberty, and honor of the German people." This resolution was immediately communicated to the Assembly, and they felt themselves so powerless that they officially intimated to the Regent that they were no longer able to preserve the peace of the town. The Regent's ministry, upon receiving this information, acted with promptitude and courage. The aspect of affairs was in the highest degree threatening, for the trades-unions and democratic societies of Mayence, Hanau, Offenbach, and all the towns in the vicinity, had sent bodies of armed men, marching under their respective banners, into Frankfort, who had joined the same classes in its streets; and twenty thousand men, under the orders of the extreme democrats of the Assembly, were drawn together to enforce the demands of the revolutionists. Their leaders made use of the most violent language, which, of course, was loudly applauded. It was notoriously a political revolution, or change of rulers, which they desired: the destruction of the bourgeoisie, the division of property, the extinction of monarchical government and the nobility, were loudly demanded; in a word, every thing which the Parisian Socialists had convulsed society in France to achieve. Orders were immediately dispatched to the Austrian, Prussian, and Bavarian troops in the neighborhood, or in garrison at Mayence, Sept. 17. to march in, and on the evening of the

17th they began to arrive in great strength. The sight of uniforms coming to repress their violence only augmented the public frenzy; an immense crowd collected round the church of St. Paul, where the Assembly held its sittings, to overawe the members; stones began to be thrown at those who had become unpopular; a committee of the revolutionists was appointed, which sat all night; and an insurrection was openly announced for the following day.¹

Early next morning the contest began, and with a degree of skill and method, on the part of the insurgents, which showed how large a proportion of old soldiers were to be found in their ranks. Detachments of Prussian and Austrian troops at daybreak occupied the principal streets; but the mob on their side had already, after the most recent Parisian fashion, erected barricades, the two strongest of which lay across the Döngerstrasse and Schnaugasse, near the Exchange. The latter was formed of large blocks of stone, with regular loopholes for musketry at the top, and a mass of omnibus and other vehicles below the range of the fire was placed in its front, to obstruct the approach of the soldiers. The combat commenced at three in the morning by a detachment of Austrian soldiers marching down upon the barricade in the Döngerstrasse, on the top of which a huge red flag waved in proud defiance. They were received by so heavy a fire from the barricade, and windows adjacent, that they fell back in disorder. Being reinforced, however, by a strong body of Prussians, they returned to the charge, carried the barricade, made themselves masters of the principal street of Frankfort, from whence they stormed a fortified guard-house, the principal strong-hold of the insurgents. They now petitioned for an armis-

tice, which was accorded for an hour, during which they besought the Archduke to remove the troops from the city, promising submission when they were gone. His counselors, however, prevailed on the Regent to answer the petitions by declaring martial law if immediate surrender were not made. This not being done, the conflict recommenced at six o'clock, and cannon having been brought up, the remaining barricades in possession of the insurgents were shattered and pierced through in every direction. By midnight the rebels were defeated in all quarters, and the city was in the entire possession of the military. The loss, however, had been severe on both sides, and the cause of the insurgents had been disgraced by the treacherous murder of two distinguished men, when attempting to reason with the mob. The first was Prince Lechnowski, one of the most eloquent members of the Assembly, and the other Major Auerswald. The Prince dropped from his horse severely wounded, while in the act of addressing the people; the Major was pulled from his, and both, while lying on the ground, were immediately hacked at and beaten with savage ferocity with scythes, hatchets, and clubs by the infuriated mob. Death soon put a period to the sufferings of the first: the latter was still breathing, though his arms were hacked to pieces, when he was carried to a field adjoining the town, where he was set up as a target, and fired at by the populace till some soldiers came up, attracted by the discharge of fire-arms, and carried off his mangled remains.¹

Scarcely was this hideous revolt quelled in Frankfort, when a fresh alarm, of a still more serious kind, was heard from the Upper Rhine. It arose from a democratic insurrection, headed by the notorious journalist Struve, who had escaped to Bâle, and remained there hatching plots since the failure of his former attempt. Deeming the present crisis favorable to the realization of his long-cherished dreams, he got together a band of two thousand French, Polish, and Italian refugees, and invaded the territory of Baden, denouncing at the same time the Assembly at Frankfort as a mere mockery, which, under the name of legality, would lead to a slavery worse than could result from a bloody war. At the same time, the *Moniteur de Lorrach*, a journal in the hands of the revolutionists, published several decrees, professing to be in the name of the Provisional Government, which, besides abolishing tithes, crown and feudal rights, promised property, liberty, and instruction for all. At the same time martial law was proclaimed, a provisional government announced, and universal arming of the people enjoined. But these transports were of short duration. The troops stood firm; the insurgents, undisciplined, half armed, and distrusting each other, were speedily overcome. Attacked on the 28d by General Hoffman, at the head of the regular forces of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, the insurgents were totally routed near Stanfen, and the provisional government, which had not ventured far over the frontier, forced to take refuge in the neighboring territory of Bâle. Struve, who had escaped from the field of battle, was taken the next day, and after being brought

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 444, 446; An. Reg. 1848, 869, 870.

^{67.} Revolt of Struve in Baden. Sept. 21.

Sept. 28.

Sept. 30.

before successive tribunals at Fribourg, Carlstadt, and Rastadt, was sentenced to confinement for life. His partisans were for the most part either slain on the field of battle or made prisoners in the flight, and the insurrection was entirely quelled. As, however, great agitation prevailed in all the towns along the Rhine, a considerable body of Prussian, Würtemberg, and Hessian troops were quartered in all the frontier cities, from Mannheim to Bâle, and in the former town a corps of twenty thousand men was concentrated, while twelve thousand occupied Schweizingen, and a considerable body of Austrians and Bavarians occupied Constance.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 447, 449; Cayley, il. 104.

These violent outbreaks excited serious attention at Frankfort, and a formal demand was made for a prosecution of such members of the Assembly as had been implicated in the late rebellion in the town. They were numerous, and of course great favorites with the people, and the motion excited an extraordinary degree of interest. M. Vogt pleaded the cause of the deputies implicated, and he rested their defense on the alleged necessity of insurrection from the Assembly's neglect of the cause of the people. "If you have reaped the whirlwind," said he, "it is because you have begun by sowing the wind. There would have been no insurrections in the streets if there had been no deceitful ministers in the cabinets, and blind representatives in the Assembly—if Government, resting on vain parliamentary majorities, had not constantly refused to treat with the people assembled to conquer new institutions. It is thus that they are driven to fight: brutality against brutality; force against force." "Do you, then," said M. Bassermann, in reply, "put in the same line, regard in the same light, force employed in support of the law, and violence committed in resistance to the law? There is but one authority and law in the land, and every other is usurpation and rebellion. Were it otherwise, the assassin on the high-road might say to me, 'I murder you in my right, as the gendarme who is pursuing me does in his.' But this is the grand error of the age: resistance is preached up every where, and against every thing, without distinguishing against what or whom. Because a system which had stood for three-and-thirty years was overturned this spring by force, it is thought that force is forever justifiable, and that it ends by justifying itself." There could be no doubt of the soundness of the answer, but it sounded strange in the mouth of M. Bassermann, the old leader of the Opposition in Baden, and who had by violence overturned the existing constitution in his own country. The Assembly, fearful of irritating the people, passed to the order of the day—a melancholy proof of weakness on the part of Government, too common in troubled times.²

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 457, 458; Moniteur, Oct. 10, 1848.

Although, however, the revolutionary party had been thus defeated in Berlin, Frankfort, and Baden, yet the difficulties of the National Assembly were by no means lessened by these victories; on the contrary, they were materially increased. A new element of discord sprang up from the success of the conservatives, arising from the renewed pretensions of Austria. That power, which had held the first place in the former Germanic Confederacy, had bent before, but not been broken by, the storm. She was by no means inclined to submit to the government of any central authority, or merge her separate hereditary sovereignty in a great confederacy ruled by an elective chief. Even the choice of the Archduke John as regent had by no means reconciled her to the Frankfort Diet. It was well known that he had been elected in consequence of his Liberal principles, which were very far, indeed, from being those of his family, or the traditionary tenets of the Government of Vienna; and it was strongly surmised that, although the choice of a regent had fallen on a prince of the house of Hapsburg, that of an emperor would devolve on the King of Prussia. This idea could not for a moment be entertained, and accordingly the vision of German unity found few advocates at Vienna. On the contrary, the jealousy between the partisans of Austria and those of a central government became so violent at Frankfort, that the regent's administration was broken up by it. Von Schmerling, the prime minister, and Wuth, one of the under-secretaries of state, who were both deputies from Vienna, found their situation so irksome that they resigned office in the middle of December; and M. Von Gagern was sent for, who succeeded in forming a ministry, of course composed entirely of decided Liberals, with himself at its head.³

³ Ann. Reg. 1848, 371; Ann. Hist. 1848, 527.

The prince of Leiningen, Minister of the Interior under the Archduke John, thus stated the requisites which were indispensable toward the formation of a united German Empire: "The nation must decide whether it will really have a united and powerful Germany; it is indispensable that it should elucidate this question to its own satisfaction, and thereafter act upon its will. As there is only one kind of real liberty which rests on law and order, so there is but one sort of unity—an actual union of the component parts as a whole, and that too in such a manner as to remove the possibility of any dispute or contest between the whole and its parts. If any other course be pursued, not singleness or unity, but discord and separation, will be established. If the German nation, therefore, will have unity, it must not only adopt the means thereto, but accept the consequences thereof. There must be no more opposition of Bavarian, Prussian, Saxon, or any other interests, to those of Germany, for the former must be absorbed in the latter. Jealousy between individual states, revilings of the Northern against the Southern parts of the empire, are therefore mischievous absurdities. But opposition or disobedience to the imperial authority in the National Assembly is a crime against the majesty of the nation itself, a treason against the Fatherland, which must speedily be followed by condign punishment. Dynastic interests, as far as they refer to the imperial power, can not, if the nation wills unity, be taken into consideration; for princes are as much called on to conform to that will as any other German. If, therefore, the nation would con-

⁴ Ann. Hist. 1848, 527.

vert words into deeds, it must admonish the imperial power—that is, the National Assembly and the Central Government—to adopt with rapidity and precision, and without regard to collateral interests, all such measures as correspond with the object of restoring a free and united Germany, and moreover lend its own hearty support in aid of the work. To retrograde to a confederation of states, or to establish a weak central government by a powerfully repressed independence of individual states, would only establish a mournful transition to fresh catastrophes and revolutions.” There can be no doubt that the general adoption of these magnanimous ideas was the only foundation on which German unity could be established. But, alas for those who embraced that captivating illusion! they showed that it rested on October 20, the most hopeless of all foundations—1848; Cayley, ii. 103. a general negation of the selfish desires by all classes of the community.*

A tragic event ere long occurred, which ulcerated in the highest degree the feelings of the National Assembly at Frankfort, and demonstrated how chimerical was the idea of fusing together Northern and Southern Germany in one united empire. When Vienna was reconquered from the insurgents in November by WINDISCHGRATZ, as will be immediately narrated, Robert Blum, the republican minister for Frankfort, and a man of ability and eloquence, fell into the hands of the victors. It appeared that he was in arms along with others when the city was taken, but not actually combating. They had retired to their hotel, when it was surrounded, and they were all made prisoners. Blum, who was well known as a republican leader, was taken before the Commander-in-Chief, when he protested against the legality of his arrest upon the ground of a decree of the Frankfort Assembly, by which they had declared their own persons inviolable. The military commander was induced to sustain

* On the other hand, the views of Austria on this all-important subject were developed in a note addressed at this time by the Cabinet of Vienna to the Frankfort Assembly: “The Imperial Government concurs with the German tribes next beyond the limits of the Austrian frontiers in their desire for a regeneration of Germany; the first condition of which, it apprehends, must be found in a closer union of the individual states. To promote this closer union ought to be the common task of the German princes and people. Far from excluding itself, the Imperial Government is prepared for an earnest and candid co-operation, supposing always that the end to be attained is to be a union, not a total remodeling (*umschmelzung*) of existing institutions—that is, the maintenance (*erhaltung*) of the various organic members of Germany, and not their abolition and annihilation. The formation of a unitarian state appears as little practicable for Austria as desirable for Germany. It is not expedient for us, for the position of Austria in the Confederacy ought not to cause us to forget our rights and duties to the non-German provinces of the monarchy. The Imperial Government can not break the bonds which for centuries have joined the German and non-German countries of Austria, nor can it give its adhesion to a one-sided abolition of the German Confederation, which is an essential element of the European treaties. Indeed, such a unitarian state does not appear to be desirable for Germany; for not only would it oppose, in many ways, the various wants of the country, but it would stand in the way of its moral and material interests, destroy the traditions of the past and hopes of the future, and be a stumbling-block in the way of the much-longed-for and jealously-watched political and individual liberty of the Germans.”—*Notes on AUSTRIA*, October 28, 1848; CAYLEY, iii. note.

the plea, but he was overruled by the civil authorities, and Blum was immediately shot. It is scarcely possible to maintain that any assembly can, by voting itself inviolable, authorize its members to commit high treason in foreign states; but be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the execution of Blum was a harsh and imprudent measure of the Austrian Government, adopted in the first transports of reactionary fervor, and which finally dis severed Southern from Northern Germany, and blew to the winds the vision of a united central empire. It was intended as a defiance of Austria against Northern Germany—accepted and avenged as such. The Assembly at Frankfort solemnly protested against this execution as an invasion of their rights and privileges, and all hope of an accommodation between them was at an end.*

The principle of Von Gagern's ministry was to treat Austria as a member of the Germanic Confederacy, and maintain intercourse with her as such, but not to regard her as embraced in the new Federal Constitution, and therefore not entitled to be consulted in its construction. In effect, the high monarchical ideas of the Austrian Cabinet were so inconsistent with the democratic views of the great majority of the Frankfort Assembly, that it was plain no common measures could be pursued between them. It was by a radical revolution at Vienna alone that this could be effected, and such an event had been indefinitely postponed by the victory of Windischgratz and execution of Blum. Independent of this, the character of the Frankfort Assembly had become such that it was hopeless to expect any thing rational or practical from its deliberations. The very first articles of the proposed constitution went to exclude Austria directly from any share in the united German nation; for they expressly declared “that no part of the empire could be united into a single state with countries not German; and if a German country has the same sovereign as a non-German country, the relations between the two countries are not to be regulated but on the principle of a purely personal union.” The Austrian Cabinet, already distracted by internal broils, saw nothing but ruin in such propositions; and Metternich, accordingly, on hearing of these articles, sent an official note, in which he stated, “The complete, indissoluble unity of all the states which compose the Austrian monarchy is indispensable to Germany and to Europe; Austria will consider hereafter on what terms it is to unite with Germany.” This was just the reverse of what the Frankfort Assembly intended, which was that the German provinces of Austria

* Impolitic as the execution of Blum undoubtedly was, there can be no doubt that, on the principles of public or international law, it was strictly legal as long as the punishment of death is affixed by nations to grave political offenses. He was not tried for any thing he had said or done at Frankfort, and as a member of the National Assembly there, but for taking part in arms in an insurrection in the streets of Vienna—a foreign country, so far as its domestic rule is concerned, to the Frankfort Assembly.

should form part of united Germany, and the Slavonic and Hungarian States another empire under the same head, just as they proposed for Schleswig and Holstein.

It would be inconceivable how conduct so senseless could have been pursued by the ardent apostles of unity, if it were not recollected how the Frankfort Assembly was composed, and under what influences it had fallen. Formed originally of a great majority of professors, doctors, and literary men, who had no practical acquaintance with affairs, but were enamored of abstract principles, it had wasted the whole time that it had sat—above eight months—in debates upon words or general resolutions, without having advanced one step in real business, or adopted one single practical measure. It had not even fixed the basis of the constitution. In consequence, it had become much discredited in the opinion of all sensible men in Germany; and serious doubts had come to be entertained of the practicability of governing a Confederacy consisting of such heterogeneous materials by an Assembly so composed. But in addition to these, the members, since they came to Frankfort, had become exposed to influences still more perilous. That city was filled with clubs, where the most reckless and ambitious from every part of Germany were congregated, to bring to bear on the Assembly the united force of their ambition, selfishness, and inexperience. Nearly every member of the Assembly belonged to more than one of these clubs, at which all the subjects coming before it were previously discussed, and instructions were given to the members how they were to vote, and even the order in which they were to speak. In a word, these clubs resembled so many *pro* and *post*-comitial Diets of Poland, at which pledges were imposed on the members of the Comitia before its meeting, and they were called to account after it was over for the manner in which they had conformed to them.¹ It was melancholy to behold in an Assembly boasting its intelligence, and brought together expressly for the regeneration and improvement of society, a repetition of the very errors which had proved the ruin of the oldest republic in Christendom.²

The open breach between Austria and the Frankfort Assembly led, in the beginning of 1849, to one decided step on the part of that body, which, if adopted at an earlier period, might have been attended with very important results. After several preliminary resolutions tending to the same end; the important question was submitted to the Assembly whether the Sovereign of the new German Empire should be elective, excluding the head of any reigning family, or bestowed on one of the reigning German sovereigns; and it was carried, by a majority of 339 to 122, that the reigning sovereigns should not be excluded; and by 258 to 211, that the choice should be limited to one of the reigning German sovereigns. This was a great point gained, and proved decisive; for it excluded a democratic president, and seemed to leave no choice, now that Austria was out of the field, but to bestow

the Imperial Crown on the King of Prussia. The strength of the democratic element, however, appeared in the next vote, which was on the question whether the dignity thus conferred should be elective or hereditary; and, in spite of the secret efforts of Prussia, the former was carried by a majority of 263 to 211. The next proposition submitted to the Assembly was that the Crown should be tendered to the Prussian monarch. The debate on this subject commenced on the 17th March, and continued without intermission till the 28th. The greatest anxiety prevailed as to the result. To the feverish tumult which had continued during the discussion succeeded a deathlike silence when the vote was taken, and at length, amidst intense excitement, the numbers were announced—for the King of Prussia, 290 out of 558 votes. It was immediately announced from the chair that the choice had fallen on the King of Prussia, and a deputation of thirty-two members was appointed to tender him the Crown. Next day the Archduke John, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of his Council, resigned his office of Regent.³

The time was when this flattering offer would have been joyfully accepted by the King of Prussia; for it seemed to realize all the secret wishes and aspirations of his Cabinet, which had led them to embrace with so much warmth, in the outset, the principles of the German Revolution. But Time had worked many changes here, as it never fails to do elsewhere in human affairs. The Imperial Crown, as now tendered, was very different from the Imperial Crown as originally coveted. Being elective, in the first instance, it more nearly resembled the Presidency of America, or the Empire of Imperial Rome, than the old Germanic diadem. Austria had openly declared against the union of all the Confederacy under one head, and there could be little doubt that the acceptance of the Imperial Crown by Frederick William would at once bring on a war with that power, backed by Russia, with whom she was now in the closest alliance. France, torn by revolutionary passions, and England, paralyzed by the economy of a citizen-ruled Government, were in no condition to give him any effectual support, and thus he would be left to make head against the two greatest military powers in Europe, with no other support but that of the lesser German States, who could not be expected to remain long united on such a crisis. Add to this, the party in the Frankfort Assembly which had tendered the Imperial Crown was the same as that from which he had recently made so narrow an escape in the streets of Berlin. Influenced by these considerations, the King determined to decline the proffered honor, prudently vailing, however, the refusal under the pretext that the offer was “not as yet sanctioned by the sovereigns and free states of our Fatherland.” It was well known that this sanction would never be got, at least from Austria, or the powers whom she influenced; so that this was in effect an absolute rejection.⁴ The deputation took it as such, and, after remaining a few days in Berlin, to see whether the King would not

¹ Hist. of Europe, c. xvii. § 24, 25.

² Cayley, ii. 106, 107; An. Hist. 1848, 473, 474.

³ Ann. Hist. 1848, 530-534; An. Reg. 1848, 358-360; Cayley, ii. 111, 112.

⁴ Ann. Reg. 1849, 348, 349, 360, 361; Cayley, ii. 114; An. Hist. 1849, 538.

⁵ Ann. Hist. 1849, 538.

relent, took their departure, in deep dejection, for Frankfort.*

When such were the views of the Cabinet of Berlin upon this question, it may readily be believed that that of Vienna was still more decidedly of the same opinion. In a note addressed on the 8th April to the Frankfort Assembly, the sentiments of the Austrian Cabinet on their assumption of power were openly expressed. It was there said, "The constitution of Frankfort is nothing but a project: that project can only become a law when it has received the sanction of the States of Germany. The Assembly has, therefore, exceeded its powers in publishing as a law a constitution which is as yet only a project. It has equally exceeded its powers when, without authority, it wished to give to Germany a hereditary Emperor. Thus, from henceforth, Austria regards the National Assembly as no longer existing." At the same time a note was sent to the King of Prussia, stating, "The King may, as member of the Germanic Confederacy, make any proposition which he pleases; but he should no longer rest on the wishes or resolutions of the Frankfort Assembly. That Assembly is not entitled to exercise an influence over measures tending to the formation of a new central power, nor take a part in deliberations having for their object to bring about a concurrence in a constitution which itself has declared to be completed." To these sentiments the Kings of Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony immediately acceded, which gave the

76.
Views of Austria on the subject, and on the German Constitution.
April 8.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 538, 539; An. Reg. 1849, 360, 361.

On the other hand, the whole lesser states of Central and Northern Germany, comprehending Baden, Hesse-Darmstadt, Hesse Oldenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Lauenburg, Anhalt, Dessau, Brunswick, Saxe-Weimar, Altenburg, Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, Meiningen, Schwartzburg, Sonderhausen, Hohenzollern, Waldeck, Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Frankfort, agreed to accept the newly-created German constitution, and concurred in a collective note to the King of Prussia, urging him to accept the proffered dignity of Emperor, and binding themselves to recognize him as such. In this note they declared that the constitution, as finally determined on by the Frankfort Assembly, did not in all its parts meet with their entire approbation, but that, advert- ing to the powers bestowed on the members by their constituents, and the extreme danger of any division or further delay on the subject, they unanimously agreed to accept it as it stood. They added in the close of this note: "They

77.
It is received and accepted by the lesser States.

April 11.

* The King said to the Deputies, "I feel honored by the confidence of the National Assembly, and I am ready to prove by deeds that this reliance on my fidelity, love, and devotion to the cause of the country has not been misplaced. But I should not justify that confidence, I should not answer to the expectations of the German people, I should not strengthen the unity of Germany, if, violating sacred rights and breaking my former explicit and solemn assurances, I were, without the voluntary assent of the crowned Princes and free States of our Fatherland, to take a resolution which must be of decisive importance to them and the States which they rule."—*Ann. Reg.*, 1849, p. 348.

permit themselves to hope that the Prussian Government, in consideration of the pressing motives which apply equally to all parts of Germany, will adopt the same principle, and come to the conviction that in this manner it will be placed in a position to fulfill the mission that the regeneration of Germany intrusts to her. They hope also that every German Government whose entrance into the federal union is not prevented for the present by its special relations will, influenced by the same patriotic purpose, join itself to the united empire, and that, therefore, any arrangement with them out of the pale of the constitution will be unnecessary."

¹ Note of Baden, etc., April 11, 1849; *Ann. Reg.* 1849, 360, 361.

Thus the great monarchical and the lesser states of the Confederacy were brought into direct collision on the question of the adoption or rejection of the new constitution. What rendered this division the more fatal to the project of German unity, and had occasioned the hesitation even in the lesser states to acquiesce in its adoption, was the extremely democratic nature of its character. The Imperial Legislature was to consist of two Houses, in the Upper of which one half was to be named by the Emperor, and one half by the Lower House. The Lower House was to be elected by the *universal suffrage* of all the male inhabitants of Germany above twenty-one years of age, and not in receipt of parochial relief. The Emperor's power of refusing his consent to any measure which had passed both Houses was to be suspensive only. If it lasted three successive sessions, it became law, whether he consented or not. Thus the Lower House, elected by universal suffrage, was to have the entire command of the State; for it nominated directly half the Upper, and it could force the Emperor to adopt any measure by passing it in three successive sessions. This constitution, therefore, was a republic, veiled under monarchical forms; it had no resemblance whatever to the old Germanic or any ancient European constitution, but closely resembled those struck out for the emancipation of mankind during the fervor of the French Revolution, or that adopted in 1812 by the rump of the Cortes in the Isle of Leon, which had so long been the watch-word of the extreme democratic party in the south of Europe.²

The Archduke John, at the earnest solicitation of Austria, as well as of the Frankfort Assembly, had been prevailed on to withdraw his resignation, and he still nominally continued Regent. But he had no real power, and the proceedings of that body soon became so violent that it was evident that they were entirely in the hands of a republican faction, and that it was only a question of time when an open rupture should ensue between them and the monarchical states. On the 30th April they published a resolution disapproving of the dissolution of the Assembly in Prussia, and of a similar one in Hanover, and ordering the Governments of these two countries to direct a new election as soon as possible. On 4th May they voted another series of resolutions, requiring all the Governments, Legislatures, and municipal bodies of the different states to acknowledge the general constitution promulgated

78.
New German Constitution.

² Constitution, March 28, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, App.; *Moniteur*, April 2, 1849.

79.

Breach between the Frankfort Assembly and Prussia.

April 30.

May 4.

on the 28th March, and appointed the elections to take place under it on the 15th August. As Prussia was expected to dissent, it was provided that, in that event, the office of interim regent or stadtholder should devolve on the sovereign of the state in the confederacy which should possess the next greatest number of inhabitants. The expectations entertained of the dissent of

Prussia were soon realized; for in a few days after the Government at Berlin published a declaration to the effect that the Frankfort Assembly had no right to fix the time and mode of the elections, and that they could not in any manner recognize or execute its decrees. This was immediately followed by a royal ordinance, declaring that the commission of the deputies at the Frankfort Assembly had expired, and enjoining them to take no part in any ulterior proceedings. In reply, the

Frankfort Assembly published a resolution, "that the gross violation of the peace of the empire of which the Prussian Government had been guilty, by its unauthorized interference in the kingdom of Saxony, shall be repressed by all available means." The Regent was solicited to put this decisive resolution in execution, and to form a cabinet to do so. This the Archduke John refused to do, and upon this the matter was referred to a committee, which reported that the Regent's Government should be summoned to take the oath to the empire, and that its armies should be placed at the disposal of the Assembly. In reply, the Prussian Government instructed its plenipotentiary at Frankfort to announce that it no longer recognized the right

or ability of the Central Government to direct the negotiations with Denmark, that it would do so itself, and that it had directed the Prussian commander in Schleswig to take his orders from Berlin alone. The Frankfort Assembly upon this, deeming themselves no longer in safety in Frankfort, which was considered too much under the influence of Prussia, resolved to transfer the place of their

deliberations to Stuttgardt, in Würtemberg, and a great majority of the members removed thither accordingly, while the Regent's Government, with a steady minority, remained at Frankfort.¹

The democratic portion of the German Assembly had now run themselves into a desperate and even ludicrous position. Assuming and professing to exercise imperial powers, it in reality possessed neither the moral influence nor the physical strength to enforce obedience to its decrees. Having come to an open rupture with Austria, Prussia, Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony, it could rest only on the support of the lesser states, and their strength was wholly unequal to a contest with these great monarchies. Its moral influence was still more seriously weakened; for such had been the violence of the speeches made, and perilous nature of the resolutions brought forward by the members of the Assembly, that they had irrevocably forfeited the confidence of all persons of sense or experience in Germany, and thrown the Assembly into the arms of an insane revolutionary party precisely similar to the Jacobins of Paris, equal to them in audacity and presumption, but

very different in ability of conduct and political power. This soon appeared in their public acts. After the removal of the Assembly to Stuttgardt, they openly attempted to bring about a new and more violent democratic revolution, which should be entirely free from the conservative influences that had come to moderate the first. On 6th June, 1849, they published strong resolutions against a new imperial constitution, to be immediately noticed, which had been framed by the Governments of Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony; appointed a new Provisional Government of eight persons to conduct the affairs of Germany, all of the most revolutionary character; deposed the Archduke John from the regency, declared him guilty of illegal usurpation for having continued to carry on the powers originally conferred upon him; ordered a general arming of the people, and directed the Finance Committee to negotiate a loan of 5,000,000 florins (£500,000) for the expenses of the Central Government in the months of June and July! These proceedings on the part of the rump of a Legislature possessed of no real power, indicated the raving of a body of political fanatics whom no experience could teach, and no change of circumstances convince. They were deemed too dangerous to be permitted to continue sitting, and yet too contemptible to warrant the application of military force. They were therefore handed over to the police, which prohibited their meeting; and the famous Frankfort Assembly, which had been charged with the mission of regenerating Germany, and deemed itself equal to the task, universally distrusted and discredited, expired on the mandate of a sergeant of police of the little kingdom of Würtemberg!¹

It was not, however, without a serious contest in the lesser states, and some lamentable bloodshed, that this new and more violent democratic movement was finally quelled. The revolutionists were resolved to fight for it; and fight they did, and were thoroughly beaten. The first outbreak occurred at Dresden on the 5th May, when the people rose in revolt, and after a serious conflict with the military succeeded in erecting barricades in the streets, and compelling the royal family to take refuge in the adjoining fortress of Königstein. A Provisional Government was immediately proclaimed in the capital, having at its head a Polish refugee, and several other decided republicans. Their power, however, was of short duration. On the 7th, large bodies of troops arrived by the railway, including the Prussian regiment, and a combined attack was immediately made on the position occupied by the insurgents. They were in part immediately carried; and additional reinforcements, both Prussian and Saxon, having arrived on the succeeding day, a bloody conflict ensued, in which, as in Paris in the preceding year, the contending forces combated not only in the streets and on the barricades, but in almost every house. At first half the city was in the hands of the insurgents, but they were gradually expelled, and by the evening of the 9th the whole streets were

¹ Ann. Reg. 1849, 360-363; Cayley, II. 112, 117; Ann. Hist. 1849, 539, 541.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1849, 363, 367; An. Hist. 1849, 541-543; Cayley, II. 116, 117.

81. Insurrection in Saxony and Hanover, which is at first successful, and finally quelled. May 5.

May 7.

May 8.

May 9.

in the possession of the royal troops, and the provisional government had taken to flight. The King immediately returned to his capital, and his authority was re-established. At the same time disturbances broke out at Leipsic; but as the Burgher Guard there remained faithful, they were suppressed before they had made any great progress. In Hanover things at first wore a still more serious aspect; for the King there, who, in imitation of the Prussian Government, had dissolved the Chamber, whose democratic tendencies had become apparent, was so besieged in his palace by deputations from the towns and boroughs in his dominions, requiring the immediate and unqualified acceptance of the Frankfort constitution, that he was on the point

of quitting his capital, and was only prevailed on to remain and await the course of events, by promises of immediate and powerful assistance from the Prussian forces.¹

A still more alarming outbreak, attended by a great effusion of blood, took place a few days after in Baden and the Palatinate. The object of it, as of all the other movements at the same

time in Germany, was to compel the Government by force to adopt the constitution of Frankfort, which had now come to form the rallying-point of the whole discontented spirits in the Confederacy. On the 13th May an open-air

assembly was held at Offenber, in the Grand-Duchy of Baden, at which violent resolutions were proposed and agreed to, to the effect that the Chambers should be dissolved, a constituent assembly convoked, and war immediately declared against Prussia. At Carlsruhe, on the same day, a mutinous spirit was evinced by the troops; and at Bruchsal a mob assembled, which liberated some democratic leaders who were in confinement, and paraded them in triumph

through the streets. Next day, as the insubordination of the military seemed to increase, and the Grand-Duke had no means of resisting them, he withdrew from his capital, and took refuge in Alsace, while a provisional government was established in his stead. This example was soon imitated in the Palatinate. On the 17th May a provisional government

was established by a sudden outbreak at Kaiserslautern, and a convention immediately entered into with the Provisional Government at Baden, to the effect that the two states should be formed into one united revolutionary State. And on the 19th, the Provisional Government of Baden issued a proclamation breathing defiance to the Government of the Regent, and declaring their readiness to march against those powers which had entered into a coalition to bring about a counter-revolution, and restore all the old abuses. The insurrection, in the first instance, met with great success. The ardent democrats and discontented republicans from all quarters flocked to the standard of revolt; and in a few

days the two provisional governments had twenty thousand armed men enrolled under their banners.²

This insurrection might have been attended with very serious consequences, if it had been met with less vigor and decision by the constituted authorities. But meanwhile the Govern-

ments of Prussia and Bavaria made the most vigorous efforts to extinguish the flames which threatened to involve the whole of Central and Southern Germany in conflagration. On the 22d May they declared the whole Palatinate in a state of insurrection, and denounced the Provisional Government as guilty of high treason. The Prussian King dispatched a large body of troops, under the command of General Weber, to assist the forces of the Confederacy. The insurgents re-

83.
And its suppression by the armies of Prussia and Bavaria.

tired before their united forces, and abandoned the whole country between the Rhine and the mouth of the Neckar. The Prussian troops were divided into two columns, the first of which, without experiencing any serious resistance, advanced in the Palatinate as far as

Manheim; while the second, in conjunction with the troops of the Confederacy, moved against Baden. The latter encountered twelve thousand

insurgents under the Polish General Microslawski, who now again appeared at the head of the rebels in Southern Germany. He commenced a vigorous attack on the Prussian troops in position near the village of Grossochen, but was repulsed with loss. A few days after, Microslawski sustained a severe defeat from a Prussian corps greatly inferior in number, near the village of Hannchen. Martial law was soon proclaimed in the whole of the Grand-Duchy of Baden, and the Prussian troops, who were now commanded by the Prince of Prussia, crossed the Neckar at all points, and the discomfited bands were driven into the defiles of the Black Forest. Thither they were immediately followed by the victorious Prussians, who came up with a considerable body of insurgents, whom they routed, on the 22d June, near Ettlingen. The remains of their broken

band now all took refuge, to the number of five thousand, in the fortress of Rastadt, which was immediately invested, while Carlsruhe was occupied by the troops of the Confederacy. The insurrection was finally extinguished

by the surrender of the bands in Rastadt; but Microslawski escaped to carry into other lands the standard of insurrection.¹

Taught by these events the impracticable nature of the constitution which the democrats of Frankfort had proposed, the Cabinets of Berlin, Han-

over, and Dresden had for some time been engaged in the formation of an Imperial federal constitution, which was finally agreed to and published on the 80th May. By this remarkable

instrument the three Powers entered into a union, the object of which was mutual protection against external and internal enemies. They declared "the above-named Governments did not recognize the constitution drawn up by the Frankfort Assembly, because it went beyond the true and wholesome requirements of a powerful federal State; and in the form it received from the conflict and concessions of political parties, it did not contain those essential guarantees on which the legal and regular existence of every system of government reposes. But the united Governments have never for a moment forgotten that even for these reasons it became

84.
Constitution agreed to by Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony.

May 30.

May 30.

May 30.

May 30.

May 30.

May 30.

their double duty to co-operate in framing a constitution that has become an indispensable necessity for the whole of Germany. Such a constitution will secure for the nation what, for a long period, it has been so painfully deprived of—unity and strength in relation to foreign powers, and in its internal affairs, with the secured existence of each member of the union, a common development of general interests and national necessities. It is the guarantee of just freedom and legal order, which the German constitution will have to grant to the governments and the people."

The constitution, which was drawn up with great minuteness and precision, contained one hundred and ninety articles. By it the general government of the empire was vested in a President of the Empire, and a Council of Princes. The dignity of President of the Empire was united to the Crown of Prussia. The Council of Princes consisted of six members, one chosen by Prussia, one by Bavaria, and the remaining four to be chosen by the lesser states of the confederacy collectively, in certain assigned clusters. The President and this Council were to have the power of declaring peace and war, to conduct all negotiations with foreign powers, and conclude treaties with them. The Council of Princes had alone the right of proposing laws, the Diet could only deliberate on them. This Diet was to consist of two Houses—a Senate, consisting of one hundred and sixty-seven members, of which Prussia sent forty, chosen one half by the Government, the other half by the Legislature in each State: the Lower House to be chosen by universal suffrage, every German voting who had attained the age of twenty-five, and had not been convicted of crime, and its members to be at least thirty years of age; these were to be chosen by a double election, and there was to be a representative for every 100,000 inhabitants. A Supreme Court of Appeal, "*Bundeschieds Gericht*," consisting of seven members, of whom Prussia was to appoint three, Saxony two, Hanover two, was to decide all disputed matters between any members of the union. Personal freedom, freedom of religious worship, a free press, and universal education, to be provided at the public expense for the poor, were guaranteed to all the members of the union, as well as the right of meeting and petitioning, and establishing clubs. From this sketch of the constitution, which was called, in derision, by the extreme Liberals "the constitution of the three kings," it is evident that it contained all the elements of real freedom, and all the guarantees for its endurance which could be obtained, when the power of taking the initiative in the legislative matters was as yet withheld from the people. It was based on the principle, that as long as the supreme direction of affairs was intrusted to the "Council of Princes," it was safe to admit even the representatives of universal suffrage to the privilege of stating their wishes and interests. But the constitution labored under one defect fatal to its endurance; it wanted

^{85.} Constitution, May 30, 1849; Ann. Hist. 1849, 129, 542; Ann. R.-g. 1849, 365, 366.
the concurrence of Austria and Bavaria, and without their adhesion there could be no general government of Germany.¹ Any union of the other states could be nothing but an extended Zoll-Verein, bind-

ing on such sovereigns only as agreed to enter it, and destitute of the whole weight and grandeur which would belong to a united and universal German Empire.

Though the Prussian monarchy was thus acquiring the lead in Central and North-^{86.} Proceedings of the new Chamber in Prussia. Germany, it was not without difficulty that its Government could maintain the ascendancy of conservative principles in its own dominions.

The elections for the new Chamber had not proceeded so favorably for Government as had been hoped; nearly the whole members of the extreme democratic party were re-elected, and the executive experienced no slight difficulty in moderating their fervor. The Chamber met on the 26th February, and the session proved a short and stormy one. The House cordially approved of the determination of the Frankfort Assembly to offer the crown of Germany to the King of Prussia; and a motion, praying the King to accept it, was rejected only by a majority of five, the numbers being 156 to 151. Shortly after, the Chamber resolved, by a majority of 179 to 159, to adopt the Frankfort constitution which had been condemned by the Government; and their next step was to petition the King to terminate the state of siege in Berlin, which was carried by 177 to 153. The Chamber had now unequivocally declared itself against the Government, in consequence of which it was suddenly dissolved on the 26th April; and the reasons which induced the King to take this step were stated in an address presented by the Ministry, which appeared in the *Berlin Gazette* the same evening. Shortly after, the Prussian Cabinet presented a note, addressed to the several German Governments, explaining the views it entertained on public affairs. In this important paper it was stated: "Prussia engages to oppose the revolutionary agitation of the time with the utmost energy, and endeavor to furnish other Governments with timely assistance for the same purpose. The danger is a common one, and Prussia will not betray its mission to interfere in the hour of peril wherever and in any manner it may deem necessary. It is convinced that a limit must be put to the revolution of Germany. This can not be effected by mere passive resistance; it must be done by active interference." Following this example, the Bavarian Chambers also were dissolved on the 11th June.¹

On the 31st May the new electoral law, intended to be more conservative than the preceding, was promulgated in Prussia. By it the election of deputies, who were to be 359 in number, was to take place by a double method. Every independent Prussian who had attained his twenty-fourth year, and was not in receipt of public alms, had a vote if he had resided six months in the district in which his vote was tendered. The primary electors were to be divided into three classes, and each class had a vote in the choice of the representative. The first class consisted of those who paid the highest amount of taxes; the second, the next; the third, the lowest. Each class was to choose one-third of the electors who were to choose the representative.

¹ Prussian Government to —, April 29, 1849; Ann. Reg. 1849, 343-351.

Every Prussian who had attained his thirtieth year was eligible as a deputy. This electoral law was accompanied by a strong declaration against secret voting, which was no longer to be allowed. "It stands in contradiction," said the declaration, "to every other branch of the system of government, in which publicity is with justice demanded; it conceals the important act of election under a veil, under which all proceedings that will not stand the light of day may be

hidden; while the public mode of voting has this result, that the vote given can be considered as the result of an independent conviction."¹

Toward the end of July the aspect of affairs was so much more favorable at Berlin, that the Government deemed it safe to terminate the state of siege, and the elections went on under the new law. They almost all terminated in favor of the moderate constitutional party, so great was the change which the new system of

VOTING BY CLASSES had introduced into an Assembly even elected by universal suffrage. The House met on the 7th August, and the triumph of the conservatives was assured from the very first. The King said in the royal speech: "We have conceived it our duty to oppose with strength and vigor that domination of terror which a misguided party began to exercise over Prussia and Germany. We have sought to re-establish order and tranquillity, which have been so much disturbed. But we have labored, on the other hand, with the same resolution, through recognition of the true needs and just demands of the nation, to lay the foundation of a lasting quiet, and in this way to deprive new attempts at revolution of all foundation and pretext. If the attempts to arrive at an understanding with the German National Assembly failed, to our great regret, it was in consequence of the turn which things took at Frankfort. But the Government of his Majesty has not acknowledged with the less candor the labors of that Assembly, and used them as the ground-work of their earnest endeavor to form a federal constitution which may be compatible with the benefit of the whole, and the rights of single parties. The unity of Germany, with a single executive pow-

er at its head, secured by a popular representation with legislative powers, was and is the object of our endeavor."²

This terminated the revolution in Prussia, and in a way far more felicitous than at one period could possibly have been anticipated. The lesser states, for the most part, followed the example of Prussia, and the simultaneous extinction of the Hungarian revolt

by the arms of Russia deprived the disaffected of all hopes of success. Matters accordingly returned to their old state, though not so rapidly as they had become revolutionary when the troubles first broke out. The Cabinet of Vienna influenced the states of Bavaria and Würtemberg, and this formed a counterpoise to the northern league between Prussia, Hanover, and Saxony, which delayed the adjustment for some time, by the jealousy of those opposite powers as to the presidency. A proposal made by the

Frankfort Government, that Austria and Prussia should each nominate two commissioners, who should jointly execute the duties of regent, was rejected by Prussia, from an apprehension of the influence of the Cabinet of Vienna; but meanwhile matters became pressing, and it was indispensable to come to some arrangement as to the Central Government. On the 2d July the Archduke John left Frankfort, and went to the baths, professedly for the re-establishment of his health—really to get quit of his irksome position, where he had the responsibility, and was without the reality, of power. He finally resigned his office on the 20th December, and the representatives of Austria and Prussia were installed in his stead.³

The affairs of Germany were now virtually settled; but a variety of minor questions remained in its lesser states and general relations, which involved it in turmoil during the whole of 1850, and at one period

assumed so serious an aspect that a general war seemed inevitable. Würtemberg was the chief seat of the disturbances, and the last theatre of the philosophical delusions under which the Confederacy had so long suffered. The King of that little state had resisted the efforts of his Liberal Ministry, with M. Roemer at its head, to sacrifice his dominions to the supremacy of Prussia, and he remained attached to the Austrian party; but in the course of the struggle the revolutionists had gained all their points, and universal suffrage had worked out its usual result of rendering rational government impossible. The Diet of the kingdom was opened on the 15th March, and in his speech the King had the courage to denounce the vision of unity, which had so long produced division in Germany, as its most dangerous enemy.* Prussia took high offense at this speech, insomuch that the Prussian ambassador was recalled from Würtemberg, and things wore a very threatening aspect. The better to improve his influence, and put matters in a train for realizing his favorite project of becoming the head of the united German nation, the King of Prussia summoned a Parliament of the princes to meet at Erfurth; but it was not attended so numerously as had been expected, and after sitting a short time it was adjourned, and a new congress of princes summoned to meet at Berlin on 9th May. This was at once throwing down the gauntlet to Austria; and accordingly, though twenty-two princes attended the summons, besides the representatives of the Hanse Towns, yet as Austria, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony were not represented, their deliberations came to nothing, and the As-

* "Ever since March, 1848, Germany has been a toy in the hands of party spirit and ambition. The German unitarian state is a chimera, but the most dangerous of all chimeras for Germany, as well as for Europe. All the means which have been used for this end, all that are still likely to be used, produce an effect directly contrary to that which was intended—that is to say, a division and entire dissolution. The strength, harmony, civilization, and liberty of the nation depend on our fostering and preserving the independence of its principal states. Their forcible fusion, any subjection of one state to another, must lead to internal dissolution, and annihilate our existence as a nation. For a lasting union of our common country there is but one possible form—the federal."—*King of Würtemberg's Speech*, 15th March, 1850; *Ann. Reg.*, 1850, p. 815.

88. Ascendency of the moderate party in the new Chamber in consequence of voting by classes.

² Ann. Reg. 1849, 852, 853; Ann. Hist. 549, 550.

89. Final arrangement of the German Diet and Constitution.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 552, 553; Cayley, ii. 122, 123.

90. Affairs of Würtemberg and Prussia in 1850.

sembly was dismissed after a few days' sitting. Austria, on its side, formed a confederacy which met at Munich, and was soon joined by Bavaria,

Saxony, Hanover, Würtemberg, and all the states of Southern Germany. Soon

after the Cabinet of Vienna sent round a circular, calling on the different states to assemble at Frankfort on 6th May, to take

into consideration a new organization of the Diet, on a footing which, it was well understood, should give the house of Hapsburg the lead. Thus there were rival assemblies sitting at the same time in Germany, each summoned by a rival sovereign aiming at the exclusive supremacy of the empire—a mournful result to

have followed the general and enthusiastic aspirations of the preceding years, and illustrating the wisdom of the King of Würtemberg's words.¹

The excitement in Germany was increased, shortly after, by an attempt, made by an assassin of unsound mind, to murder the King of Prussia, which, though it wounded the monarch, happily did not prove fatal. The interest excited by this barbarous attempt, however, was ere long superseded by a contest between the revolutionary and conservative parties in Hesse-Cassel, which rapidly assumed so serious a form as to threaten to involve all Germany in conflagration. This arose from a change of ministry by the Elector, who, finding himself hard pressed by the revolutionists in his dominions, had dismissed the Liberals, and appointed a new one—of which M. Hassonpflug was head—in their stead. This appointment was very unpopular, as, independent of his known leaning to monarchical principles and the Austrian alliance, he was a man of bad character. The consequence was, that, the Ministry having

called on the Chambers to vote supplies before a regular budget was laid before them, they threw such obstacles in the way as amounted to a refusal, or at least was construed as such by the Government. The Chamber was immediately dissolved, and a proclamation issued to the effect that, in the mean time, and until further notice, taxes would be levied by the sole authority of the Elector. This excited such a ferment that a decree was

issued proclaiming martial law, and establishing a surveillance over the press. But the soldiers, as well as citizens, nearly all sympathized with the Liberals; the courts of law declared the proclamation of martial law illegal; an impeachment was preferred by the public prosecutor against M. Hassonpflug; and at last

the Elector and his Ministry were obliged to fly from Cassel, and take up their abode in Wilhelmsbad, a suburb of Hanau, from whence a decree against the courts of law and other functionaries was issued. On their side, the standing committee of the Cassel Assembly issued an address to the Elector, condemning in the strongest terms the conduct of the Ministry, "who are so many serpents in your bosom."

The German Diet, which was sitting at Frankfort at the time, resolved to support the Elector, and passed a decree directing him to be reinstated in his dominions, and pledging themselves to take all necessary steps for

that purpose; and the Austrian Cabinet gave orders to move troops to the southern frontier of Cassel to enforce the resolution of the Diet. On the other hand, the Prussian Government took part with the Cassel Chamber, and, deeming the decree of the Frankfort Diet and the measures of Austria an infringement of the rights of the "Bund" to which Cassel belonged, and of which Prussia was the head, rapidly advanced troops on the opposite side, and took military possession of all the roads leading from Prussia into Hesse-Cassel. The Austrian Government, hearing of this, advanced troops with the utmost expedition to support the other side, deeming the time arrived when the supremacy in Germany was to be decided by force of arms. Matters looked to the last degree threatening: fifty thousand Austrians and as many Prussians were speedily in presence of each other on or near the Cassel territory; the military enthusiasm, both at Berlin and Vienna, rose to the highest pitch; and, to all appearance, a war as terrible as that between Wallenstein and Gustavus Adolphus, or Daun and the King of Prussia, was to form the last act of the drama of German unity.¹

War, indeed, would undoubtedly have ensued had it not been for the intervention of that great power which had now become almost omnipotent in the east of Europe, and whose influence has as often been exerted to avert as to provoke hostilities in the adjoining states. Russia, flushed with confidence from the success of her intervention in Hungary in the preceding year, was no indifferent spectator of the approaching contest for supremacy in the great German Empire. Her Cabinet accordingly proposed a conference at Warsaw to settle the whole German question, and it was agreed to by both Austria and Prussia. The views of Russia in this intervention are fully developed in a treaty which was at the same time entered into at Bregentz between the Czar, the Emperor of Austria, and the Kings of Würtemberg and Bavaria. By this treaty the contracting parties mutually bound themselves to bring 200,000 men into the field to resist the demands of Prussia, and reinstate the Elector of Cassel in his dominions; and the Czar further agreed to move a large force into Galicia and Hungary, in order to insure the tranquillity of these provinces, and set free the Austrian armies for operations in Central Germany. In the conferences which were immediately opened at Warsaw, the demands of Prussia, which were supported by Count Brandenburg, were: the consent of Austria to free conferences for the remodeling of the German constitution; the admission of Prussia to an equal share with Austria in the future government of the Confederacy; the assent of Austria to a special commission, to meet at Hamburg or elsewhere, to settle the affairs of the Danish duchies. On the other hand, he offered to consent, on the part of Prussia, to postpone indefinitely any further meetings of the Erfurth Union; to consent that Austria should be ranked in the German Confederacy for her *whole dominions*, including Hungary and Lombardy, as well as her German provinces; and to exclude from the future Diet *all representation of the German people*. To these

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 552, 553, and 1850, 436-441; An. Reg. 1850, 312-319.

91. Dissension between Austria and Prussia regarding Hesse-Cassel.

Aug. 23.

Sept. 4.

Sept. 7.

Sept. 13.

Sept. 18.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1850, 420, 423; Ann. Reg. 1850, 319-322; Cayley, ii. 124, 126.

92. Powerful intervention of Russia.

Oct. 7.

terms, with the exception of that regarding the equal authority in the Confederacy, the Austrians, after some hesitation, agreed. The better to favor a reconciliation between the contending parties, the Emperor Nicholas suggested a compromise, which was, that the forces of Austria and Bavaria should enter Cassel to reinstate the Elector in his dominions, and enforce obedience to the decree of the Frankfort Diet; and the Prussian troops should retain possession of all the roads leading from thence into their widely-scattered dominions. These proposals induced a schism in the Cabinet of Berlin: Count Radowitz, supported by the King, the Prince of Prussia, and two of the ministers, declared for war and a total disregard of the Frankfort decree; while Count Brandenburg and Baron Von Manteuffel strongly supported a pacific policy and adoption of the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. The latter prevailed, and, in consequence, Count Radowitz resigned, to the great grief of the King, who wrote him a letter strongly expressing his regret and esteem;*

Nov. 5.

¹ An. Hist. 1850, 423, 424; Ann. Reg. 1850, 323, 324.

and the agitation consequent on the crisis proved fatal to Count Brandenburg, who died, after a short illness, three days after his return from the Warsaw conferences.¹

Meanwhile matters had been every day becoming

93.
The Olmutz Convention terminates the dispute.

Nov. 1.

Nov. 2.

ing more ominous, and had all but reached a collision in the field. The Austrian and Bavarian troops, on 1st November, marched into Hanau, situated in the electorate, and next day a large Prussian force occupied Cassel, where they were received with the loudest acclamations by the whole people. Hostilities, however, did not actually ensue, though they were on the very point of doing so; and happily, at this critical juncture, the retirement of Count Radowitz and the influence of Russia led to the ascendant of pacific counsels. A new conference was held at Olmutz, under the immediate auspices of the Emperor of Russia; and on the

Nov. 29. 29th November terms were agreed to

by the plenipotentiaries of Austria and Prussia, which averted the dire alternative of war. By this convention Prussia consented to the federal troops entering the territory of Cassel—the capital being occupied by a battalion of Austrians and another of Prussians. Commissioners were to be sent into Holstein to desire the insurgents to withdraw behind the Eider, and the Danes to occupy Schleswig with such a body of troops only as was necessary for the public tranquillity. A congress was to be held at Dresden to settle finally the affairs of Germany, and especially Holstein and Cassel. This congress was held accordingly, and opened with great solemnity on the 23d December, when Prince Schwartzemberg, on the part of Austria, and Baron Manteuffel

on that of Prussia, delivered speeches explaining the views of their respective Governments. “The incontestable advantages of the Confederation,” said the former, “are apparent from a review of the great blessings which Germany enjoyed under its protection, and of the present state of things, of which the development is owing to a time in which that protection could no longer be effectual and sufficient. That time, also, has become a lesson to us, and it has again served to warn us to make use of our dearly-bought experience. That experience has shown us the futility of all attempts to create an absolute novelty. It has shown that the foundations on which the Confederation rests are not only good and serviceable, but that they are the ones suitable for a fabric in which a community of states, such as Germany includes, can be expected to live in harmony and in a state of general prosperity. If we wish to avoid a return to those sad experiences, we ought to prove to the countries of Germany that their Governments do not want the will, the intelligence, and the energy to remove existing grievances, and to create things good, true, and stable.”¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1851, 273, 278, and 1850, 380-382; Ann. Hist. 1850, 424, 427.

When such sentiments were expressed by the representatives of the great powers, the work of pacification seemed already done. But great difficulties were experienced in getting all differences smoothed over with the lesser powers; and after sitting some months, it was judged, and wisely, that, without attempting to adjust all lesser points, the most advisable course was to adjourn the conferences *sine die*, and meanwhile to return to the whole arrangements as to mutual defense, and the quota of troops to be furnished by each State, which had been agreed to at the first confederation-treaty in 1815. This was accordingly done by a regular resolution on the 15th May; and the old Diet then met at Frankfort precisely as it had done before the Revolution broke out. Thus, after three years of incessant riot, confusion, and bloodshed in Germany, and the endurance of a vast amount of public damage and private suffering, things returned to their old state, with no other lasting advantage but a general conviction that the new and much-desired state was, under existing circumstances, impossible.²

94.
Final decision of the affairs of Germany at Dresden in 1851.

² Ann. Reg. 1851, 276, 277; Ann. Hist. 1851, 273-281.

To complete the picture of Central and Northern Germany during these eventful years, it only remains to notice the concluding events of the heroic contest which Denmark maintained, in defense of its just rights, against the encroachments of the Germanic Confederacy. The conditions of the armistice of Malmœ, already mentioned, which terminated the first act of that interesting drama, had been religiously observed by Denmark, which, as the weaker party, had no interest in violating them. But it was otherwise with the Germanic Confederacy, which, being impelled by the thirst for conquest and proselytism which is the invariable attendant on the extrication of the revolutionary passions, and in secret supported by England,

95.
Affairs of the Danish Duchies: renewal of hostilities.

* “You have only just left me, my dearest friend; but I seize my pen to send after you a word of grief, of confidence, and of hope. I have signed your dismissal from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, God knows, with a heavy heart; but, as a faithful friend, I have been forced to do so; and still more, I praised you before my assembled Council for the wish you expressed to retire from office. This tells the whole tale, and describes my position more clearly than volumes could do.”—KING OF PRUSSIA to COUNT RADOWITZ, Sans Souci, Nov. 5, 1850; Ann. Reg., 1850, p. 323.

which sympathized with the advances of democracy in every part of the world, made such encroachments by advancing troops close to Jutland, the last refuge of Denmark on the Continent, as rendered the resumption of hostilities on the part of its Government unavoidable.

They commenced on the night of the 8d April 8, 1849, April, when the Danish troops gained

some advantage at land, and succeeded in driving back the most advanced posts of the enemy; but this advantage was more than counterbalanced by a cruel catastrophe which at the same time befell the *Christian VIII.*, of seventy-four guns, and *Gefion* frigate, which, having imprudently advanced with two steamers too near the shore, in an attack on the batteries of Eckenfiorde, were unable to get back by a change of wind; and the former blew up, while the latter was taken, with six hundred and forty men and forty officers. Nowise discouraged by this disaster, the Danes labored night and day to repair it, and fit out new vessels to support their troops in this amphibious warfare. But ere long the superior strength of the German Confederation became apparent. The forces which the Germans brought into the field were nearly 100,000, of whom 5000 were cavalry, with 100 guns; while the Danes, at the very utmost, could only oppose to them 30,000, who had not the advantage of possessing any defensible military positions. The odds were too unequal. On the 20th April the Prussians invaded Jutland with 48 battalions, 48 guns, and 2000 horse; and the Danish generals, unable to make head against such a crusade, retired through the town of Kolding, which was fortified, and commanded an important bridge that was abandoned to the invaders. The Danes, however, returned, and after a bloody combat

dislodged the Prussians, but were 1849, 557, 558; finally obliged to evacuate it by the Cayley, ii. 58, fire of the German mortars, which reduced the town to ashes.¹

On the 8d May the Danes had their revenge, in the defeat of a large body of the Schleswig insurgents by a Danish corps near the fortress of Fredericia, with the loss of 340 men. A more important advantage was gained by them on the 6th July over the German corps of General Bonin, 18,000 strong, which was besieging Fredericia. It was simultaneously attacked from within by a sally from the garrison, and from without by a large Danish force under General Rye, which, unknown to the enemy, had been concentrated in the adjacent forest by means of their superiority at sea. Both attacks, which were made at one in the morning, met with entire success. The surprise was complete, and after two hours of a confused nocturnal combat the besiegers were routed at all points, driven from their intrenchments, and all their siege-artillery and equipage, with several of their field-guns, taken. While

General Rye's corps was gaining these successes, another Danish corps, under General Moltke, attacked and put to the rout 8000 Germans, to the south of the fortress; and ere long their centre was also forced, and the whole driven to retreat. The loss of the Germans in this disastrous affair was 96 officers and 3250 men killed and wounded, with their whole siege-artillery

and stores. These great advantages were dearly purchased by the Danes with the loss of General Rye, who had so ably planned the attack, and was slain early in the action. This brilliant victory was immediately followed by the retreat of the Germans from nearly the whole of Jutland. A convention was soon after concluded at Berlin, which established an armistice for six months, and provided for the entire evacuation of that province by the German forces. In the mean time, the disputed province of Schleswig was to be governed, in the name of the King of Denmark, by a commission composed of one person named by him, one by the King of Prussia, and an arbiter appointed by England. These terms were extremely favorable to the Danes, for the commission which governed the country during the former armistice had been entirely in the interest of the insurgents, and had arrayed all they could of the strength of the province against the Danish crown. But they could not array the whole, for the majority of the inhabitants were against them; and it was observed in these combats that none of the Danish troops evinced such animosity as those which had been drawn from the province of Schleswig. By a secret treaty signed at the same time with the public convention, it was provided that, in the event of the Schleswig-Holstein army declining to accept the armistice, the Danish Government was to be at liberty to employ all its forces against them, but not to call in the assistance of any foreign power; and that in that event the Prussian Government was to withdraw its forces, and leave the insurgents to their own resources.¹

Negotiations for a final treaty of peace now ensued, between plenipotentiaries

appointed on both sides; and the Treaty of July 97. King of Denmark said, in his address to the Chambers at Copenhagen, on January 10, 1850, "The

war is not ended, but it is interrupted, and I am in hopes this will lead to the desired result, if my deluded subjects are not misled by the encouragement of a great power." The Emperor of Russia warmly supported the demands of Denmark, by whom the conditions of the armistice were faithfully observed, and in an energetic note enumerated the many and serious breaches of it by the Schleswig insurgents and the Prussian Government, by whom, during its continuance, arms and ammunition had been secretly sent into the duchies. The terms of this note left little room for doubt that, in the event of Prussia continuing this insidious policy, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg would take a part in the conflict. Lord Palmerston, seeing matters becoming so serious, departed from his system of veiled support of the Schleswig insurrection, and proposed a conference in London to adjust the matters in dispute; but Austria and Prussia declined to accede to it, as derogatory to the dignity of the Germanic Confederacy. The negotiations between the belligerent powers accordingly went on at Berlin, and terminated July 2. on 2d July, in the conclusion of a treaty of peace between the King of Denmark on the one side, and the King of Prussia and Germanic Confederacy on the other. By this treaty all former ones between Denmark and the German

^{96.} Defeat of the Prussians near Fredericia; and renewal of the armistice, July 10.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 556-561: An. Reg. 1852, 298; Cayley, ii. 52.

Confederacy were renewed; their mutual rights were re-established on the footing on which they had been before the war; the King of Denmark was authorized to employ his own forces, and claim the support of those of the Confederacy, for re-establishing his authority in Holstein; and commissioners were to be appointed on each side to ascertain the boundaries of such parts of the Danish dominions as belonged to the German Confederacy. Within eleven days of the ratification of this treaty, the Prussian troops were to withdraw from Schleswig, and in eleven days more from Holstein. A protocol was, two days after the signature of this treaty, signed in London, by the plenipotentiaries who were parties to the conference there, which provided for the maintenance of the possessions of the Crown

of Denmark in their entire integrity, and

that the question of the succession to the

Crown should be settled with the same view.

Austria acceded some time after to this protocol, but Prussia never did so. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty, the King of Denmark issued a proclamation to the inhabitants of Schles-

wig, guaranteeing to the Germans settled there

the same privileges as were enjoyed

by the Danes, and renouncing all

idea of incorporating the duchy with

the kingdom of Denmark.

To all appearance the war was now ended,

and on terms highly honorable to

the Danes. In truth, it would have

been terminated at this period, had

it not been for the discreditable

breach of faith on the part of Prus-

sia, which, chagrined at the untoward result of

the battle of Fredericia, sought to continue the

contest, not openly with its own forces, but se-

cretely, by encouraging the insurgents to perse-

vere. A diplomatic agent from the insurgents

was tolerated at Berlin; furloughs were openly

given at Hamburg to the troops of the Confed-

eracy to enter their service in Holstein; an of-

fice for enrolling recruits for them was publicly

opened at Berlin; finally, General Willisen, who

commanded the insurgent army, was a Prussian,

and half its officers were of German origin. In

these circumstances the armistice turned entire-

ly to the advantage of the insurgents, whose

army was daily increasing in efficiency. The

King of Denmark, therefore, who knew he could

rely on the countenance of Russia, wisely re-

solved to recommence hostilities, and

they began on the 15th July. The in-

surgent army, thirty-two thousand strong, then

occupied Idstedt and Wedelspang, on which

two points their whole army was concentrated.

The Danish general, on the other hand, occu-

pied Flensburg on the 17th, a few miles

distant, with twenty-eight thousand men

—veterans, inured to war, having confidence in

their officers as their officers had in them, and

animated with the very highest military and pa-

The attack of the Danes was postponed till

the 25th, in order to give time for their

right wing, which was intended to Battle-field

turn the enemy's left, to make a cir- of Idstedt.

cuit through bogs and marshes, which required

to be passed before it could be reached; but in

the mean time the measures of General Von

Kragh, the Danish commander, were made with

great ability. The position of the insurgents

was very strong, their troops being arranged in

the form of a semicircle, supported by redoubts,

with its convex side in front of the town of Id-

stedt, its right resting on the Eckenfiorde and

the ground between it and Schleswig, and its

left on the marshes, generally impassable, which

adjoined the River Trane. The battle-field

was a wild moor, covered with tumuli, and al-

ready celebrated in Danish story, for it was

there that the Emperor Otto had defeated Har-

old Blue-Tooth, grandfather to Canute the

Great, and forced him to sue for peace, and be

baptized by Bishop Boppo. It was here again,

after the lapse of a thousand years, that the

German and Scandinavian races met in hostile array, and engaged in

mortal combat on the graves of their

fathers.

At three in the morning of the 25th the whole

Danish columns were in motion, and

ready for the attack; but it was delay-

ed for some hours in consequence of a

thick fog which overspread the plain,

and prevented the movements on the flanks from

being seen. At length, at half-past ten, the

sound of the cannonade on the flanks was

heard, and the main body of the army advanced

to attack the enemy's centre. It was strongly

fortified with redoubts, and the approach to them

was through a narrow defile between the Arn-

holzsee and the Langsee. The fire here was ex-

remely warm; the Danish troops, notwithstand-

ing the utmost efforts, were unable to force the

intrenchments, and they sustained a very severe

loss in an ambuscade skillfully laid for them in

the village of Oberstolcke. The Germans had

strongly occupied the houses with musketeers,

who were kept concealed till three or four bat-

talions were passed, when they suddenly showed

themselves at the windows and on the roofs, and

opened a most destructive fire on those who fol-

lowed. Several staff officers, who rode back to

ascertain the cause of the tumult in the rear,

were slain on the spot, and the whole column

thrown into disorder. Seeing this, the Danish

general ordered a feigned retreat, and drew back

his forces nearly a league from the position they

had attained, stationing at the same time a large

body of infantry and cavalry in a masked posi-

tion behind the village, the scene of such slaugh-

ter. A thousand of the enemy, who had been

placed in the ambuscade, were slain on this oc-

casione; but the Danish army, with the excep-

tion of those placed in ambuscade, were in full

retreat.

The Germans, deceived by this retrograde

movement, and deeming the battle

gained, issued in haste and somewhat

disorderly array from their intrench-

ments, and commenced the pursuit. Von Kragh

allowed them to advance till they had passed the

defile and debouched on the plains beyond, and

then suddenly halted his troops and faced about,

1 Ann. Hist.

1850, 447, 448;

An. Reg. 1850,

299, 801.

98.

Renewal of

the war by the

bad faith of

the Prussians.

100.

Battle of

Idstedt.

July 25.

101.

Victory of

the Danes.

while those behind the village, in great strength, and with a large force in artillery and cavalry, attacked them in flank and rear. The superior discipline and warlike experience of the royal army now prevailed over the more desultory efforts of the insurgents; the left wing of the Germans was cut off from the centre, driven back, the line of the Trune forced, and their left entirely uncovered; while on their right the Danish troops were making rapid progress, and the sound of their artillery was heard in the direct rear on that side of the German position. Threatened in this manner on both flanks at once, Willisen could no longer maintain his ground in the centre, where the redoubts were still held, and vomited forth a tremendous fire. They were abandoned accordingly; the defile, the theatre of so bloody a conflict in the earlier part of the day, was passed at a run and with very little loss; the whole redoubts in front of Idstedt and Wedelspang were stormed, and the German army, in deep dejection but good order, retreated to Rendsburg, on the Eider, abandoning to the victors the whole territory of Schleswig. The town of the same name was occupied by the Danish general at five in the evening, and head-

quarters were established there at midnight. It was not the least gratifying circumstance to the Danes, that in the harbor of Eckenflorde, which fell into their hands during this advance, they regained the frigate *Gefion*, which had fallen into the enemy's hands in the preceding year.¹

This battle, which General Willisen in his official dispatch characterized as "the hardest fought of the age," was at the same time one of the most bloody. The loss on both sides amounted to nearly 8000 men, or about one in eight of the troops engaged; a prodigious slaughter, unexampled in European war since the battle of Waterloo. Of these, nearly 3000, including 85 officers, were killed or wounded on the side of the Danes, and 5000 on that of the insurgents, whose loss in officers was peculiarly severe. Two thousand wounded Germans fell into the hands of the victors in the town of Schleswig, besides those who were carried off or abandoned on the field. The Danes immediately took possession of the whole disputed territory of Schleswig, proclaimed martial law, and commenced in good earnest the reorganization of their Government. The insurgents, meanwhile, retired into Holstein, where they made the utmost efforts to recruit their army. But though the press was loud in their support, and represented the duchy as animated with the utmost enthusiasm, the fire was burned out; only seven hundred recruits came forward to repair the losses which had been sustained, and they were got only by a forced conscription, and bounty of ten dollars a man. Having at length reorganized his army, Willisen, on the 12th September, moved forward to attack Frederickstadt, a fortified town, situated at the junction of the Trune and the Eider, surrounded by canals and marshes, and garrisoned by nine weak companies, with seven guns. In the course of his advance Willisen attacked Eckenflorde on the 13th, and after having become master of it, he was driven out by the fire

of the Danish gun-boats, which destroyed great part of the town. He next endeavored to force the formidable position of Danewirke, which covered the town of Schleswig, but it proved impregnable. Finding his advance barred in every quarter, the German general sat down before Frederickstadt, which was bombarded without intermission from the 30th September till the 5th October, with no other result but the destruction of a large part of the town and a great number of the inhabitants. Twelve hundred men were lost by the invader in this abortive expedition. Having failed in this *coup-de-main*, the Germans retreated into Holstein, and Schleswig finally remained to the King of Denmark. This was the last flicker of that terrible flame which, two years and a half before, had burst forth with such violence in every part of Germany, and threatened at one time to involve the whole world in conflagration.¹

The King of Denmark made a noble use of his victory. Though military law was proclaimed in Schleswig, no trials by military tribunals took place, and no executions sullied his triumph. One of the most terrible rebellions recorded in modern times was extinguished without one drop of blood shed on the scaffold. The severest punishment inflicted on the insurgent leaders was banishment for a limited number of years from Denmark; and even this was softened by permission to the persons sentenced to sell their effects and take the proceeds with them to the place of their retreat. The final pacification of the duchies was virtually effected at the Olmütz conference. Prussia was in consequence obliged to withdraw the underhand and insidious support which she had so long given to the insurgents, and the decision of the sovereigns and Diet having been communicated to the insurgents, they laid down their arms, and the Danish authorities re-entered without opposition into possession of the whole dominions of the Danish crown.*

Prince Leiningen, one of the ablest ministers of the Archduke John, and one of the most eloquent of the Liberal chiefs of Germany, published a memorial toward the end of the year, in which he admitted the total failure of the movement in favor of German liberty, and confesses that its only result had been, instead of one constitutional emperor, to give them two military despots. He ascribes this failure not to any external hostility or class resistance, but simply and exclusively to the inability of the German people to govern themselves. He confesses that the German people were unworthy of the freedom that they sought for; that the vision of unity was seen only by a comparatively few of the *illuminati*—

* The comparative value of Denmark proper, Schleswig, and Holstein, is shown by the budget, 1st April, 1858, to 1st April, 1859, just published, viz.:

	Income. Rix-dollars.	Expenditure. Rix-dollars.
Denmark proper.....	6,043,800	5,518,247
Schleswig.....	1,863,067	1,341,297
Holstein.....	1,834,762	1,752,396
Total.....	9,741,629	8,612,540

102.
Results of the
victory to the
Danes, and
conclusion of
the war.

October 5.
¹ Ann. Hist.
1850, 452, 454;
Cayley, ii. 68-
71; Ann. Reg.
1850, 304-306.

103.
Final settle-
ment of the
Danish
question.

Oct. 30.

104.
Reflections on
the failure of
the movement
for German
liberty.

kings, professors, and students—but that the bulk of the nation was indifferent to their projects, and sought only after the repose which they had disturbed. Making every allowance for the ulcerated feelings of one of the chief apostles of German freedom and unity, it is impossible to deny that there is much truth in these observations. But without settling in the melancholy belief that the Teutonic race, pre-eminent above all others for their love of freedom, is incapable of bearing its excitements, and is doomed to drag on a weary existence through ages of servitude, it is more consonant, both to political justice and the real merits of that noble race of men, to say that the movement failed, not because the Germans were unworthy of liberty, but because they were misled in the effort to attain it. They thought they could alter the character of men by merely changing their institutions; and they did this in so violent a way as necessarily rendered the whole effort abortive. They gave to a people wholly unaccustomed to the exercise of political rights universal suffrage; they conferred unlimited powers on their representatives; and, departing altogether from the old European principle of the representation of classes, they founded government every where on that of numbers. The consequence was, that the passion for liberty generally ran into that for license; the generous feelings were supplanted by the selfish in nearly all the leaders; and such crimes were “committed in the name of liberty,” in Madame Roland’s words, as detached every right-thinking man from its side.

Such was the extravagance of the measures pursued, and the magnitude of the crimes committed, in the course of this frantic and headlong chase, that the cause of freedom would have been really lost, and probably forever, in Germany, had it not been for a very singular circumstance, springing from the inherent probity and good faith of the nation, and which honorably distinguishes their revolution from those of France. The army, generally speaking, was faithful; it was their fidelity and adherence to duty which extricated the German people from their greatest dangers. It was that which terminated the anarchy of Frankfort, restored lawful authority in Prague and Vienna, saved Austria in Italy, and crushed the hydra of revolution in Berlin and Baden. But for it the Assemblies of Germany, elected by universal suffrage, would have torn society in pieces, as they had done in France; and the Fatherland, instead of advancing steadily and securely in the paths of self-control and real freedom, would have been lured by the fallacious light of democracy into the depths, first of democratic, and then of imperial despotism. Freedom, at least in the popular

sense of the word, is not as yet established in Germany, for the people have little direct share in the management of affairs; but the foundations of it have been safely laid, because this was done without the destruction of any of the classes of society. Freedom has been permanently destroyed in France, because in its first excesses all classes between the throne and the peasant were ruined. Amidst the acclamations of the multitude and universal enthusiasm, the revolt of the French Guards in May, 1789, occasioned the overthrow, first of the throne, next of the tribune, and, in the end, of any thing like freedom in the land. Amidst universal maledictions and the execrations of the whole Liberals of Europe, the fidelity of the Prussian troops preserved the fabric of society in Northern Germany, and opened the gates, without destroying the bulwarks, of Teutonic liberty.

But the fidelity of the soldiers could only present a temporary barrier against the inroads of democracy, and curb or punish its first excesses. It is in the Prussian political institutions, founded on wisdom, and adapted to necessities, that in an age of advancing intelligence the only lasting security against these, the most formidable enemies of real freedom, is to be found. This barrier was erected by Count Brandenburg’s Administration, when they changed the principle of representation in Prussia, without disfranchising a human being, from *the election by head to the election by classes*, and with that modification left every man a vote for the representation in the National Assembly. The adoption of the principle which Mr. Burke long ago described as the true and only safe foundation for popular representation,¹ at once established a barrier against democratic despotism in Prussia, and to the security which it afforded the

subsequent internal peace and general prosperity which that country has enjoyed is mainly to be ascribed. It is a curious circumstance, illustrating the almost superhuman wisdom of the ancient conquerors of the world, and the slow progress of political knowledge in the great body of mankind, that the remedy against the dangers of democracy, which reflection only revealed to the greatest political philosophers of modern times in the close of the eighteenth century, and experience taught the most generally educated nation of Europe in the middle of the nineteenth, had been established in the very earliest days of the Roman Republic; and that in their “Centuries” has been left to the imitation of all future times an institution which secures for freedom all its blessings, and takes from democracy the worst of its dangers.

105.
Great effects
of the loyalty
of the army.

106.
Great effect of
the Prussian
representation
of classes.
¹ Appeal from
Old to New
Whigs,
Works, vi.
828.

CHAPTER LIV.

AUSTRIA FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE INSURRECTION IN MARCH, 1848, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN WAR.

THE intelligence of the Revolution in Paris reached Vienna on the 1st March, and the sensation produced in all classes by that stupendous event was immense. In the court and aristocratic circles the prevailing feeling was one of consternation, and almost despair; in the literary and artistic society, of boundless enthusiasm; in the bourgeois, of satisfaction and hope. The throne of Charles, defended by a mere handful of heroes, had not fallen till after three days' severe fighting with fifty thousand insurgents: that of Louis Philippe had succumbed, almost without resistance, before a trifling band of desperadoes, though guarded by sixty thousand soldiers. There was enough here to appall the most courageous on the one side; to encourage, on the other, the most timid. The chiefs of the secret societies, which there, as elsewhere, existed in great numbers, hidden in the obscurity of a large metropolis, instantly put themselves in motion; and the general fervor enabled them to work upon public opinion with almost instantaneous effect. Swift as the electric telegraph, the exciting news flew from city to city, from burgh to burgh, from village to village. The intelligence received from Italy and Northern and Central Germany soon heightened the excitement produced by the catastrophe in Paris; and it was next to impossible for Vienna to remain tranquil when Milan had chased the Imperial eagles from its streets, and Dresden, Berlin, Stuttgart, Baden, and Munich, were in a state of approaching or open insurrection.¹

The movement in the Imperial city began on the 6th March, in one of the meetings of the Industrial Association, which, undismayed by the presence of the Archduke Charles and Count Kollowrath, voted *unanimously* an address to the Emperor, in which they set forth in the strongest terms the shock given to credit, the stagnation of industry, and the danger of any longer continuance of such a state of things, aggravated so seriously as it recently had been by the important intelligence from Western Europe. In their simplicity, the Liberals of Vienna thought that a revolution was the only remedy. For several days after, the excitement went on increasing, and at length reached such a height as to be altogether unbearable without a channel for its expansion. This channel was found in a petition drawn up by the professors of the University of Vienna, and signed by all the students, and a great proportion of the householders in the metropolis, which, after setting forth in general terms the necessity which existed for an "immediate advance in the path of progress tempered by wisdom," especially in consequence of the events which had recently convulsed soci-

ety in the West, went on specifically to demand the immediate publication of the budget; the periodical convocation of the representative bodies, comprehending all classes and interests, and invested with the right to vote and control the supplies; freedom to the press, publicity in criminal proceedings, the erection of municipal and communal laws, and the representation, in the provincial assemblies, of the agricultural, commercial, industrial, and scientific interests. It was not presented to the Emperor, but was addressed to the Provisional Estates of Lower Austria, the meeting of which stood fixed for the 18th March.¹

To the inhabitants of a free country there appears little objectionable in these demands; but they became eminently perilous from the manner in which they were urged upon the Government. It was soon apparent that their acceptance was to be won, not by solicitation or representation, but force. On the day appointed, when the Estates met, the students of the university, who, with the professors, had erected themselves, two days before, into a deliberative body, forced their way into the hall of the representatives, and concussed the members into the adoption of a petition to the Emperor, containing the usual demands of the Liberal party. Having got what they desired, they proceeded, followed by an immense mob in the highest state of excitement, and singing revolutionary songs, to the Imperial palace, where they were coldly received by the Archduke Louis and Count Kollowrath, who refused them admittance to the Emperor. Upon this they retired for the evening, but it was only after fixing a point of rendezvous for the day following, when they returned in greater strength, and still greater determination in their hearts. In the crowd which followed the professors and students were to be seen those strange visages, uncouth figures, and savage expressions, which presage the moral convulsions of the world. The universal cry was for the liberty of the press, religious liberty, universal education, a general arming of the people, a constitution, and the unity of Germany. "Long live free and independent Germany!" "Long live the Italians in arms!" "Long live the Magyars!" "Long live the patriots of Prague!" Such were the cries which rose from the crowd, and were no sooner heard than they were frantically cheered. Count Montecuculli, recently appointed to the office of minister of state, to regulate the internal affairs of the Empire, appeared at a window when these petitioners made their appearance, and endeavored to appease the tumult by proposing that the students should send twelve deputies to support the petition of the Estates. They immediately did so, and the

1. Reception of the news from Paris in Vienna.

¹ Balleyd. l. Révolution d'Autriche, 1. 12, 17.

2. Serious excitement in Vienna.

¹ Balleyd. l. 17, 19; Ann. Hist. 1843, 389; Ann. Reg. 1848.

a. Tumult of March 12.

March 11.

March 12.

twelve juvenile deputies were introduced. Before they had time, however, to commence the statement of their demands, a young man, with an inflamed visage and sparkling eyes, rushed into the court holding aloft a paper, and calling out, "The speech of Kossuth!" A thousand voices immediately exclaimed, "The speech of Kossuth! Read! read!" He began to read, accordingly, an inflammatory address delivered on the 3d March to the Assembly at Pesth; and at one phrase in it—"I know that it is as difficult for an antiquated policy as for an old man to detach himself from the idea of a long life"—the applause was such that he was obliged to read it thrice over, followed on every occasion by frenzied applause; and the words "Metternich! Metternich!" resounded from thousands of lips.¹

It was now evident that, unless the Estates made an immediate effort to assert their authority, the lead of the movement would slip from their hands, and fall into those of the students and mob of Vienna. The tumult, however, was so violent, that all considerations of prudence and reason were swept away before it. An outrageous mob moved to the palace of the minister-in-chief, Prince Metternich, which they immediately broke into and sacked from top to bottom. His friends and servants in vain endeavored to persuade the veteran Metternich to close his doors against the intruders. "They will say that I was afraid," said the brave old man, and he let them in. Meanwhile, the body which had taken the direction of the palace arrived in front of that edifice, and some companies of troops came up on the other side to defend it. Stones and other missiles were thrown at the military, who were received with storms of hisses, and an officer was wounded. Orders were now given to fire, and the troops afterward charged with the bayonet, by which five persons were killed. The mob upon this dispersed, but it was only to scatter themselves over the city, and prepare every where a strenuous resistance. Gunsmiths' shops were broken into, arms began to be seen in the hands of the insurgents, and a house building in the square of Hof furnished an ample store of missiles with which to assault the arsenal of the city guard, the next object of attack. Several charges of cavalry took place, and blood began to flow. In this alarming state of affairs a deputation of the officers of the civic guard repaired to the palace to explain the case to the Emperor Ferdinand I.; but his agitation was such that he could not receive them. They were admitted, however, to the Archduke Louis; but all their entreaties, joined to those of the deputation of the Estates, could not prevail on the Government to act decidedly against the insurgents. Encouraged by this weakness, the insurrection spread with terrible rapidity, and soon assumed the most alarming proportions. Deputation after deputation, from the students, the citizens, and the magistrates, succeeded each other at the palace with stunning rapidity, and few departed without obtaining the promise of some concession, the announcement of which, instead of quieting the mob, only excited them the more, and prompted others to press forward with still more dangerous demands. Important

concessions were already preparing, when the rector of the University Magnifique threw himself at the feet of the Archduke Louis, and, with tears in his eyes, extorted from him the promise that the students should be armed from the public arsenals at eight o'clock on the following morning. This was capitulating for the monarchy. The students were two thousand in number, sons of the most respectable citizens of Vienna, and the leaders of the insurrection.¹

The utmost agitation prevailed at the palace, when Prince Metternich arrived from the office of the chancery. He was received with groans and hisses from the mob, but succeeded in getting in without sustaining actual violence.

Silence was at length restored, and, rising with inexpressible dignity, he said: "The object of my entire life is summed up in one word—devotion. I declare in this solemn moment before God, to whom my heart is open, before you who hear me, that in the course of my long career I have never had a thought but for the safety of the monarchy. If it is now thought that my presence at the head of affairs is inconsistent with that safety, I am ready to retire. In that case my retreat will not be a sacrifice, and from afar as near I shall never have a thought but for the happiness of my country." Then addressing the Archduke Louis, he said: "My lord, I resign my situation into your hands as into those of the Emperor; from this moment I re-enter private life. Gentlemen, I foresee that the report will speedily be spread, that in retiring from the ministry I have carried with me the monarchy. I protest solemnly and beforehand against such an assertion. No one in the world, more than myself, has shoulders broad enough to bear away a State. *If emperors disappear, it is never till they have come to despair of themselves.*" He then withdrew as a private individual into the circle, and conversed on the events of the day as if he had been a stranger to them, examining their character and foretelling their consequences with a sagacity which became prophetic.²

All was accomplished by the retreat of the prime minister. He soon after had an interview with the Emperor, when he said: "Sire, your Majesty has but one of two parts to take in resolving the problem which the revolt has now submitted to your determination—concession or resistance. Concession in presence of an insurrection is revolution; resistance is a struggle. If your Majesty decides for concession, my conscience imposes on me the duty of laying at your Majesty's feet my resignation. If you should decide for resistance, I am ready to follow you on a ground where success is now certain. In either case I shall esteem myself fortunate to have an opportunity of giving to the monarchy the last proof of my devotion, by sacrificing myself for it." At the mention of resistance, the monarch, who was destitute of firmness, turned pale, as if he had seen a spectre. His expression and silence sufficiently proved that between concession and resistance his mind was made up. Metternich saw that it was all over, and, respectfully bowing, took his

¹ Sacking of Prince Metternich's hotel, and tumult in the palace.

¹ Balleydier, i. 50, 55; An. Hist. 1848, 889; An. Reg. 1848, 404.

² Speech and resignation of Metternich.

² Balleydier, i. 56, 57; An. Hist. 1848, 890.

³ His final conversation with the Emperor, and formation of a new Ministry.

leave. He set out on the following day with the Princess Metternich for Feldsberg, the magnificent residence of the Prince of Lichtenstein. The public indignation, however, was so violent that he was obliged to leave it, and he set out with her for Dresden. The dangers which thickened around him, however, were such that they were obliged to go on under feigned names, and in perpetual danger of their lives, clandestinely to Brunswick, Hanover, Minden, and Arnheim. At the last place he heard that a price had been put on his head, and five hundred ducats offered to whoever should produce it. He escaped all his dangers notwithstanding, and reached London in safety. An entire change immediately took place in the ministry at Vienna. M. Sindintzka, the chief of police, retired with Metternich; and the Counts Kollowrath and Montecuculli were charged with the formation of a new ministry formed on the most liberal principles. At the same time a decree was issued ordering the formation of a burgher guard in Vienna, the abolition of all restrictions on the press, and the convocation of the Estates in all the provinces of the monarchy. The revolution was complete and universal. A convulsion which brought Austria to the brink of ruin, all but swept it from the book of nations, and reduced it to the humiliation of invoking the perilous intervention of a foreign power, had been completed by two thousand students, headed by the most learned men in the State!—a memorable proof of the

¹ Balleyd. l. 57, 62, 79; Ann. Hist. 1848, 389, 390; Cayley, fl. 143, 144. difference between literary and philosophical ability, and the practical acquaintance with affairs and the disposition of men, which qualifies for the direction of mankind.¹

The concessions made by the Emperor, great as they were, and even the departure of their chief enemy, Metternich, were far from appeasing the revolutionists at Vienna. Deputation after deputation succeeded each other at the palace, all professing the utmost loyalty to the Emperor, but none departing without having more or less enlarged the breach in the bulwarks of the Empire. The abolition of the censorship of the press, which was at once conceded, was not enough; they insisted on its absolute and unqualified liberty, which was also granted. The workmen called out for a reduction in the price of all that was eat or drunk, and an immediate abolition of all duties on articles of consumption. Suiting the action to the word, they proceeded to break into and level with the ground the whole buildings round the capital, where the *octroi* were collected. Their contents were distributed among the assailants. The students, who had received arms that very morning on the promise that they would preserve the public peace, and had been organized in battalions with surprising rapidity, made no attempt to arrest these disorders. They concentrated all their efforts for the formation of a constitution which might unite every thing they desired. So completely did they carry the sympathies of the citizens with them in their demands, that the bankers, Seria and Rothschild, sent considerable sums to these juvenile revolutionists to enable them to complete their equipments. Pressed thus on all sides, the Emperor issued a proclamation, announcing

an assembly of all the *Estates* of his kingdom at Vienna before the 30th July, and another on the day following, recommending abstinence from all insults to the military. To appease the public mind, and convince the people he had not fled from his capital, the Emperor next day drove through the principal streets of Vienna in an open calèche, and was received with loud acclamations.¹

While these decisive events were passing in the metropolis, troubles of a still graver sort, and of more sinister augury, had broken out in Hungary and Bohemia. The intelligence from Paris was received at Presburg when the Diet of that kingdom was sitting; and the first use which Kossuth and the leaders of the Hungarian Liberals made of the intelligence was to suspend their ordinary labors to discuss an address to the Emperor as King of Hungary, praying him to take measures suited to the gravity of existing circumstances. It was the reading of his speech on this occasion, and of the address itself, which produced so decisive an effect, as already recounted, at Vienna on the 13th March. The address passed by a large majority, and it was ordered to be presented by the Archduke Stephen, the regent of the kingdom. At the same time troubles broke out in Bohemia, and Prague became the centre of an agitation as exclusively national as Pesth had become. As the object of the Hungarians was to obtain a separation of the kingdom of Hungary from the Austrian monarchy, so the object of the agitation in Bohemia was to effect a similar separation of Bohemia, Silesia, and Moravia, and their erection into a distinct monarchy, governed by its own laws, Legislature, and municipal institutions, and united with Austria only by the link of a common sovereign. Both the Hungarian and Bohemian petitions demanded, in addition, an enlargement of the base of the national representation, the election of municipal officers by the people, liberty of the press, publicity of criminal proceedings; the suppression of feudal rights, *corvées*, and exclusive privileges; security of personal freedom, the general arming of the people, and military service obligatory alike on all. Thus, while Central and Northern Germany were passionately striving for the unity of the Fatherland, the Austrian Empire was distracted with passions which threatened to break it up into separate states, of which Austria proper would be the most inconsiderable, and the hostility of races was bursting forth with unprecedented fury in all the eastern provinces of the confederacy.²

Two days after, the revolution of 13th March broke out at Vienna, and a deputation of a hundred and fifty persons from the Hungarian Diet at Presburg made their appearance in the capital, headed by Kossuth. Their demands were—the nomination of a ministry purely Hungarian, responsible to the Hungarian Diet alone for their actions; a new representation of the entire population, without distinction of rank or birth; the organization of a national guard through the whole kingdom; the translation of the seat of the Diet from Presburg to Pesth; and the concession of similar liberties to

July 15.

¹ Balleyd. l. 79, 82.

8.

Commencement of trouble in Hungary and Bohemia.

March 8.

² Ann. Hist. 1843, 402, 408; Balleydier, l. 25, 26.

9.

Demands of Kossuth and the Hungarians.

all the other countries of the Empire, to which the petitioners declared their firm desire to remain united. Kossuth and the Count Bathiany, a Hungarian noble of high rank and ardent patriotic feelings, were at the head of this deputation: the Archduke Stephen, the Regent of Hungary, had preceded their arrival by a few days. The deputation received the most flattering reception; an immense crowd filled the streets, which resounded with cries of "Vivat Kossuth! Vivat Bathiany!" the Hungarian arms floated in the air, and universal transports prevailed. The influence of these petitioners, whom the Government, in their present state of weakness, had no means of resisting, speedily appeared in the appointment of the Archduke Stephen

as Viceroy of Hungary, assisted by a council composed wholly of Hungarians, presided over by Count Bathiany. This was accompanied by a constitution, framed on such Liberal principles that it abolished at one blow the whole privileges of the nobility, and distinction between them and the peasants, and declared all equal in the eye of the law. These principles

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 401, 402; were to be the bases of the new constitution, and they were such as, carried into effect, amounted to a total social and national revolution.¹

The announcement of these as the principles of the future Hungarian constitution was soon after followed by a similar concession to the Bohemian States. On the 8th April a decree, framed by the new popular ministry, appeared, which was of so sweeping a character that it left nothing to be desired by the most ardent lovers of Slavonic freedom. The Emperor by it accorded the whole demands of the Bohemian patriots. The young prince, Francis Joseph, son of the Archduke Charles, and the heir-presumptive of the monarchy, was declared Viceroy. Bohemia, with Austria, Silesia, and Moravia, were erected again into a separate monarchy, as before their incorporation with the Austrian Empire; all persons holding office were to be Slavonians, or "*Tchecks*," as they are there called, and capable of speaking both that language and German. In addition to this, judicial proceedings were all to be public; a separate and responsible "Chancery" or Government was to be established at Prague; the National Assembly was to sit alternately at Prague, and Brunn, in Moravia; national guards were to be established, feudal rights and privileges abolished, religious and civil equality introduced. The Legislature was to consist of a House of Magnates, and one of popular deputies, chosen by universal suffrage.²

Not content with these concessions, the leaders of the Slavonic movement convoked a meeting of the whole Slaves of the Austrian Empire, to meet at Prague on the 31st May, to consider what measures were necessary to secure the interests of the Slave race in the general revolving of nations into empires according to their race, which was going forward. The resolution they came to bore—"The people of Europe are coming to a common understanding. The Germans are meeting in an Assembly at Frankfort, which will take from the Austrian

Empire as much as is necessary to complete German nationality. Thus the Austrian Empire will be incorporated with Germany, and with it will be united the non-German provinces of that empire. In such a crisis the independence of the Slavonic races, united to Austria, runs the greatest possible risk of being destroyed. The most sacred right of man is to preserve his independence; the time has now arrived when we too, the Slaves, are called upon to take steps to act in common and assert our rights." This address to the Slaves did not long remain a dead letter. The Congress opened on the 2d June, and sat only till the 12th of that month; but in that short time enough was done to show that the deputies assumed rights and put forward pretensions inconsistent not merely with the existence of the Austrian Empire, but of every empire whatever in which the Slave race existed, which was not based on their exclusive domination. Great unanimity prevailed in the Assembly. A provisional government was established at Prague, which published an address to all Europe, in which they declared their determination to obtain full justice for the Slavonic race, and oblige the whole of the east of Europe to make reparation for the wrongs they had inflicted on it. It was a remarkable circumstance that all the debates in the Slave Assembly were conducted, and their addresses published, in the *German language*, the only one which was intelligible to all—an ominous circumstance to their cause, and an insurmountable difficulty in the way of the construction of a united Slavonic Empire.¹

The Austrian Government now saw that it was high time to act, and that any farther dalliance with the Slave Congress would end in the dissolution of the monarchy. They accordingly issued a decree, declaring the provisional government of Prague a usurpation, and dissolving the congress. Upon this the excitement at Prague became extreme, and the exasperation of the people was such that they could not refrain from insulting Prince Windischgratz, the governor of the town, to his face. The pretext was, his refusal to give them the arms which he well knew they would immediately turn against him. The Princess Windischgratz having appeared at the window to look at the crowd in the street, which had not yet proceeded to any act of violence, was shot dead by an assassin concealed behind a high bow-window. She belonged to a doomed race; she was the daughter of the Princess Schwartzenberg, who, to save her children, rushed into the flames and perished at Paris in 1809. Shortly after, one of the sons of the princess was mortally wounded on the stair. Upon those catastrophes the prince, without ordering the troops, drawn up in front of the building, to fire, went down, and, calmly addressing the insurgents, said: "Gentlemen, if you wish to insult me because I am a nobleman, you may do so; go to the front of the palace, and you shall not be disturbed; I will even give you a guard to protect you from injury. But if you wish to insult me because I am Commandant of Prague, I give you fair warning that I will not permit it; I shall resist it with all the means in my power."

¹ An. Hist. 1848, 418; Cayley, II. 146; Balleydier, II. 24, 26.

² An. Hist. 1848, 418; Cayley, II. 146; Balleydier, II. 24, 26.

My wife has just been killed; do not drive me into acts of rigor." So little were the mob impressed with this magnanimous conduct, that they rushed forward, and, seizing him, dragged

the prince toward a lamp-post, intending to hang him on the spot. Some soldiers happily came up at the moment, and extricated the prince from the hands of the assassins.¹

The combat now commenced, and so completely were the insurgents organized and prepared for action, that bloody fights in barricades were run up in all parts of the town, guarded by formidable masses of armed men. Prince Windischgratz acted with equal humanity and military skill.

Abandoning those parts of the city which he could not hold without severe bloodshed, he withdrew to the heights which command it, and, after arranging his great mortars in the most favorable position, he allowed the rebels twenty-four hours themselves to level the barricades, intimating, at the same time, that if this was not done he would, at the expiry of that time, commence the bombardment. The time elapsed without any submission being made, and, after repeatedly prolonging it, Windischgratz at length reluctantly gave orders for the fire to be commenced. The insurgents fought with the courage of despair, and all the energy which is inherent in the Slavonic race; but nothing could withstand the

superiority of the Austrian guns. After eight-and-forty hours' bombardment, the mills of the Moldau, the strongest intrenched position of the insurgents, were consumed; and

at length they became sensible that the defense could no longer be maintained, and surrendered at discretion. By the night of the 17th the barricades were all abandoned, and the Slavonic Assembly dissolved.²

Although the Slavonic revolution was in reality extinguished by this act of vigor, yet the remains of it still lingered in the Bohemian provinces. The insurrection in Prague was represented as a victory, and immense efforts were every where made to rouse the

rural population to fly to the defense of their endangered brethren there. Large bodies of men were roused by these means, and marched, with banners and military music at their head, toward Prague, where they learned the real state of affairs, and returned mournful and downcast to their homes. Several weeks, however, elapsed before the agitation subsided, and enough transpired during that time to demonstrate how widespread had been the ramifications of the insurrection, and how vast the designs of the leaders for the establishment of a great empire, built up out of the fragments of the adjoining monarchies. This plan was to form a great Slave empire, embracing Croatia, Slavonia, Servia, Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, Livonia, and Galicia. The insurrection was to have broken out simultaneously in Agram, Prague, Cracow, and Presburg. Secret societies were established in all the Slavonic provinces, embracing a large portion of the inhabitants, and taking their orders from the ruling bodies in these four great towns. The design was to have moved the whole Sla-

vonie race at once. The events in Western Europe precipitated the insurrection before the intended time, and thereby in effect rendered it abortive. The Emperor of Russia was looked to as the head of this Slavonic empire, which was to be entirely dis severed from Austria, and to consist of a strange mixture of imperial and republican institutions. A prayer, containing an impious parody on that of our Saviour, was disseminated among the Slaves in this separate dominion, and every morning and evening addressed to the Czar, as a heavenly being, by hundreds of thousands of the ardent and ignorant in various countries of Eastern Europe.³

While these important events were passing in the Slavonic provinces of the Austrian Empire, HUNGARY had become the theatre of a still more terrible revolt, which in its ultimate results brought the house of Hapsburg to the very verge of ruin. The intelligence of the revolution at Paris excited a more immediate and alarming fermentation at Presburg than it had done at Vienna. Kossuth, and the other leaders of the united cause of Hungarian independence and liberty, had there been long engaged in preparations for the approaching movement, and the advices from Paris and Vienna did not occasion the insurrection, which ere long became so formidable; they only accelerated and determined the periods of its breaking out. At Pesth, the ancient capital of the Hungarians, and where the national feeling was most strong and undivided, the movement first began. On the 15th March a body of students surrounded and took possession of a printing-office in that town, where they immediately threw off a number of copies of a placard, containing what they designated as the demands of the Hungarian nation. In a few hours many thousand copies of this proclamation were sent off to every part of the country, where it excited a very general feeling of enthusiasm; and at one o'clock an immense crowd, with the tricolor flag at its head, came to the Hôtel de Ville to present these demands, reduced into the form of a petition, to the municipality. Partly by fear, partly by the force of sympathetic inclination, the magistrates unanimously signed the petition; and intelligence having soon after arrived of its acceptance by the Chamber of Magnates, then assembled in Presburg, the public enthusiasm rose to the highest point, and every one regarded the objects of general desire as already gained.⁴

Overwhelmed by the simultaneous outbreak of revolutionary troubles at the same time in Vienna, Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia, the Imperial Government were not in a situation to contest these demands. They took the part, therefore, of conces-

* "Notre Père Russe qui êtes au nord, que votre nom soit sanctifié, que votre règne nous arrive, que votre volonté soit faite au nord comme chez nous—Permettez-nous de manger notre pain quotidien sous votre protection—pardonnez-nous nos hostilités contre vous, comme nous vous pardonnons les tourmens auxquels vous avez livré nos frères—ne nous laissez pas succomber aux tentations qui conduisent en Sibirie, mais délivrez-nous bientôt de l'Autriche. Ainsi soit-il."—BALLETDIER, II. 28.

sion, which, in fact, was the only one left to them. They demanded only an extension of the powers of the Imperial Palatine, or Viceroy, which was immediately and unanimously conceded by both Houses. In the transports of patriotic enthusiasm, the Hungarian nobles outstripped even the demands of the Liberal petitions, and made a voluntary surrender of some of their most ancient and highly-valued privileges. By a free gift they transmuted the "urbairial" tenure of lands, as it was called, under which they were held for certain feudal services, into an unrestricted tenure by freehold. By this great and voluntary concession the property of 500,000 families, consisting of little estates varying from thirty to sixty acres each, and comprehending nearly a half of the kingdom, was at once converted from a feudal tenure, burdened with numerous duties, into absolute property—an immense and most salutary change, far exceeding in lasting importance any of the political alterations contended for at this period in Germany. In addition to this, the two Chambers unanimously decreed the usual objects of petition at this period in Europe—a perfect equality in civil rights, taxation, and religious toleration. The electoral right was extended to every person possessing property to the value of 750 francs, or an annual income of 250 francs a year, or holding a degree of a university, or being a bound apprentice to an artisan. The representatives to be sent by Croatia were enlarged from three to eighteen, and the Government engaged to indemnify the proprietors deprived of their seigniorial rights by the abolition of the "urbairial" tenure. These concessions, however, were far from satisfying the Croats, who loudly complained, in addition, that their language was to be superseded in their own country by that of the Magyars. Transylvania was by mutual consent united with Hungary in this constitution, and the whole received the assent of the Emperor in April 11.

a solemn Diet held at Presburg on the 11th April. By the constitution, as thus arranged, Hungary, including Transylvania and Croatia, was erected into a separate kingdom, having its own sovereign, ministers, Legislature, taxes, army, and civil and municipal affairs. The sole link which connected it with Austria was the Emperor, who was common to both.¹

These great concessions to the Hungarians were followed by a general constitution for the remainder of the Austrian Empire, embracing Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Galicia, Dalmatia, Illyria, Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Salzburg, and the Tyrol, but excluding Hungary and its dependencies. By this constitution the crown was secured to the House of Hapsburg, and the Emperor had the right of declaring peace and war, and concluding treaties with foreign powers; and he was invested with the right of choosing his ministers, preparing measures in Parliament, sanctioning every law, and dissolving it at pleasure; but in that event a new Parliament required to be convoked within twenty-eight days. The Houses were to meet at least once a year. Entire liberty of the press and of persons and property was guaranteed to all, with entire equality in the eye of the law, trial by jury, and publicity in crim-

inal proceedings. The Parliament was to consist of two Houses: the first one of princes of the Imperial blood, having attained the age of twenty-four; of persons nominated for life by the Emperor; and 150 other members, to be elected for the sitting of the session by the most considerable proprietors. The Lower House was to consist of 388 members, elected on the joint basis of the numbers of the people and the representation of public interest; the mode of election to be fixed by a supplementary act. By the supplementary decree, which followed in the beginning of May, the right of voting was conferred upon every male inhabitant who May 5. had attained the age of twenty-four, and was neither in receipt of public charity nor in domestic service. The Diet could be convoked only by the Emperor, and could concern itself with public business only during the session; its duties consisted in voting taxes, levies of troops, loans, provisions for the Imperial family. The Emperor alone had the right of proposing laws, but the two Houses might compel him to do so. A majority of two-thirds was necessary to alter any article of the constitution; every thing else passed by a simple majority. A national guard was to be every where established, and both its members and the troops of the line were to take the oath to the Emperor and the constitution. This constitution solemnly received the sanction of the Emperor on the 25th April, amidst great pomp and general rejoicings.¹

In so far as it could be effected by constitutions on paper, the revolution in Austria seemed to have come to a very successful issue, and the Emperor might with reason congratulate himself upon having successfully weathered the most violent period of the storm. Possibly these disturbances might have terminated here, and the constitution of Austria, fixed on a reasonable basis, have secured for its inhabitants the inestimable blessing of regulated and balanced freedom, had it not been for the passions and animosities of RACE. The Magyars, 4,500,000 strong, who formed the ruling and most powerful body in Central Hungary, had no intention of sharing the power they had acquired with the Slaves. Exceedingly democratic in a question with the Emperor and the Austrian employés, the Magyars were the greatest tyrants in their hearts as to the alien race of Slavonians, which they had for long held in subjection. What they desired to establish was, not a real republic, embracing the whole people, but an aristocratic commonwealth like Sparta, in which every freeman had three or four helots in a state of domestic servitude. Like many others, it was the right to tyrannize over others which they desired to conquer.²

As a natural consequence of this state of general feeling, the Magyar race were animated by the most inveterate hatred against the Austrian Government, whose ruling principle was the direct reverse, or thorough centralization, and the dependence of all on the Imperial crown. Thus the two most powerful principles which can stir the human mind—the passions of race and the desire of independence—came to

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 483, 484; Balleydier, l. 107, 171.

^{17.} Constitution of the whole Austrian Empire. April 25.

¹ Constitution, April 25, 1848; Balleydier, l. 171, 179.

^{18.} Animosity of races which broke out in the Austrian Empire.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 485, 486; Balleydier, l. 177, 179.

^{19.} The hostility of the Hungarians to the Austrians.

impel in the same direction, and their combined influence inflamed them with the most violent hostility against the Austrian rule. From the beginning of April this appeared in the most decided manner. The language and acts of the Hungarian Parliament from that period savored more of open hostility than the affectionate loyalty due by subjects to their sovereign. Their object was, not to obtain redress of their many and acknowledged grievances, but to detach themselves entirely from the Austrian connection. They sent ambassadors to Vienna, and subsequently to Frankfort, as from one independent power to another. They asserted their right to levy troops and dispose of them at their own pleasure, and irrespective altogether of the wishes or commands of the Cabinet of Vienna. The army was to be bound only by the Hungarian oath of fidelity to the Emperor and the Hungarian constitution. The Magyar chiefs did every thing in their power to weaken the strong bond of loyalty which bound the brave Hungarian soldiers to their beloved Kaiser, and their ancient and time-honored standards. They loudly and uniformly expressed their sympathy with the Italian insurgents, and in the hour of its greatest need not only recalled the Hungarian regiments from Radetsky's army in Italy, but positively refused to contribute a man or

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 437; Ann. Reg. 1848, 406, 408. a shilling to the expenses of the war, the common charges of the Empire, or the interest of the national debt.¹

The Imperial Government had no resource but in conciliatory measures. They were resorted to accordingly, but they were of so abject and sweeping a character as to appear rather a capitulation than the conciliatory measures adopted by a paternal Government with its subjects. Proclamations were issued promising Liberal measures, and an amnesty published embracing all political offenders in the kingdoms of Lodomeria and Gallicia, including the city of Cracow, and the whole Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

By a later decree all political offenders, wherever detained, and wherever the offense with which they were charged had been committed, were ordered to be liberated. When a Government, assailed by high treason in all directions, in this manner capitulates with its rebellious subjects, it need not be said that all its real power has passed away, and that it is only a question of time when it is either to abdicate or be forcibly dispossessed of its entire functions.²

Ruin, universal and irrevocable, would now have undoubtedly overtaken the entire Austrian Empire, had it not found a support in a quarter where it was least expected, and from the intensity of the very feelings from which its danger had arisen. United, by the Hungarian constitution, with that kingdom, the Croatian Slavonians, by descent, perceived only a fatal deterioration of their position by the predominance of the Magyar magnates and race in the National Assembly at Pesth. The ancient hatred of the Slavonian at the Magyar broke forth with unextinguishable fury at this prospect. Too weak to contend, either in the field or the Assembly, with the Hungarian power, the Croatians saw no prospect

of protection but in the German race and the shield of the Emperor. "The Emperor, and the unity of the Empire," became naturally, in this manner, the war-cry of the Croatians, as that of "the unity and independence of Hungary" was of the Magyars. No sooner, accordingly, did it distinctly appear what turn affairs were taking, and the pretensions of the Magyars were openly declared, than a deputation from Croatia set out for Vienna, to lay before the Emperor the assurances of their devotion, and the expression of their apprehensions. They were willing to spend the last drop of their blood in behalf of the Imperial crown, and to preserve the integrity of the Empire; but they could not hope for success unless he placed at their head a chief in whom they had confidence. JELLACHICH alone was this man. The deputation met with the most favorable reception; mutual confidence was at once established from the perception of common danger. Jellachich was immediately elevated to the rank of *Ban*, or Governor of Croatia, and shortly afterward created field-marshal, counselor of the Empire, colonel-commandant of two regiments, and commander-in-chief of the provinces of Bannat, Warasdin, and Carlsbadt, in the Illyrian districts.¹

While the Austrian provinces were in this manner breaking off into separate dominions in every direction, the Liberals of Vienna only became more urgent in the prosecution of their favorite ideas of democratic government.

The constitution published by the Emperor, liberal as it was, fell far short of the expectation of the ardent patriots, and the agitation in the capital had daily increased since it was promulgated. On the 15th May a petition was presented by the students, in which they loudly complained of the property qualifications required for members of the Legislature, and demanded: 1. A single Chamber instead of two Houses. 2. Universal suffrage. 3. The intrusting of the peace of the capital to the National Guard alone. 4. Adhesion to the great principle of German unity. 5. Removal of all property qualifications for deputies. 6. An engagement not to recall the troops but on the requisition of the National Guard. The regular soldiers had all been sent away before to appease the people, and no armed force existed to repel the petitioners, who were all armed, and came to the palace with their muskets loaded, surrounded with a tumultuous mob, with iron bars, scythes, and pickaxes in their hands. In the first moments of alarm, and with the dagger at their throats, the Government promised to consider every thing that was demanded; and it was under the pressure of this necessity that the decree was issued establishing universal suffrage as the basis of the popular representation. But this rude onslaught and open preparation for violence revealed to the Government their real situation, which was that of absolute impotence at the mercy of an armed mob, acting on the impulse of unscrupulous leaders ruling the people by means of a licentious press. It was resolved accordingly, in a secret cabinet council, held in the palace on the evening of the 16th, to extricate the Government from this state of thralldom; and the Emperor, having secretly made his preparations, set out at six from the

^{20.} Conciliatory measures adopted by the Cabinet of Vienna.

March 21.

April 5.

² Ann. Reg. 1848, 406.

^{21.}

Fidelity of the Croatians.

^{22.} Increased disturbances in Vienna. May 15.

May 15.

May 17.

palace in a carriage drawn by a pair of horses, and attended only by a single servant. The rest of the royal family departed a few minutes after in similar privacy, and both vehicles took the route of the Tyrol, by Lintz, Salzburg, and Reichenhall. They arrived in safety at May 19. Innsbruck, to the infinite joy of the inhabitants of that simple and loyal province, who hastened in crowds from their mountains and valleys to protect their beloved Kaiser; while the minister Pillendorf, who had previously resigned, but resumed office at the

May 18.

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 407, 408; Balleydier, i. 245, 247; An. Reg. 1848, 408.

earnest solicitation of the students, announced the departure of the Emperor and Imperial family, as the proclamations alleged, for the benefit of change of air.¹

The flight of the Imperial family to Innsbruck excited an immense sensation at Vienna and over Europe. It was an open declaration, on the part of the Emperor, of war against the revolution, and distrust of its leaders, an appeal to the well-known loyalty of a faithful province from the treason and iniquitous ambition of a rebellious capital. As such, it first brought to light a division in the ranks of the Liberals, who, though hitherto united, to appearance, under the same banner, were in reality far from being at one as to ulterior measures. The extreme leaders of the movement, with the professors and students of the university, were prepared to go the whole length of revolution. This system was the same as that usually pursued by Jacobin leaders in similar circumstances—viz., to discredit Government by rendering its rule impossible, and, having done so, to overturn it as a useless and expensive encumbrance, and install themselves in its stead. But the shop-keepers and artisans of the metropolis, who depended mainly on the expenditure of the great, and the concourse of strangers to its hotels, were by no means inclined to go this length. They had concurred in the movement of the 13th March, and formed the main strength of the urban guard, to which the peace of the metropolis had since been intrusted, from the natural desire which prosperous and affluent citizens have to share in the Government of their country, and correct the abuses of its administration; but they had no wish to see their Emperor dethroned, or the nobles of the Empire banished from their hereditary palaces within the walls of the capital. The flight to Innsbruck brought the reality of the danger instantly and vividly before their eyes; they saw at once in what the visions of the students would ere long land all the great interests of the Empire. Already their sales had almost disappeared, from the cessation of all purchases, save for articles of absolute necessity, by the affluent classes; while the streets were, from the same cause, choked by crowds of unemployed workmen clamoring for bread, and for whose relief the *Ateliers Nationaux*, which, in imitation of those at Paris, had been opened in various quarters, afforded no adequate means of subsistence. Pressed in this manner at once by a fearful diminution of their incomes and as alarming an increase of the demands upon them, they became alive to the perilous nature of the descent on which they were placed. Numerous and pressing petitions to the Emperor to return, and prom-

ising him their energetic support, were dispatched to Innsbruck from the shop-keepers and burgher guard of the metropolis, but he returned only evasive answers; and it was not till another revolution had occurred in Vienna, and restored military authority in its distracted crowds, that he left the calm security of his mountain retreat for the stormy scenes of the capital.¹

Regardless altogether of the imminent danger of the Empire, the revolutionists of Vienna only advanced at an accelerated pace. The students of the university, now incorporated into the "University Legion," were at the head of the movement, the press

universally and powerfully seconded their efforts, and the capital, during the week which followed the departure of the Emperor, was in a state of absolute and frantic anarchy. Conscious that their conduct had now reached those limits where forgiveness had become impossible, the leaders sought only to push matters to such an extreme point that all must see retreat was out of the question, and their only chance of safety was to advance still farther in the career of revolution. To accomplish this they took the most effectual of all methods—they worked upon their fears. The whole of the 24th was employed by the popular orators in haranguing the people on the danger of a reaction and the return of the troops to extinguish their liberties; and on the day following, the "University Legion" was in such a state of disorder that Count

Montecuculli, the military commander, published an ordinance, dissolving it as a separate corps, and incorporating its members in the legions of the National Guard. This was the signal for an open revolt. The students refused to obey the order; barricades were erected around the university, where they were assembled in strength; the National Guard took part with the insurgents; and some regular troops, which the Government brought up, were repulsed, and obliged to withdraw. The insurgents now demanded the revocation of the ordinance dissolving the University Legion, the return of the Emperor to Vienna, the sitting of the Diet there, the confirmation of all that had been conceded on the 15th May, and the taking of hostages from the noblesse no longer to oppose revolution. Destitute of all means of resistance by the absence of the troops and defection of the National Guard, the nominal Government at Vienna promised every thing which was demanded except the return of the Emperor, which it was beyond their power to grant; but M. Pillendorf engaged to write to the Emperor, urging him to return; and in the mean time a "Committee of Public Safety" was appointed, composed of students and burghers, to watch over the interests of the people, and provide food for the multitudes who were perishing, amidst the general anarchy, of want.²

Meanwhile the Emperor at Innsbruck published a proclamation, in which he vindicated the step he had taken of leaving the capital on the ground of the undisguised violence to which he had been subjected. He added: "No alternative was left to me but to recur to measures of violence, or to withdraw for the moment to one of

¹ Balleydier, i. 217, 224; An. Hist. 1848, 408; An. Reg. 1848, 408.

^{24.} Fresh revolutionary movements in Vienna. May 25.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 416; Balleydier, i. 225, 237; An. Reg. 1848, 409.

my provinces. Its inhabitants, God be thanked!

25. have remained faithful to their monarch. I will not grant any thing to the forcible exactions of unauthorized and armed individuals. My departure from Vienna was intended to impress this upon my painfully excited people, and likewise to remind them of the paternal love with which I am ever ready to receive my sons, even though they be prodigal ones." The reasons were perfectly sufficient to justify the steps taken, but it was unnecessary to adduce them. The revolutionists at Vienna afforded a better vindication of it than any thing that could be said from Innspruck.¹

¹ Proclamation, May 20, 1848; Balleydier, i. 236, 239; An. Hist. 1848, 237, 238.

Austria was lost had its safety rested on the good sense or loyalty of the people. 26. It would have been dismembered, not by three conquering powers, but three rebellious provinces; and Hungary, Lombardy, and Bohemia, would have effected its destruction as completely as Russia, Prussia, and Austria had done with the Sarmatian commonwealth. But in this extremity, unparalleled perhaps in all history for difficulty and peril, it found salvation in the restored fortitude of the Government and the unshaken fidelity of the ARMY. That noble body of men, on this as on many former occasions, proved the salvation of the Empire. They encouraged the Emperor to resist, by showing him that he had at length found a basis on which he could rest.

When the Magyars undertook to set up for themselves and establish a separate nationality in Hungary, independent of Austria, and connected with it only by the feeble bond of a common sovereign, they had no intention of emancipating the subject-dominions of the kingdom, or allowing the Croats the same privileges and independent existence which they claimed for themselves. Accordingly the Croats, encouraged by the appointment of their popular and eloquent leader Jellachich as their Ban, and assured in secret of the support of the Emperor, made preparations openly to resist the threatened separation of Hungary from Austria, and adhere to the connection with their beloved Kaisers. On April 10. the 10th April, Jellachich made his public and solemn entry as Ban into Agram, the capital of the province, where he was received with loud acclamations by the whole inhabitants.

April 19. He immediately published a proclamation, in which he declared that he and his faithful Croats would never consent to the projected separation of Hungary from the Imperial crown. At the same time he proclaimed martial law, and denounced the penalties of high treason against any one who should venture to revolt against their king, their country, and their oaths. The intelligence of these decisive measures excited the most unbounded indignation at Pesth, which was speedily turned into a warlike fury when it was heard that a Magyar emissary had been arrested in Croatia by orders of the Ban; that four of the frontier regiments had been directed, by the same authority, into the district of Truzopolya to disarm some tribes in

the Magyar interest; in fine, that 30,000 Banarets, perfectly armed and equipped, were ready to penetrate into Croatia, to lend a hand to an equal number of Croats, whom he was raising to support the Emperor's cause. Deeming themselves not in sufficient strength to make head against so many enemies, the Magyar leaders dispatched a deputation to the Emperor to implore his assistance to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions: thus deprecating, when applied to themselves, that very severance according to race which they were at the same moment endeavoring to effect against the Austrians. The deputation arrived at Vienna; and so thoroughly was the Government there prostrated by the democratic faction, that they were obliged to disavow the acts of their own governor in their own favor, and engage to do every thing in their power to preserve the integrity of the Hungarian dominions. A letter to this effect was dispatched by the Emperor to the Archduke Stephen, his viceroy at Pesth, on the 7th May.¹

In pursuance of the orders thus received, the Archduke Stephen issued a proclamation, in which he disavowed the conduct of the Ban, who was at the same time recalled to Innspruck by an order from the Emperor himself. But Jellachich paid no regard to either command, and continued his preparations in the most open manner, alleging that he was acting according to the real wishes of the Emperor, from whom the orders to a contrary effect had been extorted by violence and intimidation. So evident was it to all the world that this was the case, that the preparations for war with the Magyars, not only in Croatia, but all along the Servian frontier, and on the Lower Danube, were openly made; and hostilities actually commenced at many points both in the interior and along the frontier of Hungary. It was in the midst of these disorders, and with the fires of burning villages illuminating the sky by night, and their smoke obscuring it by day, that the Hungarian deputies met in assembly at Pesth, on the 5th July. The Archduke Stephen upon this occasion addressed to the deputies a speech, in which he condemned the Croatian insurrection, and gave assurances of the support of the Emperor to the Magyars, in such strong terms that it would be well for the honor of the house of Hapsburg if it could clear itself of the charge of double-dealing on the occasion.* But the Ban and his faithful

* "La Croatie est exposée à une révolte ouverte: dans les contrées du bas Danube des bandes armées ont troublé la paix publique. Sa Majesté a vu avec une profonde douleur, après avoir sanctionné spontanément les lois votées par la dernière Diète, comme devant favoriser le développement de la prospérité du pays, que les agitateurs, surtout en Croatie et les contrées du bas Danube, avaient excité, les uns contre les autres, les habitants de croyances et de langues différentes, par des faux bruits et de vaines alarmes, et les avaient poussés à résister aux lois et à l'autorité législative, en leur disant qu'elles n'étaient pas l'expression libre de la volonté de Sa Majesté. En conséquence, pour tranquilliser les habitants de ce pays de toute langue et de toute religion, je déclare au nom de Sa Majesté notre maître et roi, que Sa Majesté est parfaitement résolue à protéger l'unité et l'inviolabilité de la couronne royale de Hongrie, contre toute attaque au dehors et contre toute scission à l'intérieur."—An. Hist., 1848, p. 481, 482.

Croatians were nothing daunted by the real or feigned desertion of their sovereign and natural protector, and loudly asserted their determination, though abandoned by all the world, to assert their independence, and emancipate themselves from the domination of the Magyars. "Emperor!" said the Croatians proudly, in their manifesto, "if you reject our supplications, we shall know how to conquer our liberties without your aid; and we would rather die heroically, as becomes a Slavonian family, than bear any longer the oppression of an Asiatic horde, from whom we have nothing either to receive or to learn, but who have imposed on us a yoke which it is impossible any longer to bear. If it comes to the worst, *we would prefer the knout of the Russians to the insolence of the Magyars.* Emperor! do not abandon us, for we will not, in any event, fall again under the dominion of the Magyars. Recollect that if Croatia forms only a thirty-fifth

part of your monarchy, her soldiers compose a third of your entire infantry."¹

To their honor be it spoken, the first acts of the Hungarian Parliament evinced a sincere love of freedom, and a desire to remove those antiquated restrictions which had so long proved an impediment to their industry. Practical improvements, in the first instance at least, exclusively occupied their attention, and demonstrated the existence of numerous evils, which, in the first moments of emancipation, the nation sought to remove. Tithes were directed to be redeemed, under compensation to the clergy; *corvées* abolished; taxes imposed universally in proportion to fortune, without distinction of race, caste, or religion; the right of suffrage given to all inhabitants of free towns. Such was the programme of their measures, and such was in part carried into effect. So far the improvements were practical, and such as commanded the assent of every true friend to his country. But ere long the true revolutionary spirit appeared, and it became evident that the democracy unrestrained would here, as elsewhere, inaugurate its reign by acts of injustice. The abolition of tithes was agreed to, but compensation to the clergy denied; thus they were exposed to a spoliation as complete as they had undergone in France. A new electoral law was voted, which fixed the qualification at the possession of a capital of 300 florins (£80). It was evident that this would throw the representation entirely into the hands of the towns, for very few of the newly-emancipated peasants possessed, as yet at least, a capital of half that amount. The measure was directed against the

magnates, and could not have failed in a short time to destroy their influence.²

It was in the midst of these distractions, social, political, and national, that the Constituent Assembly of Austria met. It could hardly be said to be a national Assembly, for its authority scarcely extended over more than Upper and Lower Austria. Lombardy and the Venetian territory were in open revolt, and it was more than doubtful whether the Imperial dominion would ever be restored over them. Hungary, with Transylvania, had recently de-

tached itself from the Empire, and no longer recognized the authority of any Assembly sitting at Vienna. The revolt of the Slave population of Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had only been suppressed by the cannon of Windischgratz; and the known discontents of the inhabitants of Galicia were kept down by the dread of the Muscovite masses rapidly accumulating in the neighboring territories of Russian Poland. Such as it was, the Assembly at Vienna exhibited no real representation of the great interests even of that small fragment of the Empire which still recognized its authority. Elected in the first fervor of the revolution, and under what was practically universal suffrage, it was composed, like the National Assembly of France in 1789, for the most part of attorneys, physicians, professors, doctors, shop-keepers, with a few bankers and merchants. There were scarce any representatives of the landed interest, though they constituted nine-tenths of the property of the country; nor of the commercial aristocracy, though they comprehended nearly the whole of its moneyed wealth. Nothing, either practically beneficial or having a chance even of being durable, could be expected from an assembly so constituted in such, or indeed in any country. All parties in it concurred in praying the Emperor to return, though from very different motives. The few Conservatives desired it, because they hoped his presence would prove a certain check on the extreme Liberals: the Revolutionists were equally sincere, and with more reason, in desiring it, because they thought it would bring him entirely under their control.³

Like Paris at this period, and animated with equal fervor, Vienna had its patriotic demonstrations, its democratic promenades, its forced illuminations, its female parades, its *Ateliers Nationaux*, its banquets, and its suffering crowds, starving amidst the compulsory assertion of universal felicity. Grave doubts, accordingly, were felt at the Emperor's head-quarters at Innsbruck as to the propriety of again returning to the theatre of so much disorder, and putting himself in the power of the armed students and vacillating burgher guard, whose treacherous conduct had rendered his former evasion necessary. But many circumstances concurred at this time to recommend the trying of the experiment, how hazardous soever it might appear. The earnestness and apparent sincerity with which the students and burghers of the capital implored his return, the unanimity of the Constituent Assembly on the same subject, seemed to promise an ovation strewed only with flowers. External events recommended the same course. In Italy the battle of Custoza had again restored the Austrian affairs. Windischgratz had conquered rebellion in Prague; Hungary was not yet in revolt; the fidelity of Croatia was secured; and the recent intelligence of the election of the Archduke John as Vicar of the Empire had been hailed with the utmost enthusiasm, both as a check to Prussia and as an earnest of the continued possession of the Imperial dignity by the house of Hapsburg. It was resolved, accordingly, to make the experiment; and the Imperial family left their mountain retreat and returned to Vienna, where they were

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 420.
² Ann. Hist. 1848, 439, 440; Balleydier, li. 84, 88, 94.
³ Ann. Hist. 1848, 439, 440; Balleydier, li. 84, 88, 94.

29.
First acts of the Hungarian Parliament.
July 12.

30.
Meeting of the Austrian Constituent Assembly.

received with every demonstration of loyalty. But before they had been ten days in the capital, events occurred which forcibly demonstrated the feeble tenure by which they held the people's affections.

A tumult arose on the 23d Aug. 23. August, originating in the same cause which had produced the terrible insurrection in Paris in the June preceding. The numerous workmen out of employment proved too heavy a burden, as their labor was valueless, and the finances neither of the Government nor the municipality could stand the strain. A reduction of the wages paid, therefore, was indispensable, and they were lowered twenty-two centimes on the 19th. Disturbances immediately arose; a violent mob collected round an effigy representing M. Schwarzn, the Minister of Public Works, by whom the reduction had been effected, which was publicly burned; and to such a length did the disorders proceed that they were only suppressed by a great display of military strength, and after many lives had been lost.¹

These disturbances were but the prelude to the commencement of a far more serious and enduring strife in Hungary. It began with an Imperial edict, which appeared in the *Agram Zeitung* of the 5th September, reinstating Jellachich in his commands and dignities, as a reward "for his wise and patriotic services," and publicly apologizing for the former decrees which had deprived him of them. This edict was not countersigned by any Hungarian minister, and was issued by the Emperor of his own authority—a proceeding which was contrary to the Hungarian constitution, and excited universal apprehension as well as unbounded irritation in that country. To endeavor to accommodate matters, a deputation proceeded from Pesth to Vienna, which requested an audience of the Emperor. It was granted, Sept. 8.

but the members were coldly received, and given distinctly to understand that no adjustment of differences was possible until Kossuth was removed from the ministry. The Hungarian chiefs yielded this point; the great democratic leader resigned, and he was succeeded by Count Bathiany, who was the head of the aristocratic section of the patriots of the country. But the Court of Vienna gained no real advantage by the change; the spirit and influence of Kossuth survived his fall; the ardor of Hungarian independence was undiminished; and the Archduke Stephen himself found he was unable to moderate the general fervor. But the Court of Vienna was not less determined to resist the movement, which they plainly saw would lead to the dismemberment of the monarchy; the moment seemed favorable for checking it, for the principal Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy; the recent successes of Windischgratz had greatly elevated the spirits of the friends of the monarchy in the German provinces; and Jellachich was at the head of a gallant army thirty thousand strong, composed, in part

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 452, 453; Balleydier, II. 139, 147; Klapka, 67, 68, Introduction.

cross the Drave, the frontier river of Hungary. He did so on the 11th September, and moved straight on the capital.

Before this decisive step—equivalent to a declaration of war—was taken, a conference, memorable from the actors engaged and the interests involved in it, took place at Vienna. M. Bach, the Minister of Justice, and Baron Jellachich, supported it on

Memorable conference between Jellachich and Count Bathiany.

the one side; Count Louis Bathiany and Prince Esterhazy on the other. It began in a solemn manner, and with measured expressions on both sides; but ere long the intensity of feeling broke through their courtly restraints, and the debate became animated and violent in the highest degree. "Between the cabinets of Pesth and Vienna," said Count Bathiany, "there is now an insurmountable barrier." "Which you have raised up yourselves," replied Bach. "Take care, Count, there is behind that barrier on your side an abyss, the name of which is Revolution." "And who has dug that abyss?" "You know better than we do—ask Kossuth. Meanwhile, I will tell you what will fill it up—oceans of blood, thousands of corpses, perhaps your own, Count." Before separating, Count Bathiany approached Jellachich, and taking him by the hand, said, "For the last time, do you wish peace or war?" "We wish for peace," replied the Ban, "if the Magyars, better inspired than they now are, are willing to render to Cæsar what belongs to Cæsar, and to Austria what belongs to Austria; but if they persist in wishing to shiver to pieces the fundamental laws of the Empire, then we are for war." "May God protect the right," replied Bathiany; "the sabre must now decide betwixt us. Adieu, Baron; I assign a rendezvous on the banks of the Drave." "We shall meet before on those of the Danube," replied Jellachich; and he was as good as his word. With these words they separated, and both sides prepared for war.¹

¹ Balleydier, II. 141, 142.

No proper idea of the great and most interesting war which ensued can be formed, unless the state of parties in Hungary throughout its continuance be taken into consideration. There were two parties in that country, which, although united at first in the common cause of resisting the Austrian rule, and asserting the independence of Hungary, rested, in reality, on different principles, and came at last to be as much opposed to each other as both at first were to the Imperial domination. The one was composed of the high Magyar aristocracy—as proud and chivalrous a body of nobles as any in the world—which aspired after the independence of Hungary, because it would place them in possession of its Government, and liberate them from the German yoke, which had so long chafed their lofty and aspiring dispositions. With them the quarrel was national, not political; it resembled the contest of Wallace or Bruce with the Plantagenet rulers of England in former days, and had nothing in common with the social struggles going on in Europe in the present. Passionately desirous of emancipating their country and race from Austrian thralldom, they had no intention whatever of delivering their people from their own. Though hurried along, in the first

State of parties in Hungary at this time.

instance, by the universal transports into Liberal measures, it was with the *arrière pensées* to make use of them as a means only to an end, and that end was to establish a highly aristocratic Government in Hungary, of which the Emperor, as king of the realm, was to be the nominal head, and they themselves, as his ministers and counselors, the real rulers. It was with this view that, in the outset of the contest, when the Cabinet of Vienna had no means of resisting their demands, they had succeeded in extorting from it not only a separate Legislature and army, but a national exchequer and cabinet, without the intervention of a single functionary of German blood. At the head of this party was Count Louis Bathiany, a noble of ancient family, heroic disposition, but little prudence or worldly wisdom. He had all the virtues and failings of the Magyar character. Bold, chivalrous, and enthusiastic, but headstrong and rash, he devoted himself heart and soul to the cause of his country, and suffered death in the end on the scaffold on its behalf, with the same resolution as his ancestors had charged the Ottoman squadrons on the ancient fields of Hungarian fame.

The second party in Hungary was composed of men who, though united at the Democratic moment with the Magyar magnates or republic- in the effort to throw off the Ger- an party. man yoke, were in reality not less hostile to them than the Vienna aristocracy, and foresaw a contest with their present allies even more terrible than they were now to wage together with the Austrian battalions. This party comprehended all who were smitten with the political and social passions of the time, and seized the opportunity of its embarrassments not only to destroy the authority of the house of Hapsburg, but to establish republican institutions in its stead. It consisted almost entirely of the inhabitants of towns and the students at the universities and academies, who sincerely desired the amelioration of their country, or who, carried away by the warm views of their eloquent teachers, were ready to go any length against the aristocratic pretensions even of their own families. It may readily be believed that this party had little at bottom in common with the haughty Magyar nobles, who aspired to the government of the State; and unquestionably a victory to their united forces could have had no other effect but that of opening the portals to a still more desperate civil war between the rival aspirants to the rule of the Hungarian commonwealth. So deeply, however, is the love of equality in Hungary, as in Poland, implanted in the minds even of the nobles, that many of them were foremost in the republican party, and ardent in support of a cause which could have led, if successful, to no other result but ruin as complete as, from its triumph on the Vistula, had overtaken the Sarmatian commonwealth. Unmarked at first amidst the enthusiasm of Hungarian nationality, the division between the two parties was, in reality, complete and irreconcilable; and it is to its influence, more even than the intervention of the Muscovite battalions, that the ultimate failure of their united effort for independence is to be ascribed.

Though Count Louis Bathiany was the political head of the aristocratic portion of the Ma-

gyar party, yet when war began his ascendancy yielded to that of GEORGEY, to whom 86. the command of the army was in- Character of trusted. This very eminent warrior Georgey. must receive a prominent place in that age of glory, and be placed alongside of Radetsky in the archives of military fame. He was one of those men who, born with military genius of the very highest kind, wanted only a greater theatre whereon to exert his talents, to have attained the very highest reputation. When called to the command of the Hungarian army, and opposed to the soldiers of Jellachich and Windischgratz, he had a very difficult task to accomplish. Though the Hungarian soldiers are second to none in the world in native hardihood and valor, and they had always been regarded as the *élite* of the Imperial infantry, yet, like all other young troops, their new levies were little able to withstand the shock of the Imperial veterans. Although the general enthusiasm was sufficient to cause all the recruits after that occasion to join the national ranks, and the *dépôt* battalions stationed in Hungary did the same, yet the veterans were all in Lombardy serving under Radetsky; and his influence, joined to the strong instinct of military discipline, was adequate to retain them with the Imperial standards even when most strongly urged by their countrymen to go over to the other side. Thus, when hostilities began, the Hungarians had the most difficult of all tasks to perform—that of combating with new levies veteran troops in a flat country, with no natural advantages except the possession of the fortresses to counterbalance those of discipline and military experience on the other side. The ability with which Georgey did this, and the success with which for long his efforts were attended, forms one of the most instructive chapters in military history, and has deservedly given immortality to his name. His merit was the greater that he had not been bred a soldier, and only served a short time in the Austrian army as lieutenant before the war broke out; and when aroused, as he himself tells us, by the cry, “The country is in danger,” he was living a quiet country life on the estate of a female relative in the north of Hungary, and 1 Georgey, entered one of the battalions of the Life and Acts Honved with the rank only of cap- in Hungary, tain.¹ 1 1.

His very interesting military memoirs are full of complaints against the unsteadiness 87. of the new Hungarian levies, and the Continued. manner in which they melted away when first brought under fire, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of their officers to retain them to their colors. Probably, if they have “writ their annals true,” the historians of all other young troops would have similar tales to recount; but in the Hungarian war there was this peculiar difficulty wherewith the Magyar generals had to contend, that their troops were almost all new levies. They had scarcely any old soldiers on whom to fall back, or to bring up in the decisive moment, either to improve success or avert disasters. This was a difficulty of the most serious kind—so great, indeed, that if the Austrian generals had evinced the same vigor in following up their victories that their troops had displayed in gaining them, the Hungarian insurrection must have been crushed in the outset,

and the Imperial Government spared the humiliation of invoking the Muscovite aid for its final suppression. In combating these early successes of his enemies, Georgey displayed military abilities. By his indefatigable efforts, inexhaustible resources, and indomitable spirit, the contest was prolonged amidst multiplied disasters, until the young soldiers had acquired by practice the steadiness of veterans. Like Washington, he made such skillful use of the mattock and the spade, that he succeeded in baffling all the efforts of his antagonists, and had the glory, with his raw levies, of reducing the Imperial army to such straits that, beyond all question, but for the intervention of the Muscovites, Vienna would have fallen before the Hungarian arms. The necessity of capitulating at length to the Russians has exposed his memory to severe obloquy, especially from his own countrymen; but his actions will speak for themselves—they require no eulogy; and he has recounted them with the calm dignity of one who can trust to time to vindicate his reputation.

The leader of the other party was Kossuth, 38 and though a far less immaculate character than Georgey, he possessed of Kossuth. all the qualities requisite for the lead of the democratic party, of which he was the head. Bold, unscrupulous, and determined, he was a true tribune of the people. Born in the humbler ranks of society, he not only shared none of the Magyar pride, but their haughtiness was his aversion; and he was resolute to vindicate both the independence of his country and the dignity of human nature, by organizing a revolutionary movement which should at once secure the first and assert the second. The powers he had received from nature were eminently calculated to achieve these objects. His oratorical talents were of the very highest kind. He could declaim with equal facility in Hungarian, Latin, German, French, or English; and he has repeatedly charmed audiences of different nations by speeches delivered with the ease and accent of a well-educated native. To this facility in speaking he joined the rarer faculty of seizing the spirit of the persons whom he addressed, and selecting the images, allusions, and topics most likely to mould them according to his will. His information was vast, but it was more superficial than profound, multifarious than accurate. His only thorough acquaintance was with the human heart, and that he knew to the bottom. His industry was prodigious, his energy indomitable; and hence the influence he acquired in Hungary was unbounded; and to his exertions the rapid and extraordinary development of its military resources is mainly to be ascribed. But his influence proved as fatal to its independence in the end as it had been serviceable to it in the beginning; for "his inmost soul," as Gibbon said of Mr. Fox, "was tinged with democracy," and the ascendancy of this feeling impelled him into several measures which excited the jealousy of the Magyar nobility, and produced a division in their councils which ultimately proved fatal to the independence of the country.

To meet this array of civil and military talent, the main reliance of the Imperial Government was on JELLACHICH, Ban of Croatia. The situ-

ation to which he had been raised was a very important one; it was the third in point of dignity in the whole Empire. He was every way worthy to hold it. Born on the 16th October, 1801, he was the son of Field-Marshal Baron Jellachich, and inherited from him the love of arms. This disposition was so strongly marked in early childhood, that the Emperor Francis used to call him his "dear little Jellachich," and foretold he would one day make a figure in the State. At the age of eight he was sent to the Military Academy of Maria-Theresa in Vienna, where the vivacity of his disposition and precocity of his mind early attracted notice. In 1829 he entered the army as cornet in a regiment of dragoons, of which in 1848 he had risen to be colonel. His elevation to the high rank of Ban of Croatia was considered by all as the harbinger of success; for he was at once respected by the generals, popular with the officers, and adored by the soldiers, in all the grades through which he had passed. Blessed by nature with robust health, and a constitution which nothing could shake, he had at the same time the self-confidence which inspires trust in others, and the gayety and cheerfulness of temper which awakens affection. At once a soldier and a poet, he was qualified alike to win the laurels of war and conquer the hearts of women. Under this gay and joyous temperament, however, he veiled a mind set on great things, an observant disposition, a military *coup-d'œil*, and unbounded energy and application to business. His practiced eye early discerned that it was in the military spirit of the Croats, and their hereditary animosity against the Magyars, that the foundation must be laid of a successful resistance to the Hungarian revolt; and long before he was called to lead the armies, he had studied the theatre of war both on the Drave and the Danube, and was prepared with a detailed plan of a campaign when the proper moment arrived for raising the ancient war-cry of the Croats, "Death to the Magyars!" 1 Balleyd. l. 139, 141.

Without the military abilities which rendered Jellachich so famous, and so great 40. an acquisition to the Imperial cause, Of Windisch-PRINCE WINDISCHGRATZ sustained gratz. too important a part in the contest to be passed over in the gallery of contemporary portraits. He was born at Brussels on the 11th April, 1787, of one of the most illustrious houses in Germany. Like Jellachich, he showed from his earliest years a decided turn for arms. He entered the service as lieutenant of lancers in 1804, and took part in the great battles between France and Austria in the succeeding year, as well as in 1809 and in 1813. In 1814 he was already a colonel of cuirassiers, and a lieutenant-general in 1833, which indicated distinguished services in a country in which promotion, regulated by seniority, is extremely slow. He is the born type of the military German prince of the old school. A noble figure, striking even in advanced years; a breast covered with military insignia; a mild but yet expressive countenance; an exterior, calm but dignified, conceal a soul of fire, a heart responsive to every generous sentiment. He is the type of the ancient chivalrous character, such as it is depicted in the poems and romances of the olden time. Accessible to pity from all other quarters, he is immovably firm in questions of

duty; for treachery or defection he has no forgiveness; the words pronounced by him on a solemn occasion, when he saved the Austrian monarchy, "With rebels I treat only with the sword," expressed the ruling principle of his public career. When summoned by the students of Prague, before the insurrection in that city, to give them two thousand muskets and eight thousand cartridges, with a battery of cannon, and to disarm the batteries planted against the town, he replied, "Your demands in the name of the people are concisely expressed; I answer them in the name of the Emperor in the same style: I need my muskets for my soldiers; I shall keep them: guns are not made for students; I retain them: the position of my batteries seems advantageous; I shall maintain it." With this mingled firmness and gentleness of character he would have risen to the very highest political as well as military eminence had his abilities as a general been equal to his knightly qualities. But in that respect he was inferior both to Georgey and Jellachich. He had the glory, by his firmness, of twice saving his country—once under the walls of Prague, and again under those of Vienna; but he did not improve his successes with the same vigor as he commenced them; and had his first victories over the Hungarians been followed up with proper vigor, the war might have been terminated in the first campaign,

and Austria saved from the humiliating necessity of owing its ultimate salvation to the Muscovite arms.¹

PRINCE SCHWARTZENBERG was later brought on the field than either of the other paladins of the Empire; but when he did appear, he rendered services of the highest kind. Felix, Prince of Schwarzenberg, the son of the generalissimo of the Austrian armies in the war of liberation, was born at Krumau, in Bohemia, on the 20th of October, 1800; so at this period he was forty-eight years of age. At once a soldier and a diplomatist, he buckled on his sabre first in 1818, in the regiment of Constantine; and made his *début* in the diplomatic service in 1824 at St. Petersburg. His advancement was extremely rapid; and with a breast covered with crosses and decorations, he had already served in the diplomatic career at St. Petersburg, Rio Janeiro, London, Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, Berlin, Turin, Parma, and Naples, when in 1848 he again put on his armor, and entered the army of Marshal Radetsky. He then served as general of brigade in the division of Marshal Count Nugent, and gave proofs of the same talent and energy in military command which he had formerly evinced in his diplomatic career. Though wounded in a previous encounter, he insisted on resuming his command at the battle of Custoza, and bore a distinguished part in that decisive victory, which terminated the first Italian campaign. His moral and political are equal to his personal courage, and he is alike qualified to prosecute advantages on the field of battle and to maintain the cause of his country in the intricacies of diplomacy. With the utmost refinement of chivalrous manner, he unites, like Metternich, brilliant powers of conversation. His known abilities in the conduct of public affairs, and wide-spread personal influence, designed him as the fitting successor of Metternich in the di-

rection of the Austrian Government, when, in the close of 1848, the victories of Jellachich and Windischgratz restored the authority of the Emperor in the capital; and his appointment as prime minister diffused universal satisfaction, and contributed much to the glorious stand which the German portion of the Empire made against dismemberment and ruin.¹

Before the great contest arose in which these paladins were brought into collision, a fearful war, attended with the most frightful features of civil dissension, had broken out in the east of Hungary. The Servians, or **RAZEN** as they are there called, inhabit the Hungarian counties on the Lower Danube, the eastern part of Sclavonia, and some districts of the Croatian borders. They are a branch of the great Slovak nation, and in number about 800,000. They belonged originally to the Greek Independent Church, at the head of which is the Archbishop of Carlowitz, in whose appointment, though nominally vested in seventy-five electors, the Emperor of Austria has a preponderating influence. Like the Vendéans, they are entirely led by their clergy; and they were strongly attached to the Austrian Government from animosity at the Magyars, who had intruded into their country, and of whom they had for ages been the hereditary foes. So strongly were they imbued with these feelings, that from the very first they repudiated the tempting offers of the Hungarian Parliament, and a participation in the privileges which they had obtained from the Government. They sent a deputation to Pesth in May, 1848, to lay before the Diet their demands, which were partly of a territorial, partly of a national and religious nature. With the characteristic haughtiness of their race, the Magyars refused to come to any accommodation, or even enter into any discussion or explanation with them. This, which their able general, Klapka, admits was a "grievous fault," at once led to a rupture. Disgusted with the insolence with which they had been received, the Razen deputies returned home, and immediately made preparations for war, even before the Government at Vienna had thrown off the mask, and when the Austrian troops were still making common cause with the Hungarian nation. Hostilities began early in June; and with such vigor were they conducted on the part of the Razen, that though at first they had to contend, in addition to the Magyars, with a considerable body of regular Austrian troops, they were generally successful; and after bloody battles had been fought, the insurgents had not only maintained their ground, but wrested a large tract of country, including several strong positions along the old Roman intrenchments, from the Hungarians. The war, which on both sides was conducted with savage ferocity, was still raging when, on the 11th September, Jellachich crossed the Drave and entered Hungary. Thus, within six months of the breaking out of a revolution of which "German unity" was the principle, not only was Prussia at variance with Southern Germany, but Bohemia was alienated from Austria, Hungary from both, and in the latter country itself a frightful war had arisen between the Razen and the Croats against the domineering insolence of the Magyars.²

¹ Balleyd. H. 360, 371.

¹ Balleyd. H. 7, 10, 12.

^{41.} Of Prince Schwartz-
enberg.

² Klapka, War in Hungary, Introduction, 50, 62; Ann. Hist. 1845, 452, 454.

Aware of the strife which was inevitably approaching, both parties had, for a considerable time before it commenced, been making preparations for it. On the 5th August the Hun-

garian Government commenced the issue of a national paper, bearing a forced circulation: a perilous expedient, which carried them through the contest, but landed the nation in a debt of 110,000,000 florins (£11,000,000) in ten months: a sum equal to at least three times the same amount in France or Great Britain. At the same time, the "Honved," or local militia, was called out; a force which amounted to 150,000 men, and formed the basis of the army which afterward did such wonders in the cause of Hungarian independence, but which, being ill-disciplined and without confidence in its officers, exposed them, in the first instance, to numerous reverses; and being not bound to serve beyond the frontier, often prevented them from following up their most brilliant successes. On their side, the Austrian Government made every preparation which their straitened circumstances would admit for the contest. The troops on the frontier were reinforced by every disposable man; and the almost superhuman activity of Count Latour, the minister of war, pushed forward the levying and recruiting of new troops in the provinces which could be relied on with extraordinary vigor. As a last resource, Jellachich was dispatched to Pesth with the ultimatum of the Cabinet of Vienna, which was that the ministries of war, finance, and foreign affairs in Hungary should be united to those of Vienna, an entire community of right be established between all the inhabitants of Austria and Hungary respectively, and the demands of the Razeu nation be conceded. To this the president of the Magyar assembly replied, refusing the terms; and in a proclamation to the Hungarian nation, he said: "Dangers are hourly thickening around our country. An infamous party, of which Jellachich is the blind instrument, again raises its head. In presence of the Archduke John, Jellachich promised me that he would withdraw his army from the Croat frontier on condition that the Hungarians should do the same. In defiance of his pledged word, he is at this moment concentrating a large army in Croatia, and especially in the environs of Warasdin, although, in conformity with our engagement, we have withdrawn a considerable portion of our troops from the Croat frontier to the neighborhood of the Danube. As we may every moment expect to be attacked, I conjure, in this decisive moment, the officers of the menaced frontier to

redouble their vigilance. We will attack no one, but we shall watch over the reactionists, and be ready to defend ourselves, our rights, and country to the last drop of our blood."¹

The plan of the Austrians, devised by Count Latour, in the furtherance of which Jellachich was the principal agent, was that on a certain day the whole fortresses in which their partisans were in the majority were to hoist the Imperial colors, proclaim a state of siege to the neighboring cities and territory, oppose the orders of the Hungarian Government, and take their commands from

the War Office of Vienna. At the same time, Jellachich was to invade Hungary from Warasdin, General Roth from Slavonia. Colonel Mayerhofer was to lead in the Razeu levies in the Bats and Banat country, and in conjunction with the troops in the fortresses of Arad and Temesvar, which were in the Austrian interest, to subjugate the countries of the Lower Danube. Puchner was to march in from the side of Transylvania, Simonich from Galicia; and a helping hand was to be every where given to the Servians, Slovaks, Wallachians, and others, who stood on the Austrian side. In addition to this, a powerful army of reserve was forming under Windischgratz, in the neighborhood of Vienna, which was to march direct on Pesth, the seat of government and the centre of Hungarian power. It seemed next to impossible that the Magyars could successfully resist so formidable a combination, for the regular troops at their disposal did not exceed 25,000 men, scattered over an immense surface; and little reliance, as the event proved, could be placed on the Honved and volunteers, who had never been in action or seen real service.¹

The plan of the campaign on the part of the insurgents was based on different principles. They had only one real advantage, in a military point of view, in their contest with Austria—and that was, in the possession of the fortresses and the whole arsenals of the kingdom, which being entirely in the hands of the national troops, at once hoisted the national colors. This gave them ample supplies of arms, ammunition, and artillery, and rendered the war not one with an insurgent domestic population, but of one foreign nation with another. But as the greater part of the old Hungarian regiments were absent with Radetsky in Italy, and the dépôt battalions only at home, they resolved, in the first instance at least, and till the Honved became inured to war, to remain on the defensive in Hungary. They gained a great advantage before hostilities began, by the acceptance of the command of the fortress of Peterwaradin by General Blagowich from the Hungarian Government. He was a brave man and excellent officer, who, distracted between the orders of his kaiser and the calls of his country, decided for the latter. The Hungarians had no army capable as yet of combating in the open field the regular troops of Windischgratz in the neighborhood of Vienna; but this circumstance gave them little disquiet, as they were in communication with the revolutionists in that capital, by whom a great insurrection was preparing, which soon after broke out, and which, it was expected, would give the Bohemian general ample employment at home without aiding in the operations against Hungary.²

The Hungarian Government made the most herculean efforts to raise and organize troops; and these were admirably seconded by the enthusiasm and spirit of the people. They were quite unanimous, and to the last degree ardent in the cause. The division between the aristocratic and democratic parties, inevitable in the end in such convulsions, was unknown in its commencement.

¹ Klapka, i. 63, 64, Introduction; Balleydier, 6, 7, 8.

² Plan of the campaign on the part of the Hungarians.

³ Balleyd. ii. 143, 144; Klapka, i. 66, Introduction.

The cause was national, not social, at least in the estimation of the immense majority of its supporters; and this, among a people eminently national, and justly proud of their historic renown and martial fame, excited universal enthusiasm. Kossuth was the soul of the movement. At the first intelligence of the Ban having crossed the Drave, he flew to Pesth, boasting that he would not return till he had organized a levy of 70,000 fresh men. He was as good as his word. At his powerful voice ringing on the already vibrating chords of Hungarian nationality, the whole Magyar race flew to arms; 300,000 in a few days came forward demanding arms to defend their country, and 100,000 were at once enrolled. But this ardor was confined to the Magyar race, numbering little more than a third of the inhabitants of

Hungary. The Slaves were arrayed on the other side, either in active or passive resistance; the Croats, Razen, and Wallachians were engaged in a desperate and bloody contest with them.¹

The first operations of Jellachich, contrary to expectation, proved unfortunate. His troops, after the crossing of the Drave, were worsted in several lesser encounters, which added immensely to the enthusiasm of the Magyars. The Court of Vienna now saw that the time had arrived when it was necessary to act with vigor. Accordingly, on the 25th of September a decree appeared appointing General Count Lamberg to the command-in-chief of the army in Hungary, and ordering a suspension of hostilities between the two armies. He immediately set out for Pesth, without an escort, to enter on the duties of his office. Kossuth and the national party in Hungary, two days after, met this by a counter-proclamation, in which the nomination of the Count was declared illegal, and not entitled to obedience in Hungary, as wanting the counter-signature of the Hungarian minister, in terms of the constitution. By the same proclamation, all who obeyed him were declared guilty of high treason, and it was announced that, as the Archduke Stephen could not act alone, Kossuth and Szemen would remain in office, and provisionally carry on the Government. Matters had now come to a crisis which necessarily rendered war inevitable, and it was hastened by a shocking crime, which at

once precipitated hostilities, and was the main cause of the ulcerated feelings and deeds of cruelty which disgraced both sides during the continuance of the contest.²

Count Lamberg was still alone, traveling without an escort, attended only by a single aid-de-camp and servant, when he approached Pesth. He had set out at a moment's warning from Vienna to enter on his perilous mission: he had little hopes of success, none of surviving. "You will set out this evening," said the minister to him, when he announced his appointment. "This moment," said he. "Adieu, general!" answered the minister. "No!" answered Lamberg; "my days are numbered:

We shall never meet again. I recommend my children to you." Unhappily Pesth was in a state of the most violent excitement, and the streets filled with crowds of men and women almost frantic with passion. He arrived, however, without experiencing any actual violence, at the head-quarters of the general commandant of the town of Buda, on the other side of the river, Hrabovski, by whom he was coldly received. Hearing a noise, every moment increasing, in the streets, he asked its cause. "It is the people," said Hrabovski, "coming to pay you a visit." "Let them come, then," said the old general, rising up with inexpressible dignity. "What are you going to do?" asked the Hungarian. "My duty," replied Lamberg. "I shall go to Pesth first, to the President of the Council, to obtain his counter-signature to the royal rescripts; then to the Diet, to announce the object of my mission. Will you accompany me?" "I am at your service," replied Hrabovski; but as they set out the latter made some pretext to slip away, leaving the Count to proceed alone. Meanwhile the streets through which they had to pass were crowded, and the cry "Death to Lamberg!" was heard on all sides. One young man, pale with excitement, lifted up on a cart, said, "Citizens! Do you know why Lamberg has come among us? He has come to extinguish our nationality, and absorb it in the despotism of Austria: he has come to substitute its abhorred colors for our glorious colors: he has come to extinguish in the blood of the Hungarian people the sacred fire of the Magyars: he has come to rivet on our hands the chains of the most odious slavery. The time presses, citizens! The moment of action has arisen: choose between independence and slavery." "Death to Lamberg!" was the cry on all sides; "To arms!" "Why arms?" cried the orator: "it is under strokes of clubs that the dog-traitor Lamberg should perish." It was under the excitement produced by these and similar words that Count Lamberg entered the crowd on his way to the Diet; and some brave national guards, seeing his danger, came up at the moment and surrounded the carriage. "Your devotion, gentlemen," said he, with a calm voice, "will not save me; but I die without fear, for my conscience has nothing to reproach me. Yet it is sad for a soldier to die in a riot, and not by a cannon-ball in the field of battle." In vain the National Guard strove to protect him; a furious mob broke in on all sides, and instantly dispatched him by blows with bludgeons and cuts with scythes. His body was pierced by forty-three wounds; his clothes were torn in pieces and distributed as trophies to his assassins; a cord was put round his neck, and, after the body had been mutilated, it was dragged along the streets in the midst of a crowd of fifteen thousand persons uttering frightful yells. The Diet evinced the usual weakness of popular leaders in presence of a revolt; warned of the danger, they did nothing to arrest it; and he was massacred under the eyes of several of the deputies.³

A few days after this hideous murder was committed, another tragic event occurred, attended with still more mournful consequences. Count Eugene Zichy, a young man of one of

48. Murder of Count Lamberg. Sept. 28.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 454, 455; Klapka, i 67, 69, Introduction; An. Reg. 1848, 416.

³ Ann. Hist. 1848, 454.

49. Execution of Count Zichy. October 2.

the first families in Hungary, of the most noble character and unwearied beneficence, had been on an errand of mercy with the Ban to obtain some protection for the miserable inhabitants of the invaded country in which his estates lay, against the devastations of the Croats, when he was arrested by a tenant whose family had been loaded with benefits by that of Zichy, bound, garroted, and conducted with the most savage cruelty to the Isle of Czesel, where he was delivered over to a council of war presided over by Georgey, then a captain in the Honved, by whom he was immediately put on his trial for high treason. The only evidence against him consisted of a safe-conduct from Jellachich, from whom he was returning, and some copies of an address by the Emperor to the Hungarian nation and the troops in South Hungary, calculated to encourage them to revolt against the Diet at Pesth, found in his portmanteau. The Count said that they had been put there by his valet without his knowledge or consent—a statement which, although possible, is not very probable. But the material thing is, that it was not pretended even that any of these proclamations had been circulated by himself or others, or that the contemplated rising had taken place. At the worst, therefore, it was only a preparation for treason. There was no overt act to which it could attach. Even if it had been otherwise, and the proclamations had been published, Zichy, in forwarding their publication, was only obeying the commands of his lawful Emperor; and were the Hungarians entitled to apply the law of high treason to one obeying the orders of his sovereign, and thus stain, in its outset, a contest which in reality was a national one, with the odious features of civil warfare? These considerations were wholly lost on Georgey, who signed the fatal warrant condemning Zichy to be hanged. His last words were, “I die innocent; and may God grant that I may be the last victim, and may He protect my country, and save it from judges such as mine have been. Long live Hungary; long live the King!” In a few minutes all was over; the mob cut down the body, divided the garments as trophies, and after subjecting it to every indignity, threw it on a dunghill on the banks of the Danube. It was half devoured by wild animals, when a young

¹ Georgey, l. 15, 81; Bal-loyd, ii. 195, 204. Greek priest gave what remained an humble sepulture; and a year after it was removed to the family vault in the church of Kalos.¹

Indignant at these atrocities, the Emperor launched forth a decree against the Hungarians, dissolving the Diet of Pesth, declaring all its acts and ordinances illegal, constituting Jellachich commander-in-chief in Hungary and Transylvania, with unlimited powers, and appointing a new ministry, with Count Reizig at its head. This was immediately met by a counter-proclamation from Kossuth, asserting the entire independence of Hungary, and declaring Jellachich and Reizig traitors, and guilty of high treason. The transports with which this declaration was received at Pesth were much increased when intelligence next day arrived there that the Austrian army, under Jellachich, had met with a serious check in attempting to

storm the Hungarians intrenched in a strong position at Valeneze, and a considerable convoy of ammunitions and provisions had been cut off. This success was immediately after followed by the capture of General Roth, with six thousand men and twelve guns, who fell into an ambuscade skillfully laid by the Hungarian generals. This disaster was so serious that the Cabinet of Vienna directed the immediate march of fifteen thousand men from the capital and its environs to reinforce the army of the Ban, who was now urgently pressing for reinforcements. The attempt to carry out this order brought to a head, somewhat sooner than had been intended, the insurrection at Vienna, which opened a new phase in the revolution, and induced events of the very utmost importance.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 454, 455; Balleydier, ii. 191, 207; Klapka, i. 71, Introduction; Georgey, l. 30, 48.

As, in the exhausted state of the national resources, it was no easy matter to know where to find these troops, Count Latour, the minister at war, had fixed upon the grenadiers of Richter to form part of the reinforcements. This corps for fourteen years had formed part of the garrison of the capital, and, as a necessary consequence, had become deeply imbued with its passions and its vices, and come to reflect all the political feelings with which its inhabitants were animated. No sooner, therefore, did they hear of an intention to transport them to the seat of war in Hungary, than they evinced unequivocal symptoms of a mutinous spirit, and determination to resist. This was done, as well from a reluctance to leave the pleasures of Vienna as from the contagion of the revolutionary principles with which so many of its citizens were affected. The minister at war, however, was firm, and persisted in his order that the regiment should march, and their departure was directed to take place on the 6th October. This threw them into the utmost state of agitation, and the revolutionary leaders hailed with transport such an opportunity of ingrafting a military revolt on a civil movement, and by means of the armed force in the capital at once overturning the Imperial government, and giving the most effectual aid to the Magyars in the dismemberment of the Empire. To effect this, however, it was indispensable to get rid of Count Latour, whose known firmness of character threatened to be the most serious impediment to their designs; and to arrange the mode of accomplishing this object, a meeting of the chiefs of the secret societies was held on the night of the 4th October.²

51. Commencement of the insurrection in Vienna. October 4.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 455, 456; Balleydier, ii. 210, 215.

The conspirators met, accordingly, in a secret chamber at Vienna, with the greatest precautions against discovery, or the admission of any one who did not belong to the affiliated societies. The chairman then introduced the subject: “We have received information from one of our associates in the war-office that on the day after to-morrow the traitor Latour is about to execute a *coup-de-main*; but we shall be beforehand with him. What say you, brethren?” “Yes, yes,” arose on all sides. “It is well,” replied the president: “a revolution is a fine thing, brethren; but to render it

53. Strange scene at a meeting of the conspirators. October 4.

50. Dissolution of the Diet of Hungary, which is declared in a state of siege. Sept. 30.

Oct. 1.

Sept. 20.

profitable, it must be really one, and not a mere caricature. What we require is a revolution of the people with bared arms, locks tossed by the winds, wrath in their eyes, and the fusil in their hands." "And not a riot," added another; "what we require is a revolution with barricades and war in the streets." "And not a bourgeois manifestation with rose-water and sugar-candy." "A revolution like that of Danton and Robespierre." "And not a parody, as that of Louis Blanc and Lamartine." "In fine, a revolution of Titans and men." "And not a caprice of pigmies, or a phantasy of poets." "What we require, in fine," said the president, with an earnest and solemn voice, "is a revolution with corpses enough to satisfy the vengeance of the people, and a victim elevated enough to compromise the people, and render a retreat impossible. Do you understand me, brethren?" "Yes, yes," arose on all sides. "We demand justice." "Against whom?" "Latour." "Agreed, agreed; justice to the people, death to Latour, life and independence to Germany." The conspirators then took a solemn oath to execute the enterprise; and the nocturnal meeting, which had been prolonged till seven in the morning, broke up.¹

While this dramatic scene was being acted in a den of darkness in Vienna, Latour, in the church of the Jesuits, in the same city, was celebrating a solemn funeral-service for the soul of Count Lamberg. Having taken their resolution, the conspirators were not slow in putting their designs into execution, and carried them out with much ability. A general insurrection, aided by the mutinous regiment of Richter, supported by the students, the burgher and national guards, was organized, and a certain number of desperadoes were fixed on to single out Count Latour, and dispatch him during the strife. Meanwhile petitions were addressed to the war minister by the armed students and the Burgher Guard, entreating him to suspend the order for the march of the mutinous grenadiers, on whose co-operation they relied; and they, in their determination to resist, sent to sound the University Legion, whom they found in the best disposition. Latour was firm, though he clearly foresaw the crisis which was approaching. "Bred a soldier," said the brave old man, "I consider obedience as the first of military duties. A minister at war at the close of my career, I will not betray the convictions of my whole life. A revocation of the order I gave yesterday would be not merely an act of cowardice—it would be a crime." The conspirators next sent a similar petition to Count Auersperg, the commander of the garrison, but met with the same answer. Meanwhile active preparations were every where made for the immediate commencement of hostilities; the clubs declared their sittings permanent, and were indefatigable in their efforts to rouse the people into rebellion; the Constituent Assembly sat in permanence, and already barricades were commenced in the central parts of the city. Early in the morning an anonymous letter was brought to Latour, requiring him instantly to revoke the order for the march of the troops, and threatening that if this was not done, and the hotel of the war minister evacuated, the

minister himself, Bach, the minister of justice, and the Archduchess Sophia, would be hanged facing each other before noon on the following day. "It was no soldier who wrote that letter," said Latour: "he desires me to desert my post." The order, accordingly, was not recalled; and the rebellious regiment, escorted by faithful cavalry, set out on their march, surrounded by an immense crowd, and crossed the bridge of Tabor, at the farther end of which the National Guard and University Legion were ranged in order of battle. The two parties were then in presence: a frightful combat seemed instant and inevitable.¹

The mutinous regiment, setting at defiance the cavalry who escorted them, crossed the bridge at the *pas de charge*, and immediately fraternized with the insurgents at the opposite end, crying "Long live Hungary." Upon this several other regiments were brought up, with some pieces of cannon, and the insurgents were summoned to surrender. This they refused to do, upon which General Bredy, the commanding officer, gave the word of command to the gunners, "Fire!" with a loud voice; but hardly were the words out of his mouth when he fell dead from a discharge of musketry from the other side. Though shaken for a moment by the discharge of grape, the insurgents quickly rallied, and by a sudden rush made themselves masters of the guns, and drove back the Nassau infantry, who were foremost on the Emperor's side. The action now continued with regular firing between the troops and the revolted grenadiers for some time, and the insurgents were at first driven back by the steady volleys of the regular troops; but being strongly reinforced, and having fallen back to some barricades, they brought their opponents to a stand, and at length forced them to retreat in their turn. This was the signal for a general outbreak in all quarters. The insurgents, now reinforced by the greater part of the National Guard, crossed the bridge of Tabor, and entered the city; the gates were intrusted to detachments of the National Guard and the students; the tocsin sounded from all the churches; barricades were every where run up; a central committee appointed for military operations, and every preparation made for vigorous hostilities. A fierce contest took place in the Place of St. Stephen, close to the noble edifice there, when a party of loyal national guards were attacked by the insurgents, and, after a short combat, defeated and driven into the cathedral, where their commander was slain on the steps of the high altar. Nearly the whole of the town proper had now fallen into the hands of the insurgents. One gate only, that of the Scotch, remained in the hands of the loyal troops; and by this three companies of sappers and miners, with four guns, were sent in by Latour, to endeavor to extricate those who had been driven into the cathedral; but they were unable to reach their destination. Stopped by formidable barricades in front, and assailed by a plunging fire from the windows on either side, they were nearly all struck down, and the few survivors made prisoners and confined in the university buildings, the whole ap-

¹ Balleyd. ii. 202, 219.

53. Plans of the conspirators, and commencement of the insurrection.

¹ Balleyd. ii. 218, 227; An. Hist. 1848, 455; An. Reg. 1848, 416, 417.

54. Commencement of the combat, and successes of the insurgents. October 6.

² Ann. Reg. 1848, 416, 417; An. Hist. 455; Balleydier, ii. 230, 235.

proaches of which were crossed by formidable barricades.

The only post in the city now occupied by the royal troops was the hotel of the minister of war. A council of war was there held, under the presidency of Count Latour, to deliberate on what should be done. They were guarded only by 176 men, of whom twelve were mounted, and a single gun; several thousands of the insurgents thronged round the gates. The most alarming accounts were brought in every instant of the progress of the insurrection, and the defection of the whole National Guard and a part of the troops of the line. Opinions were divided as to the course which should be pursued. The majority thought further resistance hopeless and inexpedient, as likely to compromise the Imperial family. The intrepid Bach, minister at war, strongly supported the opposite opinion. "Concessions at this stage, gentlemen," cried he, "would be worse than cowardice—it would be the consecration of revolt. Besides, it would not save you. Listen to the cries below the windows! They are the voice of the people demanding victims to be thrown to the wild beasts, or rather the howling of wild beasts for their prey. Let us have no concessions! A good cause is never lost by resistance; it is concession which ruins it. What is required for the monarchy and the capital is, to declare the metropolis in a state of siege, to give orders to General Auersperg to resume the offensive at all points, and to oppose to the daggers of the revolution the swords of the faithful Austrians." But the proverb held good: the council of war did not fight. Reluctantly Count Latour yielded to the opinion of the majority, and signed the fatal order, "The firing is every where to cease." But M. Bach was right in his anticipations: though it prostrated the monarchy, it did not save those who, at the eleventh hour, had capitulated for it. The announcement of the order was received with loud cheers by the insurgents, and, emboldened by their success, they instantly pressed on, and made prisoners the military guard, now deprived of all means of resistance by the order which had been issued. From thence they rushed into the building, and surrounded Count Latour. He offered, if the Emperor gave his consent, and it would appease the tumult, to resign his situation; but nothing could satisfy the rage of the people but his blood. The midnight conspirators checked every symptom of returning humanity. After several efforts of some of the National Guard to save him, and a protracted resistance by the bravest of their number, he was seized by the infuriated rabble, and after being buffeted and maltreated in the cruellest manner, he was dragged down to the court-yard and hanged to the lamp, after having been almost dispatched by blows of sledge-hammers, scythes, and axes. His body hung for twenty-four hours where it had been suspended, during which the National Guard amused themselves by firing at the lifeless remains. His garments were cut in pieces, and his orders torn off and divided among his murderers as trophies.¹

¹ Balleyd. ii. 234, 259; An. Reg. 1848, 417, 418; An. Hist. 1848, 455.

A neighboring clock struck four and three-quarters as he breathed his last. "That clock," said one who heard it, "sounds at once the ago-

ny of Count Latour and of the Revolution of Vienna."

The prediction ere long was verified; but, in the first instance, it seemed as if it would fall out far otherwise. Success, decisive so far as the defense of the capital was concerned, immediately followed the murder of the war minister. From the hotel where the hideous crime had been committed, the mob, now numbering fifteen thousand men, with a strong body of national guards, proceeded to the arsenal, which they summoned to surrender. It was occupied by a considerable body of soldiers, but by no means adequate to the defense of a post of so much importance, against the formidable and excited multitude by whom it was now assailed. The troops inside, however, made a gallant defense. Throwing open the gate, they ran a 24-pounder out, loaded with canister and grape, and discharged it right into the crowd, which caused an immediate recoil, and no small panic among the unruly assailants. But the revolted regiment and the artillery of the National Guard were now brought up, and a heavy and sustained fire was kept up on the gate and building from the roofs and windows of the adjoining houses by which they were commanded. Before long part of the arsenal took fire, and the building in which it broke out was totally consumed. Alarmed by this, and dreading an explosion of the great powder-magazine in the building, the garrison capitulated at six next morning; and this immense arsenal, with all the arms and military stores it contained, fell into the hands of the insurgents. They immediately broke in, and, spreading through all the rooms, seized the whole fire-arms and such guns as they could drag away, and distributed them among their comrades. The ancient arms and armor, the trophies of the monarchy, were not respected, and became the prey of the vilest of the populace. The swords of Scanderbeg and Prince Eugene were seen in the hands of common mechanics; the helmet of Charles V.; that of Francis I., taken at the battle of Pavia; the arms of Wallenstein and Daun were tossed from hand to hand, and lost amidst an ignorant and brutal mob.¹

The conduct of the Constituent Assembly during this eventful day exhibited that mixture of pusillanimity and ambition which invariably characterizes the first leaders of a revolutionary movement when they are passed in the career by others more reckless or determined than themselves. Instead of doing any thing to moderate the excesses of the populace, they appointed a "committee of public safety" to conduct the affairs of the Government, and addressed a petition to the Emperor, in which they demanded the dismissal of the ministers and the formation of a new and popular cabinet; the removal of Jellachich from the command in Hungary; the revocation of the last proclamation against the Hungarians; and a general amnesty for all offenses committed in the course of the insurrection. The Emperor, who was in no condition to refuse any thing that might be demanded of him, agreed to change his ministers, and to appoint M. Dobshoff and Hornbost, two popular members of the Assembly, to the new ministry.

¹ Balleyd. ii. 239, 279; An. Reg. 1848, 418; An. Hist. 1848, 455.

This, however, did not satisfy the democrats, who next insisted that the Committee of Public Safety should immediately assume the government; that instructions should be sent to Count Auersperg to obey no commands but such as came from them; and that orders should forthwith be sent to Olmütz and Brunn, and to the directors of the southern railway, to send no more troops to Vienna. At the same time they addressed a proclamation to the insurgents, who had just murdered Count Latour, in which they said: "People of Austria! Europe regards you

1 Balleyd. II. with admiration, and history will place our elevation to freedom as Reg. 1848, 417, one of its most illustrious exploits."¹

Seeing himself now virtually dethroned, and all real authority passed away, the Emperor resolved to leave Vienna, where his life was no longer in safety. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th October, before daybreak,

he set out from Schönbrunn, where the whole Imperial family was assembled, taking them all with him, and took the road to Olmütz, escorted by three thousand five hundred troops whom Count Auersperg, though sorely pressed for men, detached for that service. The Emperor left behind him an address to the Assembly, in which he said: "I have endeavored to satisfy all the demands of my people; I have joyfully exhausted every thing which a sovereign can give to his people in mark of confidence; I have sought to augment by a constitution the independence, the force, and the well-being of the nation. Though the revolt of the 18th May drove me from the palace of my ancestors, I was not weary of concession. A Parliament was convoked on the widest electoral basis, to settle, in concert with me, the constitution. I returned to my capital with no other safeguard but the justice and gratitude of my people. But a small band of misled men threaten to destroy the hopes of every true patriot. Anarchy is at its height: Vienna is teeming with murders and conflagrations. My minister, whose age, were it nothing else, might have protected him, expired under the strokes of assassins. I trust in God, in my just rights, and I have left the capital to bring succor to my oppressed people. The time has come when every

2 Balleyd. II. one who loves Austria, who loves liberty, should range himself around the standard of the Emperor."²

The conduct of Count Auersperg and the military chiefs, during these trying times, was in the highest degree skillful and praiseworthy. The troops under his command were about twenty thousand, amply sufficient to have re-established the authority of the Emperor in the capital, although, as the national guards and insurgents were three times as numerous, it could only be accomplished at a fearful expenditure of human life. But the fatal order of the Council, "to cease firing at all points," entirely paralyzed his operations, and rendered retreat a matter of necessity. He wisely, therefore, availed himself of the night to withdraw his troops entirely from their barracks in the town, and stationed them in the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwartz-

enberg, and in the vicinity of the Belvidere palace, on heights which commanded the city. Head-quarters were established at Enzersdorf, already rendered famous in the wars of Napoleon, in order to be at hand for any eventualities. He then quietly awaited the issue of events; nor was it long before they arose in such quarters, and from such men, as promised a very different future to the Austrian Empire from what present events in the capital might seem to prognosticate. From Radetsky and the Italian army, adorned with the laurels of Custoza, addresses were shortly received, breathing the warmest spirit of loyalty and devotion to the Emperor; and even from Prague, so recently the seat of insurrection, came an address, containing the severest condemnation of the Vienna revolutionists, and the strongest determination to uphold "Austria one and indivisible."³

But the succor thus announced was as yet far distant; and meanwhile immediate reinforcements were required to regain possession of the capital, now wholly in the hands of the insurgents. Fortunately for the cause

of freedom throughout the world, and the salvation of Austria, this succor was found in Jellachich, who was near enough to the scene of action to intervene immediately, and sufficiently powerful to do so with decisive effect. No sooner did the Ban hear of the events of the 6th October in Vienna, than he took his determination. Imitating the decision of Blucher, who, when he heard the cannonade at Waterloo, relinquished his separate line of operations to take part in the strife at the decisive point, he instantly abandoned his base and advanced toward Pesth, and moved up by forced marches toward the capital. The southern railway gave him the means of doing so with great celerity; and on the 9th October, three days after the insurrection, his advanced posts were at Klein, Neusiedel, and Modling, within two hours' march of Vienna. The motives which led to this able and decisive movement are thus explained by Jellachich himself, in a letter written at the time to the Slavonians of Bohemia: "It was my duty, as a faithful and sincere Slavonian, to oppose in Pesth the anti-Austrian party, which rose in arms against Slavonianism. But as I approached Pesth, that nest of the Magyar aristocracy, our common enemies arose; and had they conquered in Vienna, my victory in Pesth would have been incomplete, and the main stay of our enemies would have been Vienna. Therefore I turned with the whole of my troops to Vienna, in order to chastise the enemies of Slavonianism in the Austrian capital. I was led solely by the conviction that in approaching Vienna I was advancing against the enemies of Slavonianism."⁴

Great was the dismay in the Austrian capital when the approach of the Ban was announced, and still greater when intelligence arrived that he had ordered rations for sixty thousand men, a number double of his real force, but purposely done to augment the terrors of his approach. Crowds thronged the steeples, and especially the lofty spire of St. Stephen, one of the highest in Eu-

1 Balleyd. II. 288, 289: Ann. Reg. 1848, 419.

60. March of Jellachich on Vienna. Sept. 9, 10.

2 Jellachich to the Slavonic brethren in Bohemia, Oct. 10, 1848: Ann. Reg. 1848, 419.

61. His approach.

rope, anxiously gazing to the south to descry the first approach of the avenging hosts coming to inflict punishment on them for their crimes. They were not long of appearing, and in such numbers and variety of costume as bespoke rather the multifarious array of Eastern pride than the more sober garb of European war. First came the Illyrians with their red caps, the Seregranes wrapped in their scarlet mantles, the Croations with their gray broad-brimmed hats, with no uniform but a gray blouse and a fusil and dagger. With these were mingled large bodies of Austrian cavalry and artillery, clad in the Imperial uniform. Farther off to the east, clouds of cavalry and the neighing of steeds, heard even at so great a distance, announced the approach of the Magyar horse and the army of Hungary intended to co-operate with the insurgents. It seemed as if all the forces of the monarchy were assembling at a rendezvous under the walls of Vienna for a grand military tournament. On the evening of the 12th Jellachich effected his junction with Auersperg in the gar-
 1 Balleyd. il. 290, 292; dens of Belvidere, and their united Ann. Reg. forces amounted to fifty thousand com- 1848, 419. batants.¹

The preceding night had been one of extreme anxiety in Vienna, for the insurgents were in hourly expectation of an attack from the now vastly-increased forces of their enemies. It has been thus described by an eyewitness: "The silence of the night was interrupted at intervals by the sound of firearms, especially in the direction of the Wieden and high-road, where Auersperg's head-quarters were established. On the summit of the barricades, and beyond them, men were sleeping in blouses, armed to the teeth; women and girls, not of the most respectable appearance, were mingled among them, some talking and laughing; others, like the men, asleep upon heaps of stones. The walls and battlements of the city offered a most animated appearance. One line of watch-fires stretched as far as the eye could reach, each surrounded by students, men in blouses, artisans with their sleeves tucked up to their elbows, and national guards having more the appearance of regular soldiers. Above the gates guns were pointed so as to sweep the approaches to the fortified parts of the city; artillerymen, students, or workmen, were on duty near them, with lighted matches. Patrols of every description paraded the walls in regular parties. There were not less than ten thousand men on the ramparts." During the whole night and preceding day the Parliament and Committee of Public Safety made repeated attempts to ascertain the side which Jellachich was to take, and ordered him not to approach the walls; but in vain: he steadily advanced and joined Auersperg.* On their side, the insurgents made the most vigorous efforts, by running up and strengthening the barricades, to prepare for their defense,

* "My sole object is the maintenance of the monarchy on the base of an equality of rights and fidelity to the sovereign. It is for this reason that I have no doubt whom I should obey. The maintenance of the troops whom I have the honor to command will be provided for, and the cost will not fall as a burden on the inhabitants, as my army will bivouac. I am not pursued by any Magyar army; if I were so, I would oppose force to force."—JELLACHICH to the Diet of Vienna, October 12, 1848; BALLEYDIER, il. 288.

and the clubs, as well as assembly, sat in permanence. To their honor be it spoken, during the days that the insurgents had the
 1 Balleydier, command of the city, no acts of il. 286, 296; robbery or spoliation sullied the An. Reg. 1848, 419. Austrian character.¹

In the mean time, important events had taken place in Prague, which brought a
 63. new and important actor and an ad- Approach of ditional army on the theatre. The Windisch- magistrates and people of Prague, gratz from seeing the turn events were taking Prague. at Vienna, and that the contest had run into one between the Slavonic and Magyar races, took part, as bound alike by duty and inclination, with the former. The municipal authorities there issued a strong proclamation, condemning the conduct of the Vienna insurgents, and declaring "Bohemia can only prosper when Austria is independent." Windischgratz brought considerable reinforcements with him, raising the royal army before Vienna to seventy thousand men—a force about equal to the armed men within the walls. But the great reliance of the insurgents was on the Hungarians, whose approach was anxiously looked for from the steeples, and repeatedly, though falsely, announced to the people. Their advanced posts, indeed, made their appearance on the skirts of the forest of Vienna, but the main body never came up; and after a vain demonstration, the whole retired into their own country without attempting anything. The revolutionists, however, received a very important accession of strength at this critical moment by the arrival of a number of cosmopolitan democrats from various countries, especially Poland, the ardent ex-
 2 Ann. Reg. 1848, 421; Balleydier, il. 290, 296; Ann. Hist. 1848, 460. iled sons of which hastened from all quarters to the Austrian capital, and brought with them their enthusiastic zeal, buoyant courage, and military experience.²

Among these was General BEN, a Polish officer who had acquired great distinction
 64. in the war in Poland. By a happy in- Character spiration he had saved the Polish army of Ben. from destruction on the field of Ostrolenka in 1831. He immediately received an important command in the city, and by his courage and resolution he proved himself worthy of the trust. His mind was cast in the mould of great captains, and if he had been employed in a more fortunate cause he would probably have acquired deathless renown. Ardent, enterprising, and impassioned, like most of his countrymen, he united with these qualities the *sang froid*, presence of mind, and coolness in danger, which are essential to a consummate general. The greater part of his life, from the misfortunes of his country, was spent in exile, and he there acquired the restless activity and instability of purpose by which refugees are in general characterized. It had been early prophesied of him that he would rise to great distinction, and be rarely fortunate, and that he would incur no personal danger till the year 1850. The prophecy, which was fully credited by him, led him to despise dangers in his previous career; but it was at length fatally accomplished in that year, when he died, having, in despair of Eu-
 3 Balleyd. il. 294, 298. rope, embraced the creed of Moham- med.³

The arrangements for the attack of the capital having been made, Windischgratz, who, on his arrival, had assumed the command, summoned the city. The terms proposed were, that within forty-eight hours the city was to be surrendered, and all arms given up; the armed corporations and University Legion to be dissolved, and twelve students to be delivered up as hostages, and certain individuals named. The Diet replied that these terms were illegal and unconstitutional; to which Windischgratz rejoined that he could not negotiate with the Diet, and that the only authority he could recognize was the Municipal Council of Vienna. Windischgratz having given the besieged twenty-four hours more to accede to his proposal, he commenced the bombardment on the morning of the 28th. Before this took place the spirits of the besieged had been somewhat raised by the arrival of Blum, Hartonem, and Roebel, as a deputation from the Assembly at Frankfort, to congratulate the Viennese on their glorious revolution, and encourage them to persevere in their defense. These enthusiastic Liberals did not confine themselves to congratulatory words, but proceeded to deeds, and took an active part in encouraging and organizing the means of resistance, which led to a sad but not unmerited tragedy with one of their number. Meanwhile the clubs and revolutionary authorities redoubled their activity, and so formidable were their preparations in barricades, artillery, and troops to guard them, that it was evident nothing but a most sanguinary struggle could effect their reduction.¹

Windischgratz directed his principal attack against the suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, where the defenses of the besieged were the least formidable, and the insurgents in most strength were grouped around their several standards to await the assault. The moment was solemn and awful; profound silence, interrupted only by the rolling of artillery and ammunition wagons, prevailed all the morning; every one felt that the decisive moment had arrived which was to determine the contest between the revolutionists and the Emperor. At ten o'clock the tocsin suddenly rang from all the churches, the *générale* beat in all the streets, and the combatants were every where seen hurrying to their several rallying-points. The assailants were not less determined; the regiment of the late Count Latour was in an especial manner excited, and loudly proclaimed their determination to take a signal vengeance on his murderers. At half-past eleven a signal-gun was discharged by the assailants, followed by a loud roar from all their batteries, and immediately the firing became general on both sides.²

The first barricade was carried without much difficulty by the effect of a heavy fire of musketry from the Croats and Chasseurs stationed in the houses and woods of the Prater adjoining; but at the second barricade, which was mounted with cannon, and where Bem, with the University Legion, commanded in person, a much more formidable resistance was experienced, and the

contest was obstinate and bloody in the extreme. Three separate assaults by the Imperialists were repulsed with great slaughter, and the shouts of victory were already raised by the defenders, when a loud cry was heard behind them, followed by triumphant cheers. It was the Croats of Jellachich, who, having penetrated into the suburb of Leopoldstadt by the Landstrasse and the avenue of the Emperor Francis, had now made their way into the rear of the barricade of the Prater, which had been so obstinately contested, and rendered its further maintenance impracticable. This success was decisive; the rebels, attacked both in front and rear, and exposed to a fire from the adjoining houses, which were all occupied, were obliged to evacuate their formidable position, which, with all the guns mounted on it, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Later in the evening, the railway station of Gloggnitz and the whole of the Belvidere were taken after a desperate fight, in which the students who defended them were slain to the last man. The suburbs of Leopoldstadt and Landstrasse, the gardens of the palace of Prince Schwarzenberg, the Hôtel of the Invalides, and the Veterinary School, were in the hands of the Imperialists before night. The surrender of the city was now only a question of time, and could not apparently be delayed beyond a few hours.¹

The day had been terrible, but the night which followed was more terrible still. The town was on fire in six-and-twenty different places. The whole houses adjoining the double barricade of the Prater, the scene of so desperate a conflict on the preceding day, the Theatre of the Odeon, the Street of Francis, the baths of Schuted, the railway station of Borek, the Jagerzeil, had become the prey of the flames. Scarce an eye was closed in Vienna on that dreadful night. With speechless agony the people watched the columns of flame which in every direction rose into the heavens, and cast a lurid light over the vast expanse of the city. The dead bodies of men and horses lying about wherever the contest had been severe, the pools of blood, and the horrid stench arising from the half-consumed bodies in the burned houses, exhibited a picture of war in its most terrible form. Half of the houses in the assaulted suburbs had been burned down—the remainder were riddled with round-shot and shells. On every side were to be seen weeping wives, sisters, and daughters, searching among the ruins, or pulling out of the rubbish the half-consumed bodies of their relatives. The Revolutionists had determined on having a revolution “à la Robespierre,” and they had got it; but they did not intend, what had now come to pass, that its terrors were to fall on themselves.²

The morning of the 29th commenced with the interment of the dead slain in the conflict of the preceding day. Their number astonished those engaged in the melancholy ceremony, and diffused a general sadness, which was the farther increased by the sight of the wide chasm in the ranks of the survivors. This was occasioned not only by those slain or wound-

¹ Balleyd. II. 306, 315; An. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; An. Hist. 1848, 460, 461.

² Balleyd. II. 330, 331; An. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; An. Hist. 1848, 461.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; Balleydier, II. 332, 334; Ann. Hist. 1848, 461.

² Eye-witness in Ann. Reg. 1848, 422; B. I. leyd. II. 334, 335; An. Hist. 1848, 461.

ed in the fight, but by the still greater number who, despairing of success, had left their ranks, thrown away their arms, and exchanged their brilliant uniforms for the sober garb of citizens. Others, again, among whom were nearly the whole students and Poles, with mournful resolution still gallantly held out, and repaired to their several rallying-points on the bastions and in the barricades; but the generals of the insurgents took a calmer view of their chances of success, and in the course of the forenoon declared to the Committee of Public Safety that it was impossible to prolong the defense. Windischgratz humanely suspended his fire to give the insurgents an opportunity of coming to an accommodation, and the municipality sent a deputation to him to endeavor to effect some alleviation in the conditions of capitulation. But the Imperial general was inflexible, and insisted on his original conditions; he agreed, however, to suspend hostilities till midnight, in order to give the insurgents time to consider his proposals. The deputation returned to the committee with heavy hearts, and they, in their turn, sent for the heads of the sections to consider what was to be done under the circumstances. "The surrender of the town," cried Bem, "as we now stand, would be a monstrous act of cowardice, while our defeat on the ruins of Vienna would be a passport to immortality. From the top of St. Stephen's the advanced posts of the Magyars are already seen, and their guns ready to pour grape on our enemies. Yes! the ruins of Vienna would be a tomb worthy of the giants of Poland and Austria." "One may easily see," replied the commander-in-chief, Messenhauser, "that you are not a Viennese; you mistake the epoch. The ruins of Vienna would not be your tomb; for if such a misfortune was reserved for the capital of the monarchy through your fault, you would be buried in it under the curses and the opprobrium of the universe." The National Guard loudly applauded these words; the Poles and refugees alone remained silent. It was at length agreed, by a large majority, to accept the terms offered by Win-

¹ Balleydier, II. 337, 339; An. Reg. 1848, 422, 423; An. Hist. 1848, 461.

The terms of the capitulation were forthwith carried into execution. Already the chief members of the Central Committee of the Clubs and of the Committee of Public Safety had disappeared, the university was dissolved, the disarming of the National Guard had in great part been carried into effect, and wagons of arms were every hour brought into the dépôts appointed for their reception, when, at a quarter past eleven on the morning of the 30th, a great stir was observed in the crowd which thronged round the foot of St. Stephen's steeple, anxious to hear if there were any symptoms of the approach of the Hungarians, when a student standing on a chair read the following billet, signed by Messenhauser: "From the summit of the tower of St. Stephen's they see distinctly a combat commencing behind Kaiser-Ebersdorf, without being able to distinguish the troops engaged, or the course of the action." This announcement was like the

cry of pardon to a convict on the verge of execution; the whole insurgents felt as if relieved from instant death. Instantly the cry arose, "Long live the Hungarians! all is over; here are the Magyars—to arms, to arms! forward to meet the enemy!" The transports were indescribable: in the twinkling of an eye crowds of armed men were seen on the ramparts; every one was hurrying to and fro in the streets; artillery was dragged forward to the barricades; all thoughts of the capitulation were at an end. The universal enthusiasm was increased by a second bulletin issued at one o'clock, which announced that "the battle was advancing toward Oberstern and Inzersdorf, and that the Hungarians appeared to be advancing victoriously." The transports now became universal and indescribable; from all the steeples, roofs, and towers of the city the insurgents were firing guns and waving flags in the belief of victory; while the increasing roar of the cannon, the sharp rattle of the musketry, and at length the crash of cannon-balls against the walls and elevated buildings, told distinctly that the battle was rolling nearer, and relief approaching. But these joyous tidings soon yielded to more gloomy presentiments, when it was announced, in a third bulletin from the summit of St. Stephen's, that the battle was drawing nearer in the centre, but that it was concentrated to the left of Schwechat, between Kaiser and Ebersdorf. As this announcement indicated a retreat on the part of the Hungarians on that side, the cry arose that Messenhauser was a traitor, and bands of frantic rebels marched through the streets calling on every one to take up arms, murdering not a few. The most desperate projects were discussed in the clubs. During the next twenty-four hours all authority was at an end; Vienna was at the mercy of bands of insurgents traversing the city in every direction, and insulting or massacring all whom they suspected of a leaning to the enemy; while on the outside the loud cheers of the Imperialists announced their victory over the Hungarians, and final defeat of the last hopes of the insurrection.¹

In effect, the Hungarian army under General Moza, after great indecision on the part of the troops as to whether they would cross the Austrian frontier, as that was a direct act of revolt against the Government, were at length induced, by the urgent representations of the inhabitants of Vienna, to pass that dreaded line, and advance into Austria. This was done on the 28th, and the invading force was 25,000 strong, of whom, however, 10,000 were young troops, upon whom, as the event proved, little reliance could be placed. On the 31st they approached the Austrian position, which extended over the villages of SCHWECHAT, Maunsworth, and Kaiser-Ebersdorf. Windischgratz had occupied these villages with his best infantry, and stationed Prince Lichtenstein with the greater part of the cavalry on his right wing. The Imperialists on the field were not superior in number to the Hungarians, but they had greatly the advantage in the quality and experience of their troops. The battle commenced at eleven o'clock on the 30th, with a brisk attack on the Imperialists in Maunsworth,

Ann. Reg. 1848, 423; Balleydier, II. 341, 351; An. Hist. 1848, 461, 462.

71. Battle of Schwechat, and defeat of the Hungarians. October 30.

70. Approach of the Hungarians as seen from the steeples of Vienna. October 30.

by some Hungarian national guards under Count Guyon, who conducted themselves very bravely, and gradually forced back the Austrian tirailleurs. The contest there was still undecided, when Georgey was ordered to attack the village of Schwechat, with a brigade of which he had received the command. When Georgey arrived at the point of attack, he found the enemy's centre drawn back out of the reach of shot: but owing to the undiscipline of part of the Hungarian force, which was composed of new levies, the centre now found itself a mile and a half distant from the left wing. This rendered a halt necessary, and Georgey hastened to Kossuth, who was with the general-in-chief, to explain the dangerous state of the army, with its centre in this manner entirely severed from the left,

and the latter left alone on the field of battle. The general refused to alter his dispositions, and said, "I stand where I can survey the whole: do you in silence obey what I order."¹

Windischgratz at once discerned the fatal mistake which had been committed. ^{72.} He pushed forward some horse-artillery, which opened a heavy fire on Georgey's unsupported battalions, who instantly took to flight, "rushing headlong," says that general, "over one another." Notwithstanding the heroic efforts of Count Ernest Almásy and thirty or forty of his bravest followers, the panic spread, and soon the rout became universal. "Out of nearly 5000 men of those national guards," says Georgey, "about whose valor I had already heard so many tirades; who, as themselves had repeatedly asserted, were burning with desire to measure themselves with an enemy whom they never mentioned but with the greatest contempt, there remained to me, after a short cannonade, a single man, and that an elderly invalided soldier. The whole of our force from Schwechat to Mannsworth had been swept away. The other brigades, incredible as it may seem, had taken to their heels even before mine. Like a scared flock, the main body of the army was hastening in the greatest disorder toward the Fucha for safety." Vain were all Georgey's efforts, with a small rear-guard of about a thousand men, whom he hastily got together, to stop the rout. The army fled in utter confusion, and got off from the pursuit with the loss of 3000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. Had the pursuit by the thirty-five squadrons of Prince Lichtenstein on the left been more vigorous, hardly any of the Hungarians would have escaped. Kossuth was one of the first who took to flight;

which, however, could not be urged as a fault, as his post was at the council-board, not in the front with the grenadiers.²

After this decisive defeat, there remained, of course, no alternative to the rebels in surrendering Vienna but surrender at discretion, and the Imperial general sternly refused to accede to any other terms. The surrender was going on when the tocsin, in violation of the orders of the Committee of Students, suddenly sounded from the tower of St. Stephen's. Crowds of ardent republicans immediately hastened to their rallying-points on the bastions and the barricades, and the firing

on their side recommenced at all points with as much vigor as ever. It was not any deliberate act of treachery on the part of the insurgents, but an unauthorized act arising from uncontainable excitement among the people, in whose ranks the cry of "Treason, we are betrayed!" was constantly heard. It was, however, speedily and terribly revenged. Windischgratz immediately brought up fresh troops, which penetrated into and made themselves masters of the whole suburb, and he established batteries in the gardens of Schwartzenberg and in the Imperial stables, which opened fire on the city. The fiery projectiles sweeping through the air, the hissing of the rockets which searched out every part of the buildings which they penetrated, diffused universal consternation. Before one o'clock the town was on fire in several places, and white flags were displayed from all the bastions. A deputation of the magistrates went out to the glacis, and formally surrendered the keys of the city to the Imperial general; and this time the surrender, which was unconditional, was its own guarantee, for the victorious troops took military possession of the whole city. The prophecy was already accomplished: the agony of Count Latour had proved that also of the Vienna revolution.³

The victorious Imperialists were received with transports of joy by the vast majority of the respectable inhabitants of the capital, with sullen but impotent indignation by the students and republican sections of the community. The disarming of the National Guard went on quietly and without opposition. The Imperial Government made a humane use of their victory. Though the city had in reality been carried by assault, and the infamous murder of Count Latour had justly exasperated the soldiery in the highest degree, its inhabitants underwent none of the horrors usually experienced on such occasions. No pillage or willful conflagration took place; the troops, on the contrary, were active in extinguishing the fires which had been raised during the bombardment. Few executions, and those only of leaders deeply implicated, ensued; and although it is deeply to be regretted that any should have tarnished the lustre of so glorious a victory, yet it is to be recollected that the insurgents had brought severity upon themselves: by the murder of Count Lamberg and Count Latour, they had put themselves out of the pale of humanity, and they could not complain if the ruthless maxim *Væ Victis*, which they had applied to others, now recoiled upon themselves. Among those executed was Robert Blum, the deputy from Frankfort, who was tried by a court-martial on the 8th instant, and next day shot. He was convicted, on his own admission, of having instigated the rebellion by his seditious speeches, and taken an active part by combating with the insurgents against the Imperial troops in the defense of Vienna. He died with unshaken fortitude. His execution, as already mentioned, excited a great sensation in Germany, and by many is still regarded as a political fault, chiefly as being a defiance thrown down by Austria to the central government in the German Confederacy, as he was a member of the national Parliament. Yet is this view

¹ Georgey, I. 76, 90; Klapka, I. 87, Introduction; Balleydier, II. 354, 355.

² Balleydier, II. 356, 358; Ann. Hist. 1848, 463; An. Reg. 1848, 423.

³ Georgey, I. 87, 91; Balleydier, II. 358, 359.

Nov. 8.
Nov. 9.

clearly erroneous; for it never was supposed that a member of the Legislature in one country was at liberty to commit high treason with impunity in another; or that even in the same State a member of Parliament is at liberty to rise in rebellion against his sovereign.* Messenhauser, commander of the armed force in Vienna, was also condemned, and met death with the like fortitude. He was fearful of the disgrace of being hanged, and uttered a cry of joy when he heard he was to be shot. "It is a sad fate mine," said he: "on 29th October I was threatened with death by the *Proletaires* of Vienna as guilty of treachery, and now I am condemned to

the same punishment for treason to the Emperor." He died bravely, standing erect, with his hand on his heart, and himself gave the word of command to the soldiers charged with the melancholy duty.¹

The restoration of the Imperial authority in Vienna was immediately followed, as was to be expected, by an entire change of ministry. Prince Felix of Schwarzenberg was, with the entire concurrence of the Imperial party, placed at the head of the Government, and Count Francis Stadion was made minister of the interior and of public instruction; Krauss, finance minister; Baron Cordon, of war; Bach, of justice; Chevalier Bonck, of commerce and public works; the Chevalier Thunfild, of agriculture. The character of all the persons composing this cabinet, especially of its very eminent chief and of M. Bach, the minister of justice, were a guarantee for its due discharge of the arduous duty with which it was intrusted, of reconstructing the monarchy out of the scattered fragments into which it had been broken. And in truth this duty was more arduous in reality than it seemed in appearance; for the coalition of forces by which the insurrection had been conquered in Vienna, so far from being thoroughly united, itself labored under secret but most serious causes of division. Austria, in its last ex-

* When sentence of death was pronounced against Blum, he said, without exhibiting the least fear, "I fully expected it; the sentence was not unforeseen." He entreated, as a last favor, that he might be permitted to write a letter to his wife, which was agreed to, and it concluded with these words: "Let not my fate discourage you; but bring up our children so that they may not bring disgrace on my name." "Now I am ready," said he, addressing the officers of justice, when the letter was done. Arrived at the place of execution, he said to one of the cuirassiers of his escort, "Here, then, we are come to the last stage of my journey." He desired not to have his eyes bandaged; and this being refused, lest his unsteadiness should cause the men to miss their aim, he blindfolded himself, and knelt down with manly courage. He fell pierced by three balls, and died instantly.—BALLEYDIENE, II. 366, 367.

tremity, had been saved by the fidelity of the army, and the heroic devotion of the Slave population, numbering nearly half the inhabitants of the Empire. But out of the victory of their united forces arose, as is so often the case with successful coalitions, a new cause of discord—who was to lead the combined forces, and what interest was to predominate in the Government which they had re-established? Windischgratz had the command, and directed the army which was to act against Hungary; but Windischgratz had conquered at Prague as well as at Vienna: his cannon had dissolved the Slave congress, and the Croats beheld with jealousy their beloved Ban, whom they regarded with justice as the savior of the Empire; obeying the orders of a German prince who had proved himself the worst enemy of their race.¹

The thorns with which his crown was still beset, and the dreadful scenes which he had been compelled to witness in his capital, induced the Emperor finally to relinquish the sceptre, which he felt he could no longer wield with comfort to himself or advantage to his country. On the 2d December he came with the Empress into the saloon of audience of the Archbishop, where the whole Imperial family, and the Prince Windischgratz, Baron Jellachich, and the chief dignitaries of the Empire, were assembled, and announced his irrevocable determination to resign the crown in favor of the young Archduke Francis Joseph, the next heir to it, after his father the Archduke Charles, whom similar reasons had determined to waive his right to the succession. Having said these words, the Emperor knelt down to receive the benediction of, and take the oath of fealty to, the young Emperor, called at so early an age to wield the destinies of the ancient and time-honored Empire of Austria. The President of the Council then read aloud the formal act of abdication and renunciation of the Emperor and the Archduke Charles, which was immediately signed by both princes, Prince Schwarzenberg, and the other dignitaries present. The *ci-devant* Emperor and Empress set off the same day, in a private carriage, for Prague, which he had fixed on as his future residence. The new Emperor was only eighteen years of age when he entered on his arduous duties; but he at once evinced a courage and sagacity above his years, and to his energy and determination the salvation of the monarchy, amidst the perils by which it was still beset, is in a great measure to be ascribed.²

¹ Ann. Hist. 1848, 471; An. Reg. 1848, 423, 424; Balleydier, II. 364, 367, 369.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 474, 475; Balleydier, II. 370, 371; An. Reg. 1848, 424.

³ Balleydier, II. 372, 374; Ann. Hist. 1848, 474; An. Reg. 1848, 425.

CHAPTER LV.

WAR IN HUNGARY—ITS FINAL TERMINATION BY THE RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN AUGUST, 1849.

On the 5th December the new Emperor issued a proclamation, in which he said: "We are convinced of the necessity and value of free institutions, and enter with confidence on the path of a prosperous restoration of the monarchy. On the basis of true liberty, on the basis of the equality of rights of all our people, and the equality of all citizens before the law, and on the basis of their *equally partaking in the representation and legislation*, the country will rise to its ancient grandeur; it will acquire new strength to resist the storm of the time; it will be a hall to shelter the tribes of many tongues, united under the sceptre of our fathers. Jealous of the glory of the crown, and resolved to preserve the monarchy uncurtailed, but ready to share our privileges with the representatives of the people, we hope, by the assistance of God, and with the co-operation of our people, to succeed in uniting all the countries and tribes of the monarchy into one integral State. We have had many trials; tranquillity and order have been disturbed in various parts of the Empire. A civil war is even now raging in one part of the monarchy. Preparations have been made to restore legal order every where. The conquest over rebellion, and the return of domestic peace, are the first conditions of the great work which we take in hand. We confidently rely on the sensible and candid co-operation of the nation through its representatives. Austria at the close of this memorable year might proudly claim for its motto, '*Mergens profundo pulchrior evenit.*' It has crushed the rebellion in Lombardy, driven back the Piedmontese into their own territory, planted the Austrian flag again in triumph on the walls of Milan, which had for centuries been a fief of the house of Hapsburg. Compelled in self-defense to assault his own capital, the Emperor has found his troops as loyal as they were brave, and the cannon of Windischgratz and Jellachich have effectually silenced the voice of insurrection. In Hungary the Imperial arms have been uniformly successful, and there is every reason to expect a victorious issue to the campaign. And now fresh and healthy blood has been poured into the veins of the monarchy by the elevation to the throne of a young Emperor whose disposition and character are of the happiest augury, and who is surrounded by ministers determined to pursue a course of constitutional policy, and abandon the Metternich system of despotism and exclusion."¹

¹ Proclamation, Dec. 5, 1849; An. Reg. 1848, 426, 426.

The acts of the young Emperor and his cabinet did not belie these liberal professions. The committee appointed by the Diet to draw up a constitution had prefaced their report by a preamble to this effect: "All the powers of the State proceed from the people

alone." When the matter came to be discussed in the Diet in the beginning of January, Count Stadion, the Minister of the Interior, moved, on the part of the Government, that these words should be omitted. M. Pinkar, on the part of the Opposition, moved a declaration condemnatory of the counter-revolution; and Count Stadion moved an amendment, which substantially approved of it. The debate was conducted with as much freedom as any in the House of Commons; and M. Pinkar's motion was carried by a majority of 196 to 99—a result which sufficiently proved the democratic character of the great majority of the assembly. Having gained this victory, the Opposition, fearful of a dissolution, which, in the altered temper of men's minds since the former elections had taken place, would probably have thrown them into a minority, did not press the retention of the article, and the consideration of it was of consent postponed. The other articles of the report were then considered *seriatim*, and the constitution was finally approved of and promulgated on the 7th March. Certainly the friends of freedom had no reason to complain of its provisions. It provided, in the first instance, for the *unity* of the Austrian Empire, a condition obviously essential to its independence, and which all the Liberals in the Empire, if they had been actuated by public spirit, and not private ambition, should have been the first to support. Entire freedom in religion, and universal education by public institutions, were established; "the instruction in religious matters in the public schools being intrusted to the respective churches or religious institutions." Freedom of the press without the censorship was guaranteed in the most unlimited extent, as was the right of petitioning, meeting and forming associations, if not opposed to the law or dangerous to the State. Individual liberty was guaranteed, as was the sanctity of private domiciles; and all persons apprehended were to be liberated in forty-eight hours, if not delivered over in that time to the judge of the district. The Emperor was to take the oath to the constitution when he was crowned; he was irresponsible, decided on peace and war, concluded treaties with foreign powers, and published decrees, the same being countersigned by a responsible minister. He appointed the ministers and dismissed them, and appointed to all offices, civil and military. Equality of all citizens before the law was established. The Legislature was to consist of two Houses, both elective; and the elective franchise was extended to all the citizens paying the statutory amount of direct taxes, which was only a few florins. The members of the Lower House were elected for five years, those of the Upper for ten. Laws required to be passed by both Houses, and have the Emperor's consent to become valid; and either

¹ Constitution, Mar. 4, 1849; An. Reg. 1849, 816, 821.

the Emperor or either House might propose laws. The Emperor had the power of dissolution; and the public accounts were to be annually brought forward in a budget submitted to both Houses.

This constitution was much more democratic than that enjoyed by Great Britain at this time; for it established household suffrage, all but universal equality in all matters civil and religious, a free press, the right of meeting and petitioning, and universal education, detached from sectarian divisions, at the public expense. It was *at least* as liberal a constitution as Austria, yet in popularity in the ways of freedom, could bear. It was far, however, from meeting the views of the Hungarian insurgents, who desired a virtual severance of Hungary from Germany, in order that they might obtain a monopoly of offices, honors, and emoluments to themselves. How they were to maintain their ground against Russia and France and Germany, in a state of isolation, was a question which never entered into their consideration, though Georgey confesses that the difficulty of doing so would probably have proved insurmountable.* In truth, matters had gone too far between the two powers, before the new constitution was promulgated, to admit of a compromise. But in the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, the new constitution, save to the revolutionists of Vienna, gave general satisfaction, and contributed much to the unanimity with which its inhabitants prosecuted the war against the Hungarian insurgents.¹

¹ Ann. Hist. 1849, 492, 493; Ann. Reg. 1848, 326, 327.

The kingdom of HUNGARY consists of 133,000 square English miles, or about a tenth more than Great Britain and Ireland. It forms an irregular parallelogram, stretching about 400 miles in each direction. It is bounded on the north by Moravia and Galicia; on the south by Croatia, Slavonia, and the Banat; on the east by Transylvania and Bukovina; on the west by Lower Austria and Styria. Thus it was entirely surrounded by the other provinces of the Austrian Empire, and, if detached from them, would form a separate State like one composed of the midland counties in the centre of England, and would entirely isolate several of its most important provinces from the dominion of the house of Hapsburg. It was this circumstance which rendered resistance to the severance a question of life or death to the Austrian monarchy. The Danube, which flows from northwest to southeast through its whole extent, is the great artery of Hungary and the principal channel for the exportation of its produce. It enters the country at Presburg, at a short distance from Vienna, and flows due east till it reaches Waitzen, when it makes a sudden and sharp bend to the south, and continues this course till it reaches the bor-

⁴ Description of Hungary in a military point of view.

* "Whether the Austrian monarchy could pursue its former importance as a great European power after the isolation of the Hungarian Ministries (chiefly of war and finance) from the governing power constituted in Vienna for the other provinces, and whether Hungary, recognizing the guarantees of Austria's influence as the main condition of its own existence, would not have to sacrifice to the consolidation of collective Austria a part of its newly-acquired advantages, were questions, the answers to which lay beyond my sphere, nay, which I never put to myself."—GEORGEY, i. 6.

ders of Slavonia, where it is joined by another great river, the Drave, and their united waters flow in a vast volume to the Euxine. The other main river of Hungary is the Theiss, which runs in the northeast of the country, and flows nearly due south till it joins the Danube between Peterwaradein and Belgrade, on the confines of Slavonia. Pesth is the capital of Hungary, but it is a place of no great strength, and is completely commanded by its suburb Buda, a citadel strongly fortified, and which in every age has formed a position of vital importance in Hungarian wars, besides being associated in the minds of the people with many of their most interesting historical recollections. The other fortified places in Hungary are Raab, Gran, Waitzen, and Komorn, the last of which was extremely strong, and had acquired the name of the Maiden. Peterwaradein, on the Slavonian frontier, is also a place of great strength. From the nature of their country, its central position in the heart of the Austrian Empire, and the barrier which the Danube and Theiss opposed to an invading army, as well as the number and strength of its fortresses, all of which, with the arsenal, were in their hands, the Magyars entered upon the war with very great advantages.¹

¹ Universal Gazetteer (Austria), Malte-Brun, vi. 594, 595.

It was not till the 9th December that Prince Windischgratz, who had the command of the principal army destined to act against the Hungarians, was in a condition to commence operations. His force, with the reserve which was forming under Prince Jesbeloni, numbered on paper 49,000 infantry, 7236 cavalry—in all, 65,000 men, with 260 guns; but he had not more than 50,000 present under arms under his immediate command. A second corps of 20,000 was stationed, under Count Nugent, on the frontiers of Styria and Croatia, to serve as a reserve for the main army, and act as circumstances might require. A third force of 14,000 men, under General Schlick, was to act on the northeast of Hungary; 5000 men were on the Banat near Bukovina; and 16,000 men in Transylvania, under the orders of Colonel Urban and General Pückner, were to make head against the insurgents there, who, under General Bem—who had escaped from Vienna—were acquiring a formidable consistency. Thus the entire forces of the Imperialists were very considerable, but they were entirely detached from each other, and the Hungarians occupied a central position between them. The troops of the insurgents, however, were much less considerable, and, being for the most part new levies, were still more deficient in discipline, experience, and warlike and mutual confidence. The regular troops of the Austrian army who had gone over to them amounted to 21,000 infantry, and 7198 cavalry; and they had 2402 guns, including those in the forts and arsenals, those in the field harnessed by splendid horses furnished to them by the Magyar nobles. Besides this, the levies ordered in the preceding year had amounted to 200,000 men, and actually brought 150,000 into the field. Their main army was on the Danube, opposed to Windischgratz, under the orders of Georgey, whose military abilities had become known, and who had succeeded to the command after Moza had been deprived of it in conse-

⁵ Forces of the Austrians, and their plan of operations.

quence of his defeat. It consisted nominally of 30,000 men, but he never had more than 20,000 around his banners, and those for the most part young recruits, half-disciplined, deeply depressed by their rout at Schwechat, and wholly unable to face the enemy in the field. A second army, much more efficient for military operations, lay in the Bats country under Bem, which had been trained to war in the conflicts with the Razen, and consisted of 24,000. In addition to these, various small corps were in the course of formation in Upper Hungary and Transylvania, which might amount in all to 18,000 or 20,000 men. These forces were much inferior, at all points, to

¹ Georgey, I. 117; Klapka, I. 77, and II. 170, 171, Introduction; Ann. Reg. 1849, 327; Ann. Hist. 1849, 492, 493; Balleydier, 8.

the Imperialists opposed to them; but they had the advantage of a central position and strong fortresses, and the assistance, active or passive, of the whole inhabitants of the country, who, in the Magyar district of Central Hungary, were all enthusiastic in the national cause of the insurrection.¹

Every thing seemed to promise an early victory to Windischgratz, who was marching on Raab in the last week of December. He had an engagement with the Hungarian rear-guard on the 16th, in which the latter were worsted, and, continuing his advance, arrived on the 26th of that month within half a league of that town, and had already begun his movements with a view to cut off the retreat of the enemy from it, when he found that it was evacuated by the Hungarians, who continued their retrograde movement toward Komorn and Pesth. The object of Georgey was not to fight, which he well knew he could not do with advantage with the raw troops under his command, but to gain time for the formation of armaments in the interior. This he did effectually by the show made of defending Raab, which gained for him a delay of eight days. During the retreat to Pesth, which was made in the worst weather, and over execrable roads, he was attacked by Jellachich, and lost 700 prisoners in the encounter. This loss, however, was likely to be more than compensated by a reinforcement of 10,000 men and 24 guns under General Perczel, who was awaiting his arrival at Mour. But the Ban fell on Perczel's

corps two days after, and defeated it with such ease that the greater part was dispersed, and 2000 prisoners made, by two brigades only of Jellachich's army. Had Windischgratz pursued Georgey vigorously, he might have prevented him from effecting a junction with Perczel, and destroyed them separately; but the old Austrian fault of slowness in movement here interposed, and reft from Jellachich all the fruits of his victory. By changing the direction of his march, and abandoning Ofen, where he had designed to give battle, Georgey succeeded, some days later, in effecting a junction with Perczel's

January 4.

² Ann. Hist. 1848, 494, 495; Klapka, I. 79, Introduction; Ann. Reg. 1848, 327, 328; Georgey, I. 119, 120.

corps. But the consternation produced by these repeated defeats was extreme at Pesth, and even the most zealous supporters of Hungarian independence began to despair of maintaining it against the overwhelming force of the Imperialists.²

In the course of the advance from Raab to Ko-

orn, the usual and deplorable horrors of civil war began to appear. The Magyars, who were incensed in the highest degree at the retreat of their army and the bad success of their arms, murdered fifty-three Croats who had

^{7.} Advance of the Austrians to Komorn and Pesth.

fallen into their hands, and were even accused of having poisoned wells on the line of advance of the Imperial troops. Windischgratz replied by a stern proclamation, in which he declared that "any inhabitant who is taken with any weapon of any description in his hands shall be immediately shot, and any village whose inhabitants shall attack any single officer or courier shall be immediately leveled with the ground." Meanwhile the Imperial army advanced to Komorn, which they reached on the 30th, and summoned to surrender. The place, however, which was one of the strongest in Europe, and amply supplied with artillery and provisions, as well as defended by a large garrison, refused to listen to terms; and upon that Windischgratz, leaving a division with the siege-train to commence operations against it in force, continued his advance to Pesth. He reached it on the 8d January, and, while making preparations to reduce the place, it was discovered that the Government and Diet had evacuated it, carrying with them the regalia of Hungary and the treasure, and retired to Debreczin, which thereafter became the head-quarters of the insurgents during the remainder of the war. Kossuth delayed his departure till five minutes past twelve on the night of the 31st, and then drank a toast "To the first year of Hungarian independence."¹

Dec. 30.

Jan. 2.

January 5.

¹ Tolstoy, Relation des Armees Russes en Hongrie, 70, 71; Balleydier, Guerre de la Hongrie, 29, 31; Ann. Reg. 1849, 329.

Upon leaving Pesth, the insurgents, instead of retiring in one body, divided into two parts—the one northward toward Waitzen, the other eastward to Debreczin behind the Theiss. The first was commanded by Georgey, the last by Perczel. Georgey exerted himself to the utmost to draw the attention of the enemy upon himself, and he did this with such success that the column which retired to Debreczin was merely observed by a small Austrian corps under General Ottinger. The retreat to Debreczin was conducted under the most disastrous circumstances, the weather being dreadful, the cold at five degrees above zero of Fahrenheit, and the army encumbered by an immense multitude of old men, women, and children, in the last stages of starvation and suffering. They at length reached the Theiss, however, and got to their journey's end at Debreczin, where Kossuth addressed an animated proclamation to the people, calling on them to rise, and, "like an avalanche which rolls down the sides of a mountain, crush their enemies without leaving a man to carry back tidings of the disaster." While the eloquent tribune was thus electrifying

^{8.} Brilliant

retreat and movements of Georgey.

Jan. 10.

the inhabitants of Central Hungary on the banks of the Theiss, Georgey retired toward Kremnitz beyond Waitzen, where he collected a very considerable body of men from the whole north of Hungary, about 20,000 strong. With this formidable force he moved in the direction of the southwest, in such a manner as to threaten the communications of Windischgratz with Vienna

and his base of operations. This movement alarmed the Austrians, always nervous about their communications, and the consequence was, that the main Hungarian army was allowed to retire unmolested, and remain six weeks recruiting its losses and filling up its ranks behind the Theiss. Meanwhile Windischgratz, deeming the war ended, and deterred from moving by the excessive severity of the weather, remained with the main body of his army for seven weeks in a state of inactivity at Pesth. In truth he had some grounds for his fancied security. Leopoldstadt and Esseck, two of the chief fortresses of Western Hungary, had surrendered—the first to

Marshal Simonich on 2d February; the latter, with 614 guns, on the 14th to Count Nugent; and Komorn and Peterwaradein, the two remaining strong-holds of the insurgents, were closely blockaded.¹

The war, meanwhile, in Transylvania was gradually assuming great proportions under the able and energetic direction of General Bem. The Imperialists were there completely over-matched, and reduced, in consequence, to a painful and losing defensive. Bem had succeeded, amidst its warlike and enthusiastic inhabitants, inured to a military life by their constant contests with the Turks, in collecting thirty thousand men round his standards, who had already acquired somewhat of the consistency of old soldiers. Against these formidable forces General Pückner, who commanded the Imperialists in that quarter, could only oppose six regular battalions, eight squadrons, and forty guns. He had, it is true, a much larger irregular force under his orders, but they were new levies, ill disciplined, and worse affected, upon whose fidelity or steadiness in the field little reliance could be placed. Colonel Urban, with a force of four thousand men, had maintained the contest in the north of that province with much difficulty ever since the war broke out; but after having

gained considerable successes in the outset, he had been attacked by such superior numbers that he was forced to retire, with severe loss, to Clausenberg, which he was soon obliged to evacuate. Bem, meanwhile, had concentrated a force of thirty thousand men in the neighborhood of Zemenwar, the original cradle of the insurrection, and had laid siege to that town. Arad, a strong fortress in Central Hungary, was at the same time besieged, and was defended with heroic courage by General Bager. Five hundred soldiers, of whom three hundred only were fit for duty, and very badly supplied with ammunition and provisions, defended that fortress with thirty-nine guns, during two months, against the assault of fifteen thousand insurgents, when at length they were relieved by General Count Leiningen. But in other quarters the Imperialists were not equally successful. After various alternations of suc-

cess, Bem finally established himself in Southern Transylvania, and drove the Austrians, under Pückner, into the Banat, where they narrowly escaped being surrounded and made prisoners.²

While these affairs were passing in Eastern and Southern Hungary, Georgey, in the north,

was pursuing that able campaign which has secured him a lasting place in the archives of military glory. The spirit of his troops had been extremely depressed by their numerous disasters in the retreat to Pesth, and their number did not exceed sixteen thousand men

when they reached Waitzen. Already, too, the seeds of divisions between him and Kossuth had become prolific of evil: the dispositions of the latter were entirely democratic, whereas Georgey was decidedly monarchical; and he had recently published a proclamation to the effect that his army "would obey no orders but those prescribed by law through the responsible royal minister at war, and would oppose itself to all those who may attempt, by *republican intrigues* in the interior of the country, to overthrow the constitutional monarchy." Kossuth's instructions were "to act on the offensive against the corps of Marshal Simonich, and relieve the fort of Leopoldstadt, blockaded by him, in order by this diversion to withdraw the main hostile forces from the Theiss, and render possible the organization of new troops behind that river." But when he left Waitzen, Georgey found that his forces were not adequate to both these objects, and therefore he wisely renounced all thoughts of relieving Leopoldstadt; and abandoning that fortress to its fate, he resolved to retreat "sideways," as he himself says, "into the district of the mountain towns." By this district was meant the tract of land in the valley of the River Gran, which flows in a southwesterly direction from the lower spurs of the Carpathian range into the great valley of the Danube. This route had the double advantage of leading the enemy into the rocky and inhospitable region of the mountains, and of affording the Hungarian corps the means of uniting with the reorganized and recruited army which was collecting behind the Theiss.¹

But the difficulties of the march at this rigorous season were immense, and such as would have deterred any less energetic general and army from attempting it; for the troops had to force their way through roads covered with ice, and to cut through deep wreaths of snow in narrow valleys overhung by precipices on either side, down which avalanches were falling. The passes in the mountains were occupied by Austrian detachments, under General Schlick, who had come down with five thousand men from Galicia to oppose Georgey's progress, and they made a stout resistance. Georgey, on one occasion, took five guns and two hundred prisoners. He says, in a bitter spirit, that no one could have believed, seeing how badly his troops fought, that a Russian intervention could ever become necessary. To add to their difficulties, the frost, which had been so severe, suddenly broke up on the 20th January, and was succeeded by a thaw which produced such floods as rendered it almost a matter of impossibility to stem them in the narrow and steep valleys up which the Hungarians were toiling their arduous way. On one occasion Count Guyon's corps met so formidable a *débracle* that the troops recoiled before it, and were only turned, and in a manner forced through, up to their middles in

10.

Able movements of Georgey in the north of Hungary.

¹ Georgey, I. 269, 274; Klapka, I. 81; Balleydier, 49, 50.

11.

Extreme difficulties of his march to Kaschau.

floating ice, by the still more formidable cry in their rear, "The enemy are coming!" Georgey, after surmounting with heroic constancy incredible difficulties, at length forced the barriers at the summit of the mountain ridge, and descended by Iglo down the valleys, the waters of which floated into the Theiss. He there encountered General Schlick, who had come down from Epirus, and had for some weeks been laboring to put Kaschau into a respectable state of defense. After several bloody combats, in which the élite of the regular Hungarian troops were brought into action, he at length succeeded in forcing back the Imperialists, who retired toward Epirus. Weary, dejected, and destitute of every thing, the troops, more like a crowd of ¹ Georgey, l. 169, 221; Klapka, l. 81, 83, Introduction; Balleydier, l. 50, 61. beggars than a military array, at length reached Kaschau, where he effected a junction with the corps under the command of Colonel Klapka, which raised his forces to about twenty-one thousand men.¹

While Georgey was thus with consummate skill forcing his way through the defiles of the Carpathian Mountains, and drawing the attention of such numerous bodies of Windischgratz's army upon his track as rendered any advance against the main body of the army which had retired behind the Theiss impossible, Kossuth and the other members of the Government who had reached Debreczin were equally energetic in the exercise of their great talents to reorganize and recruit the dejected and disorganized force, which, encumbered with sick women and children, had contrived to escape behind the barrier of that river. The measures of Kossuth at this critical moment were as skillful as his conduct and language were energetic. He made full use of the unlimited issue of paper money which the decree of the Diet had put at his disposal, and which, as it passed current at full value in every part of Hungary, put ample funds for the prosecution of the war at his disposal. By a skillful device he declared Austrian paper not a current medium of exchange in Hungary, while at the same time he offered, on the part of the Government, to take it for full value in exchange for Hungarian paper. Large quantities of Vienna notes in consequence came into the public treasury, and gave the minister the means of purchasing arms and ammunition in sufficient quantities in England and Belgium. Artillery in abundance was at their disposal in the different fortresses in their hands, and all the foundries and manufactories of powder and arms in the kingdom were in activity to furnish more. Meanwhile proclamations of the most headstrong kind were addressed in profusion by the Government to the people. They appealed to their national feelings, their love of independence, their ancient glories, their martial fame; the name of the King was freely used to secure the loyal—the ambition of democracy appealed to to win the republican. Every success, however trifling, was magnified by Kossuth into an important victory; every tradition, how old soever, referred to as an incitement to fresh exertions. Immense was the success of these persevering efforts in drawing forth the military strength of the ancient and warlike Hungarian nation. Armed

bands sprung up, as if by magic, from their mother earth; old arms, which had hung undisturbed for centuries since the Turkish wars, were taken down and furbished up; and the spectacle was exhibited of an entire nation taking up arms to combat, as they thought, for their King, their freedom, and their independence.¹

While these active measures were in progress for the future prosecution of the war, ^{18.} a mournful tragedy was passing at Pesth under the orders of Prince Windischgratz. By a strange infatuation, ^{Arrest and execution of Count Bathiany.} Count Bathiany, instead of retiring with the Diet to Debreczin, and disregarding a positive injunction not to appear by Prince Windischgratz, presented himself before the Imperial general. He was immediately arrested, for the Government were extremely incensed at him as the first leader and supposed author of the insurrection. He was handed over, after some weeks, to a court-martial; by which he was condemned to death, and next day executed. He was apprehensive of being sentenced to be hanged, and uttered a cry of joy when he heard he was to be shot. Like so many other leaders on both sides in this melancholy war, he ^{Feb. 8.} died with heroic courage. History must ever mourn the death on the scaffold of any man of noble character combating for what in sincerity he believed to be the cause of duty; and it will be a blessed time when more humane maxims obtain in civil, as it is the glory of modern civilization to have effected in national conflicts. But, in vindication of the Austrian Government, it must be recollected they were only retaliating upon their enemies what they had suffered at their hands. The Hungarians began by murdering Count Lamberg; they had judicially massacred Count Zichy; and they had advanced to the relief of Vienna when its insurgents were reeking with the blood of Count Latour. When in their turn defeated, they could not ² Balleyd. complain if they underwent the severe ^{84, 85;} but just law of an eye for an eye and ^{Georgey, l. 172, 174.} a tooth for a tooth.²

From the beginning of January, when he arrived in Pesth, to the 20th February, ^{14.} Windischgratz remained stationary in that capital. This delay is usually considered as a serious fault in a military ^{Inactivity of Windischgratz at Pesth.} point of view, and as the main cause of the disasters which afterward befell the Imperial arms. But before concurrence is expressed in this disapprobation, it is to be recollected with how small a force, comparatively speaking, he was intrusted, considering the arduous task which lay before him of invading a martial nation in arms. The sixty thousand men with whom he started from Vienna in the middle of December had melted away under the hardships of a winter campaign, in a marshy and unhealthy country, to less than forty thousand effective men when he reached Pesth; and with these he not only had to garrison that capital and its citadel, Buda, but to detach largely to the right for the siege of Esseck and to keep up the communication with Croatia, and on the left, toward Waitzen, to support Simonich in the siege of Leopoldstadt, and pursue Georgey in the Carpathian defiles. In these circumstances, to have advanced with the centre toward Debreczin through a difficult and

marshy country in the depth of winter, would have been an extremely hazardous operation, which might have caused, earlier than they actually occurred, the disasters which ensued. And if it be said the weather and the bad roads were as severe upon the Hungarians in retreat as on the Austrians in advance, the answer is that that is no doubt true; but the former were every day drawing nearer to their resources and getting reinforcements from the rear, while the Austrians were moving farther from theirs, and becoming more weakened by being obliged to leave detachments to keep up communications.

At length, Buda having been put in a proper

15. state of defense, and garrisoned by two Advance of battalions, and Esseck on the right, Windischgratz to- and Leopoldstadt on the left, having ward De- been taken, Windischgratz moved for- breczin. ward toward Debreczin. He had given Feb. 22. en orders for the concentration of all the disposable force at his command, but it did not exceed twenty thousand men, and they were widely scattered, so great had been the losses from fatigue, sickness, and the sword, during this winter campaign. The Imperial general moved forward from Pesth in the end of January, and several inconsiderable actions took place Feb. 8. during the first three weeks of February, while he was advancing toward the Feb. 16. Theiss. Schlick, too, whom he had summoned to join his standards, had a rude encounter to sustain before he effected the junction in a defile of the Carpathian mountains, which was occupied by Georgey's troops. At length, having got all his troops in hand, he advanced to deliver a decisive battle to the combined forces of Georgey and Dembinski, who had effected a junction on the Tarma, and concentrated 40,000 men, with 225 guns, with which they on their side were preparing to resume the offensive by an advance on Pesth. The two armies met at KAPOLNA, on the right bank of the Theiss, about two-thirds of the way from Pesth to Debreczin, on the direct road between these two places. The Hungarians were greatly superior in numbers, and especially artillery; but the Imperial general, with reason, reckoned on the better quality of his veteran troops to counterbalance this disadvantage. Both armies were animated with the best spirit, and a decisive battle was expected and prepared for on either side. But the Hungarian generals were on very 1 Balleyd. 67, 69; Klapka, i. 83, Introduction; Georgey, i. 241, 251. bad terms with each other; and Dembinski, in particular, had quarreled with both Georgey and Klapka to such a degree as augured ill for their combined operations.¹

The battle began at daybreak on the morning of the 26th by an advance of General 16. Battle of Kapolna. February 26. Wibna, with ten battalions and seventy-eight guns, direct on Kapolna. The Hungarians were strongly posted on the heights near that town, with their right resting on the ruined village of Dobro, their left on that of Kal, and a numerous and magnificent artillery, supported by several squadrons of hussars. The battle which ensued was one of the most obstinate and sanguinary which had occurred in Europe since the fight at Waterloo, for the Imperialists advanced with great resolution and all the confidence of victory to the attack, and the Hungarians fought with the

stubborn resolution of patriotic enthusiasm. In the centre especially, where forty guns were placed on either side, and the elite of either army was grouped together, the combat was of the most desperate kind. The Austrians at one time were on the point of being ruined by the separation of two of their brigades by a wood, of which the Hungarians had got possession, and affairs were only restored by a rapid advance of General Wyp, who attacked the columns of the enemy which had penetrated into his lines in front and flank, with his lancers, and succeeded in driving them back. After six hours' hard fighting both armies retained their positions, and success had declared for neither. The soldiers, wearied with the struggle, on both sides lay down beside their arms, guns, and horses, without either shelter or covering, and soon the din of the battle was 1 Balleydier, 70, 72; Klapka, 83, Introduction; Georgey, 250. hushed, and the light of the tranquil stars of heaven succeeded to the lurid discharge of the artillery.¹

The night was extremely cold, and the soldiers lay on the frozen ground without 17. covering. Austrians and Magyars Victory of the bore their suffering with fortitude: Austrians. the first, supported by the feeling February 27. of loyalty and the honor of a soldier; the last, by the enthusiasm of independence and the glow of patriotism. Reinforcements to a considerable extent, chiefly from Georgey's army, arrived in the Magyar lines during the night; but the Imperialists in vain looked for the corresponding arrival of General Schlick on their own side. Before daybreak on the following morning, Windischgratz rode through the lines, and addressed a few words of encouragement to the soldiers, who received him with cheers. He directed his first attack against the town of Kapolna, but all eyes were turned toward the road of Verpeleth, where the heads of Schlick's column were expected to appear. At length, at eight o'clock, a column of smoke was seen to arise on the extreme left, followed by a loud explosion; it was Schlick's column, which had now arrived on the ground, and was prepared to take a part in the action. Windischgratz immediately ordered an attack on Kapolna, and commenced it by the fire of three batteries, which opened upon it with great vigor. After an hour's fire, the assault was ordered, and the town carried with great gallantry by two Austrian battalions. Twenty-seven officers and a thousand men were made prisoners on this occasion; Dembinski made several efforts to regain it, but in vain. From this the Imperialists pushed on to a farm-house in its rear, which was also carried and held, after an obstinate struggle. Following up his success, the Austrian general pushed forward Colloredo with two brigades across the Tarma, above Kapolna, so as to turn the right flank of the enemy; while Schlick, who had reached Verpeleth, combined his movement so as to aid in the attack. The united forces made an onslaught on the Hungarian right, and in spite of a vigorous defense by Georgey with the best troops in the army, the latter were driven 2 Hist. of Europe, c. xlii. § 71; Balleydier, 73, 75; Georgey, i. 254, 259, 270; Klapka, i. 83, Introduction. back, and a general retreat began, which soon turned into a confused rout, the infantry and artillery flying in confusion, the cavalry alone retiring in écholons of squares in a soldierlike regular manner.²

Had Windischgratz been in sufficient force to have followed up his advantage as resolutely as he had gained it, and pressed vigorously next day on the enemy, who retreated toward the

Theiss, the Hungarians would, by the confession of their own generals, as well as the assertions of their enemy, have been totally ruined, the war finished on that day, and Austria saved the humiliation of a Russian intervention. But the Austrians are proverbially slow in their movements, and Windischgratz was far from imitating the energy and vigor of Schläck, to whom the real credit of the victory of Kapolna belongs, and who marched twenty-four miles that day and on the preceding night to take part in the action. The Hungarians, too, though defeated, were still greatly superior to the enemy in numbers; and, with a few exceptions, the new levies, until the retreat began, had fought bravely, and emulated the courage of the veteran soldiers. Influenced by these considerations, Windischgratz remained inactive on the 28th, and lost the opportunity, never destined to recur, of driving a defeated army, encumbered with artillery, baggage, and wounded, back on the Theiss, swollen with the winter rains, and traversed only by a few bridges in the rear. He sent General Theisberg with a brigade to threaten their flank at Poroszolo, but no general movement in pursuit was attempted. Theisberg had not sufficient force to attempt any thing decisive, and thus this important victory remained without results. Favored by a thick fog, which covered their march, the Hungarians leisurely continued their retreat by Poroszolo to the left bank of the Theiss without being disquieted on their march by the Imperialists; while Windischgratz, feeling the disastrous consequences of his numerical weakness, especially in cavalry, addressed the

¹ Balleyd. 75, 76; Georgey, 273, 274; Klapka, 83, 84, Introduction.

most pressing instances to the Emperor to send him reinforcements, especially in that arm, offering to send in exchange two thousand Magyar prisoners, who would gladly enter the ranks of the Imperialists.¹

While the Imperial general was thus earnestly entreating for reinforcements, and constrained to inactivity by their want, the most violent dissensions had broken out in the Magyar ranks. Georgey, Vetter, and Klapka, their principal generals under Dembinski, loudly accused the commander-in-chief of mismanagement of the gallant troops under his command. The soldiers joined in the general outcry; and the result was that Dembinski was deprived of the command, which, to shun the rivalry of Georgey and Klapka, was bestowed on Vetter, a man inferior in capacity to either. "You have given yourself a rival," said the disgraced general to Kossuth when he announced his dismissal to him, "who will soon overturn you; God grant it may not be on the ruins of Hungary." The new commander-in-chief made good use of the breathing-time afforded him by the compulsory inactivity of the Imperialists, in reorganizing and recruiting his troops and restoring their spirit. With such success were these efforts attended, and so ably was he seconded by the zeal and energy of Georgey and Klapka, that after having entirely evacuated the right bank of the

Theiss, Vetter was in sufficient strength to detach 15,000 men again across that river, who attacked in front and flank the brigade of Kargu, which lay at Szolnok, on the extreme Austrian right, whom they drove out of that town with considerable loss, and regained for the Hungarians a firm footing on the right bank of the river. At the same time the Hungarians resumed the offensive on the lines before Arad, where the Imperialists were seriously weakened by the detachments which they had been obliged to send into Transylvania to the relief of General Pückner, who had become hard pressed by the indefatigable Bem in that province. These successes went far to restore the spirits of the Magyars after their defeat at Kapolna.¹

In truth, the successes of Bem in that province had been such as to threaten total destruction to the Austrian interests in the east of Hungary. Having concentrated 12,000 men and twenty-four guns, after dispersing the Imperialists in the north of the province, he had moved to the south, made an attack on Pückner, who had thrown himself into Hermanstadt with 4000 men and eighteen guns of light calibre. Notwithstanding this great inferiority of force, Pückner, in the first instance, defeated Bem, after a bloody conflict, with the loss of five guns; and the arrival of General Gidera with a brigade, the day after the battle, sensibly improved his situation. The numbers of the enemy, however, swelled so rapidly, that even after this success the Imperialists soon found themselves in a most precarious situation. The Szecklers, who had now openly declared for the insurgents, threatened to lay siege to Kronstadt on the Russian frontier; while Bem, who was daily receiving reinforcements, still menaced Hermanstadt, and strong bodies of insurgents coming from Arad, entirely cut off Pückner's communications with the main Austrian army. In these circumstances the inhabitants of Kronstadt and Hermanstadt earnestly implored the INTERVENTION OF THE RUSSIANS as their only chance of safety; and Pückner, despairing of ability to defend them himself, and yet unwilling to incur the responsibility of himself calling in these formidable allies, summoned a council of war, which warmly approved of their intervention. They had already received instructions from St. Petersburg to grant the requisite assistance when requested; and a formal requisition having been made by Pückner, General Luders, who commanded the Russian forces in Wallachia, gave orders to two detachments of his troops to cross the frontier, and occupy Kronstadt and Hermanstadt, which was done on February 1st and 5th. Thus did the third French Revolution terminate, as the first had done, in the intervention of the Muscovites, and the bringing down the battalions of the Czar to the centre of Europe.²

Encouraged by this powerful support, Pückner, notwithstanding his great inferiority of force, resumed the offensive, and made a sudden attack on Bem as he was marching with

¹ Balleyd. 80, 82; Klapka, 84, Introduction; Georgey, 1. 274, 277.

^{20.} Successes of Bem in Transylvania, and first intervention of the Russians.

^{Jan. 22.}

^{Feb. 1, 5.}
² Balleyd. 83, 84; Tolstoy, Relation des Armées Russes en Hongrie, 74, 76.

^{21.} Successes and disasters of Pückner.

14,000 men to effect a junction with a corps of Szecklers, and defeated him, with the loss of twelve guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

Feb. 14. On the same day General Engelhardt, who commanded the Russian force in Kronstadt, sallied from that town and defeated a corps of Szecklers, which was advancing against it; while General Urban, in the north of Transylvania, successfully made head against the greatly superior forces of the insurgents by which he was beset. These successes encouraged the hope that the career of the insurgents had been checked in that province, and that the physical weight and moral influence of the Russians would decisively reinstate the affairs of the Imperialists in the east of Hungary. Vain hope! The unconquerable Bem, gathering strength from every defeat, ere long reappeared on the scene with 14,000 men and twenty guns, and after experiencing a check, in the first instance, from Pückner, succeeded in worsting him two days after, and was in his turn worsted by him on the following day.

Being pursued after the last unsuccessful engagement by Pückner, Bem, skillfully eluding the pursuit of the Austrian general, threw himself with his whole force on the Russian general, Skariatine, who had been left in charge of Hermanstadt with 2500 men. The brave Muscovite, attacked by forces five times his own, accepted the unequal combat, and, having made Pückner aware of his critical position, maintained his ground for a considerable time with unconquerable resolution. But while he was fighting with great bravery in front, a corps of Szecklers penetrated into the town in his rear, and left the Russians no chance but of cutting their way through in order to join Pückner. Skariatine succeeded in forcing a passage through

March 1. Bem's columns; but meanwhile the Austrian general, having heard that Hermanstadt was taken, had retreated in a most miserable plight to Rimnik, in Wallachia. Finding himself thus isolated in the midst of enemies, Skariatine retired by the celebrated Rothen-thurm Pass, so well known to travelers for its sylvan and rocky grandeur, into Wallachia; Kronstadt also was abandoned; and the whole of Transylvania fell into the hands of the Magyars. They immediately separated their army into different movable columns, which overran the country in every direction, pillaging, burning, and massacring the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex, and renewing on the fields of Europe the horrid barbarities which in every age have characterized Eastern warfare.¹

These brilliant successes, and the universal enthusiasm which they excited in the east of Hungary, encouraged the Hungarian general in the centre of the country to resume the offensive. They moved forward accordingly, in the middle of March, in one huge column, along the road from Kapolna to Pesth, as far as Hatvan. Their forces were immense, for they numbered on paper 70,000 combatants and 188 guns, of whom about 50,000 could be relied on as effective in the field. These were divided into seven corps. The Austrian general had scarcely half the number to oppose to them,

and they were sensibly discouraged by the fatigues and hardships of a winter campaign, and the disastrous intelligence recently received from Transylvania, which made it evident they would soon have the whole Magyar force on their hands. Sensible of his weakness, Windischgratz retired gradually as the enemy advanced, and they reached the neighborhood of Hatvan without serious opposition. Arrived there, Vetter left the seventh corps, under Georgey, at that town, and with three other corps moved toward his own left, toward Szolnok, with a view to interpose between the main army of the Imperialists, which was at Godolo on the Kapolna road, and Jellachich's corps, and menace the communication of both with Pesth. Schlick, who commanded the Austrians in Hatvan, first came into collision with Georgey's advanced guard at Hort, a village a short distance to the east of Hatvan; and after an obstinate conflict, he was driven through the streets of that town and forced to seek refuge behind the Zagywa, the bridge over which was defended with obstinacy by the Austrian rear-guard under Captain Kalchberger. Apprised of this defeat, the Austrian general-in-chief moved to Godolo to lend a hand to Schlick, and dispatched orders to concentrate his troops on the right, so as to re-establish his communications with the centre and left of the army.¹

These untoward events, and the evident superiority of the Hungarian force, which had now from extended experience become steady in the field, induced Windischgratz to summon a council of war, which met at Azzad, between Hatvan and Pesth, on the 3d April. Opinions were there divided as to the course which should be pursued in presence of the great and hourly-increasing forces of the enemy. Some held that the more advisable course would be to concentrate the whole troops at Waitzen, where they would be in a situation alike to cover Vienna and to defeat any attempt on the enemy's part to advance beyond Pesth. But the majority, among whom was the commander-in-chief, were of opinion that though these views, in a military point of view, were well founded, yet they were overborne by considerations of a political kind of still greater importance, founded on the moral influence of the possession of the capital. It was accordingly resolved to concentrate the bulk of the army in the plain of Rakos, in front of Pesth, intrusting its defense to the valor of two brigades. At this critical time a change, of vital importance to the issue of the campaign, took place in the direction of the Hungarian army. The newly-appointed general-in-chief, Vetter, having fallen sick, resigned the command, and was succeeded, at first temporarily, and in the end permanently, in that important post by Georgey.²

The plan of attack proposed by Klapka, and adopted by Georgey, was to leave the seventh corps only to make head against Windischgratz, on the Gy-öngyös road, and move the three other corps in hand by Arokszyllas and Jasz-Berony, so as to turn the right flank of the enemy, which rested on the Galga. Georgey was to command these three corps, which

¹ Georgey, I. 830, 831; Klapka, I. 85, Introduction; Balleyd. 89, 90; Tolstoy, 81, 82.

¹ Tolstoy, 78, 80; Balleyd. 84, 86; Klapka, 87, 88, Introduction; An. Hist. 1849, 501.

² Renewed advance of the Magyars toward Pesth. March 15.

²³ It is resolved to fight for Pesth.

²⁴ Georgey, I. 828, 829; Balleydier, 90, 94.

²⁴ Movements on both sides before the battle. April 2.

numbered 28,000 combatants, in person; while the seventh corps, 15,000 strong, was to remain in the position of Hatvan, which was very strong, and would, it was hoped, successfully impose upon the enemy. Georgey confesses that this dislocation of the army in presence of the enemy was a hazardous movement, which he would not have ventured upon if he had had to deal with a more enterprising opponent; but he thought, "in presence of Windischgratz many a strategic sin might be committed with impunity." Meanwhile the Austrian general was concentrating his army according to the plan agreed on in the plain of Rakos, and he dispatched orders to Jellachich to join him from the extreme right with all possible expedition. These opposite movements brought the two armies into collision at Isaszeg, and induced the most important battle yet fought in the war.

¹ Balleyd. 91, 93; Georgey, I. 830, 838; Klapka, I. 84, 85, Introduction.

The Hungarian force, consisting of Klapka's, ²⁶ Aulich's, and Damjanics's corps, moved, early on the morning of the 4th, direct on Pesth by the high-road, with a view to interpose between the bulk of Windischgratz's army and Jellachich's corps, which was hastening to form a junction with him in order to cover that capital. They first came into collision with Jellachich, who, finding himself hard pressed, notwithstanding a brilliant charge by his advanced guard, which captured four guns, sent notice to the commander-in-chief that he was obliged to halt to defend himself. Windischgratz upon this hastened to his relief, and he encountered Klapka's corps near Tapio-Bisce, and totally defeated him. Crushed by a prodigious fire from two Austrian batteries, which were admirably served, the head of the Hungarian column recoiled in disorder, and the panic soon communicated itself to those which followed. The whole corps, 1200 strong, took to flight in the utmost disorder, closely pursued by the Austrian cuirassiers, who captured twelve guns during the pursuit. Georgey, attracted to the spot by the outcry, was nearly overwhelmed by the mass of fugitives running to the rear, who were vociferating that all was lost, a battery taken, and Klapka slain. But then appeared in full lustre the brilliant qualities of that commander. Personally exerting himself to the utmost to arrest the fugitives, he stationed Damjanics's corps in an oblique line, half facing the flying mass, and brought up the best old troops in that division to stand the first shock. They did so with eminent success. The veterans of Schwartzenberg's Hungarian regiment not only brought to a stand the victorious Austrians, who had recently routed the whole of Klapka's corps, but stormed and regained the bridge over the Tapio, by which they had crossed, and drove them back beyond Tapio-Bisce, toward Koka, where the Imperialists took post behind some low sand-hills for the night.²

While Georgey was painfully endeavoring to retrieve the consequences of Klapka's defeat on the Hungarian right, the corps of Aulich, and the remainder of Damjanics's men not engaged in protecting the retreat of Klapka, were drawing nearer on the left to Jellachich's troops, whom it was the

object of the movement to separate from the centre, under Windischgratz. Notwithstanding the disturbance which Klapka's defeat occasioned in his army, and the premature disclosure of his plan of attack which it occasioned, Georgey resolved to persevere, and accumulate every disposable man and horse against the Austrian right, so as to impede or prevent its junction with Jellachich. The throw, however, was to the last degree perilous; a second defeat similar to that sustained on the preceding day, and all was lost. But Georgey, without hesitation, accepted the alternative. "Conquer to-day, or back behind the Theiss; such is the alternative—I know of no third. Damjanics still continues the battle; Aulich advances; Klapka has stopped his retreat. Forward—we *must* conquer." Such were the words by which he reanimated his men to make a last effort for the independence of their country. The Magyar three corps, now concentrated in one battle-field, occupied the last northern spurs of the forest of Isaszeg, which projected toward the enemy. The centre was favored by a part of the forest in flames, which had caught fire during the conflict on the preceding day, the smoke from which spread in vast columns over the Hungarian right. The infantry of both armies occupied the spurs of the forest; in the centre, in front of the fearful conflagration, stood the cavalry and artillery, by which it was evident this bloody contest would be determined.¹

Georgey, seeing that the bulk of the Imperial army was concentrated in the centre behind Godolo, ordered his right, ^{27.} consisting of the wreck of Klapka's corps and part of Damjanics's men, to stand firm on the defensive; but the advancing sound of the cannon announced that the Hungarian left was making progress in its spur of the forest. Georgey was still anxious about the result, when he beheld the head of Aulich's corps emerging from the flaming part of the forest, and the left spur, which stretched toward the enemy. He now felt assured of victory; his two corps had accumulated against the Austrian left, who had no adequate force at hand to oppose them. His expectations were ere long realized. A violent infantry fire was heard in the spur of the forest on the extreme Hungarian right; the fire of artillery in the centre was silenced by the Hungarian guns; cries of "Forward," in Hungarian, were heard on all sides; and Aulich's men, with loud shouts, were seen driving the Imperialists before them on the spur on the left. Still Isaszeg was not taken, and till it was stormed the battle could not be said to be gained. Darkness closed on the scene without the commander-in-chief being assured on this vital point, and in his extreme anxiety to learn who remained master of it, Georgey, with a few officers, rode forward in the dark to its vicinity. A challenge in German, as it seemed, from a sentinel, made them start; it sounded like *Halt! wer da* (Halt! who's there?), but it might be the Hungarian "*Ally-le-vagy*," which was not very dissimilar in sound. Georgey answered in Hungarian, and the joyful rejoinder, "Aulich," told that the victory was gained. It proved to be that general himself, who, returning from Isaszeg, brought the joyful news that that village was taken,² and the

¹ Georgey, I. 834, 838; Balleydier, 90, 93; Klapka, I. 85, Introduction.

² Georgey, I. 847, 856; Balleydier, 92, 94.

right wing of the enemy in full retreat to Godolo.

It could not be said that the Hungarians had gained a decisive advantage: they 23. Great results had been victorious with their left of the battle. over the Austrian right; they had suffered a severe defeat on their own right; in the centre, where the cavalry and artillery combated, no material advantage had been gained on either side. But they reaped from it the fruits of the most decisive victory. Georgey's strategic movement had entirely succeeded: by accumulating forces on his own left he had forced back the Austrian right to such a degree as to detach Jellachich from the Imperial centre, throw him back toward the Drave, and lay open to the victorious wing on his left the road to Pesth. This favorable position of affairs for the Magyars was much improved by their great superiority of force, which enabled them, now that they had got the prestige of victory on their side, to assume the offensive at any point. Sensible of his danger, Windischgratz fell back on all sides, and concentrated his troops behind the Rakos in such a position as to cover Pesth from every direct attack; and he hoped to be able to maintain himself there till reinforcements from the rear might enable him to resume the offensive. But he had to deal with an able adversary, who, by another formidable movement, turned his left flank, and forced him to abandon his 1 Balleyd. 94, covering position, evacuate the capital, and lay bare the road to Vienna.¹

Rapidly moving the bulk of his forces from his own left to the extreme right, Georgey, while he advanced in person 29. Able movement of Georgey round the Austrian left. April 7. to and established his headquarters in Godolo, directed the corps of Klapka and Damjanics on Waitzen, which was occupied by the Austrian general, Gatz, with two brigades. The object of this advance on the Hungarian right was to press round the extreme Austrian left, and threaten their communications not only with Pesth, but with Vienna itself, and thus compel the Imperialists, without firing a shot, to evacuate both Buda and Pesth, and concentrate their troops at Presburg to cover the capital of the whole Empire. While the two corps charged with this important movement were heading the line of march and attacking Waitzen, the centre and left, under Kmetz and Aulich, were to move to their own right, so as to be at hand to support them; and at the same time, by menacing Godolo and the Austrian covering army behind the Rakos, prevent them from dispatching any material succors to their own left at Waitzen, the real point of attack. Having taken Waitzen, Klapka and Damjanics were to continue their advance on the left bank of the Danube to 30. Georgey's Order, April 6, 1849; Georgey, i. 371, 373; Klapka, i. 86, 88; Balleyd. 95, 96. Leva, closely followed by the seventh corps; while the remainder of the army occupied Buda and Pesth, which it was expected the enemy would evacuate without resistance.²

These able dispositions met with entire success. The head of Klapka's corps 30. Storming of Waitzen. April 9. reached Waitzen on 9th April, and immediately made an attack on the town, which was defended by Gener-

al Gatz with his two brigades. They soon penetrated into the streets, as the town was unfortified; but a desperate struggle of some hours' duration took place, in the course of which the Austrian commander fell dead by a ball in the forehead. The Austrians were driven out of the town by the sheer pressure of numbers, and would have been totally destroyed but for the able dispositions of the second in command, Jablonowsky, who contrived to draw his men out of the town without any material loss. But the consequences of his retreat were nearly as disastrous at this crisis as their destruction would have been, for they were driven to an eccentric retreat up the mountain valley traversed by Georgey in the preceding winter toward Gran. Thus the Hungarian general had succeeded in detaching both wings from the Austrian centre, driving Jellachich to the south toward the Drave, and the left wing to the northeast toward Gallicia. Nothing could now prevent the occupation of Pesth by the Hungarian centre, and the advance of their powerful right to raise the siege of Komorn, and threaten both Presburg and Vienna. Georgey enhanced the lustre of his glorious victories by his generous conduct to a noble adversary, in according a splendid military funeral, followed by the discharge of a hundred guns, to the remains of General Gatz, and the transmission of all his private papers and effects to Prince Windischgratz. It is to the honor of the Hungarians to have shown, and refreshing to the historian to record, the first return to humane usages in a war hitherto characterized by such savage cruelty, but worthy, by 1 Balleyd. 94, the valor displayed on both sides, 97; Georgey, i. 373, 375, pages of chivalry.¹ 879.

Immense was the consternation excited in Vienna by these repeated victories, and 31. Consternation in Vienna, and appointment of Baron Welden to the command of the army. the formidable position, threatening both Komorn and Presburg, taken up by the Hungarian right wing. The war seemed to be interminable. The insurrection, which they had so often been told was crushed, was now raising its hydra head more formidable than ever: it was no longer a question as to subduing Hungary, but saving Vienna. Under the influence of these feelings several cabinet councils were held at Olmütz, where the Emperor still was, as soon as the disastrous intelligence reached them. It was there resolved, on the advice of Prince Schwartzberg, that notwithstanding the great merits and services of Prince Windischgratz, he had, by a long train of disasters, lost the confidence of the army, and that a change in the command had become indispensable. He was accordingly deprived of the command, which was bestowed on General Baron Welden, and, till his arrival at head-quarters, Jellachich provisionally took the direction.²

This great victory of the Hungarians was followed by a serious division between 32. Speech of Kossuth against Georgey on the future of Hungary. April 7. the Magyar chiefs themselves, which in the end proved fatal to Hungarian independence. On the 7th April, Kossuth and Georgey met at Godolo to discuss the line which should be adopted, now that the independence of the country seemed in a fair way

of being established. Their ideas, as those of the parties which they respectively represented, were as opposite as the poles are asunder. "Now," said Kossuth, "is the time when it becomes us to answer the pretended constitution of 4th March, 1848, by the declaration of our independence. Austria was encouraged to publish that burlesque of a constitution by the victory of Kapolna; let us celebrate that of Isaszeg by the open shaking off of their yoke. The patience of the nation is exhausted; if it would show itself worthy of liberty, it can not for a moment tolerate that pretended constitution. The people of Europe will judge of the people of Hungary according to the answer which it gives to that insidious proposal. England, France, Italy, Turkey, Germany itself, not excepting even the hereditary states of Austria, are only waiting for Hungary to proclaim itself independent to lend us their material aid, and that the more abundantly that hitherto they have been so sparing in affording it. The sore-tried, oppressed nation of the Poles will unite with us, and will find a powerful ally in the Turks, who have so often suffered from the policy of Austria and Russia. With the freedom of Hungary the freedom of Europe will fall; with its triumph there will be as many insurrections against hated tyranny as there are oppressed peoples in Europe!"

83. **Concluded.** "Our victory is certain; but we have it in our power to do much more than for ourselves alone. We can and must fight for the freedom of the whole world—for all who wish us victory. Our words, however, must precede our deeds; our cry of victory, the precursor of triumph, must anticipate our successes; they must announce its approach to all enslaved people, in order that they may be watchful and vigilant, and not allow the golden opportunity of universal liberation to pass away. We must not permit our enemies, the enemies of freedom in every land, to assemble again, after having been scattered, and to gather strength anew. We can no longer remain silent after the pretended constitution has destroyed our very existence. Our silence would be a passive recognition of our enemies' claims—a repudiation of all our victories. We must, therefore, declare ourselves. A declaration such as I wish will at once raise the nation in its own esteem, destroy all the bridges behind the wavering and yet undecided part of the nation, and, by the overwhelming force of a common object, satisfying every wish, embracing every interest, drive into the shade all mere party interests, and thus facilitate and insure our common victory."

84. "I by no means see things in the same light," replied Georgey. "Words will not make Hungary free; deeds alone can do that. No arm out of Hungary will be raised to perform those deeds; rather armies will be raised in foreign states to prevent their execution. Even supposing that Hungary at the present moment were strong enough to detach itself from Austria, would it not be too weak to maintain itself as an independent power in a neighborhood in which the Porte, with a much more favorable position, has already been reduced to an existence by sufferance only? We have lately, it is true, repeatedly beaten the en-

emy, but it has taxed our utmost strength to do so. The consciousness that our cause was just has alone enabled us to do so. *If Hungary is separated from Austria, our cause is no longer just; our struggle would no longer be for, but against the law; we should not be fighting for, but against the country; we should be engaged in an assault on the united Austrian monarchy. In doing so we should mortally wound innumerable ancient interests and sympathies; we should conjure up against our country the consequences of a revolution uncalled for under any circumstances; we should force the old troops, the very kernel of the army, to violate their oaths, and thus shake their fidelity; we should become weaker every day, while at the same time every neighboring State would rise up against us as the disturbers of the balance of power in Europe.* We can not, it is true, acquiesce in the pretended constitution of 4th March; but can we repudiate it more decisively than by the victories we have gained? Battles won for the legitimate king, Ferdinand V., and the constitution sanctioned by him, are the best answer that Hungary can give to the chimeras of the Austrian ministers.

"Of what other use was my proclamation from Waitzen, immediately after the evacuation of the two capitals? It was issued by me because it was the only means of retaining to their colors the old soldiers, the bone and muscle of the army, to whom it had been principally indebted for its successes. What was the object of that demonstration which my corps, without my knowledge, proposed to make against Dembinski in Kaschau, but their anxiety not to lose a commander who respected their military oaths. I have shared prosperity and adversity with these troops; I know their feelings; and should King Ferdinand V. stand before us now, I would without a moment's hesitation invite him, unarmed and unprotected, to follow me into the camp to receive their homage, certain that no one would refuse to render it to him."

It was too late, however; Kossuth's determination had been already taken; and on the 14th April appeared from the Diet the proclamation of HUNGARIAN INDEPENDENCE. This important instrument set forth that the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine—having been guilty of perjury, made an appeal to arms, and pushed its audacity so far as to strive to detach from Hungary the important provinces of Transylvania, Croatia, Sclavonia, Fiume, and the sea-coast—is hereby declared to have forfeited its rights to the throne of Hungary, and its members were forever banished from its territory. Hungary, with all its dependencies, was declared an independent State, governed by Kossuth—elected Governor by acclamation, and the universal consent of the nation—on his own responsibility, in concert with his ministers, accountable only to the National Diet, and all the civilized world taken as witnesses of its assuming the rank of an independent power. Every one who should hereafter support the cause of the dethroned

* Speeches of this sort by two persons in private conference are too often spun only out of the author's brain; but in this instance they may be relied on as genuine, being given by Georgey himself in his *Memoirs*, vol. 1. p. 367, 368; and they have never been gainsaid by Kossuth.

house was declared guilty of high treason, and this proclamation was ordered to be sent to every town and village in the kingdom. This proclamation, coming from the National Diet sitting at Debreczin, could not be openly disobeyed by the national army; but it excited the most profound indignation in the breasts of Georgey, Damjanics, Vecszey, Linange, and nearly all the officers of the old Hungarian army, who still had the feelings of loyalty in their hearts and the initials of their king on their banners, and who combated Ferdinand the Emperor in the name of Ferdinand the King. Thenceforward the ground of the war was entirely changed; it was not national, but social; the Magyars no longer fought for the ancient cause of Hungarian independence, but the modern one of French democ-

¹ Proclamation, April 14, 1849; Balleydier, 108, 112.

racy. To this change in the spirit and object of the contest its subsequent calamitous issue to the Hungarians is mainly to be ascribed.¹

If the democratic leaders of the Hungarian Diet threw down the gauntlet boldly to all the monarchical powers of Europe by this declaration of independence, it must be confessed that they made corresponding preparations to support the cause in which they had engaged. Their first care, in imitation of the French Convention, was to declare the Government revolutionary—that is, dictatorial and despotic. The absolute power, however, was to continue only as long as the war lasted; it was then to give way to a more regular régime. “The ministry was bound to follow the republican path. They shall oppose with all their strength every reaction in favor of the monarchy, and also every attempt to escape from the organization of labor by attaching it to property.” “The ministry is to adopt democratic tendencies in their full extent. All the laws which they shall bring forward shall be with that view: they shall adopt the principle of the sovereignty of the people, and engage to retire rather than depart from it.” The deeds of Kossuth and the ministry did not belie these professions: they were energetic in the extreme. He took possession of the whole specie in the public coffers; issued paper money without bounds, in which the whole payments of Government were made; and daily published eloquent proclamations, calling on the friends of freedom all over the world to come forward to his support. With such success were these efforts attended, that numbers, not only of Hungarians, but Poles, Italians, French, and Irish, flocked to their standards; and in a few weeks the revolutionary Government found itself at the head of 107 battalions, 124 squadrons, and 800 guns, of which 200 were horsed and harnessed and ready for the field. Their forces presented a total of 90,000 infantry, 13,000 cavalry, and 18,000 artillery, great part of which was by this time inured to war.²

^{37.} The Austrian Government had no forces at their disposal capable of making head against such an array. It was hard to say whether Radetsky or Windischgratz were most pressing for reinforcements, or on which side the necessity for them was the greatest, and the Government was reduced to

^{38.} Vast preparations of the Hungarians, and the Government declared revolutionary.

^{39.} Deplorable condition of Austria, which resolves to invoke the aid of Russia.

the resources of Upper and Lower Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, to make head against this hourly-increasing mass of enemies. Assistance from England, so often afforded in former crises, was not to be looked for. Its Government preserved a cold neutrality; its people openly and enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause. France, distracted by revolutionary passions, was in no condition to afford any effectual succor. The Government of the President, as yet feeble, and struggling with an adverse majority in the Chambers, could with difficulty maintain its ground against its domestic enemies. Prussia beheld with secret satisfaction the mortal throes of a power which had so long proved its successful rival in the German Confederacy. In these circumstances, Russia was the only power to whom recourse could be had for assistance, and fortunately her armies were at hand in great strength in Poland ready to give the required succor. And though it was doubtless a humiliating circumstance for the Cabinet of Vienna to be reduced to the necessity of invoking the aid of a foreign and rival power to make head against its own subjects, yet the mortification they experienced was much alleviated by the consideration that it was not the rebellious Magyars alone with whom they had to contend, but a coalition of Hungarians, Lombards, Poles, French and German Liberals, who were arrayed against them from every part of Europe.¹

On the other hand, the same considerations which led the Austrian Government to ask, induced the Russian to afford, the requested succor. It was well known that nearly the whole Polish exiles enthusiastically supported the Hungarian cause, as not only were many of their best officers drawn from that brave and enterprising body of men, but great numbers of volunteers were daily crossing the frontier, and carrying into the Magyar ranks the succor of their arms and the intensity of their hatred at their oppressors. There were many reasons, therefore, to apprehend that the democratic movement, if victorious in Hungary, would speedily cross the Carpathian range, and spread over the Sarmatian plains; and if the interior of Russia were once convulsed, the passage of arms at St. Petersburg in 1825 might be renewed with a different result to the reigning power. Influenced by these considerations, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg arrived at the conclusion, which was cordially acquiesced in by the Emperor, that their greatest enemy in Europe was the democratic spirit, and their first duty to suppress it; and that this could never be done so effectually as by powerfully aiding the Austrian Government in their contest with the Hungarian insurgents. Accordingly, the Russian Government resolved to make common cause with the Austrian in the Hungarian war; and by a proclamation issued from St. Petersburg on 8th May, this determination was announced to Europe; and the Russian army in Poland, one hundred and fifty thousand strong, received orders to cross the frontier, under the command of the veteran Paskewitch, to support the Austrian forces.²

Long, however, before the Muscovite's succor could reach the scene of action on the banks of

¹ Tolstoy, 89, 91.

^{39.}

Reasons which induced the Emperor Nicholas to give the requested succor.

² Tolstoy, 94, 98.

the Danube, disasters had accumulated to such a degree that it had become evident that, without foreign aid speedily administered, the Austrian Empire would be irrevocably ruined. After the capture of Waitzen, and the driving of the two brigades which defended it up the Gran, Georgey crossed that river at three points, attacked and defeated Wohlgemuth, who, with a slender corps, was covering the siege of Komorn. The Austrian general being obliged to retire, the blockade of that fortress was at once raised, and the garrison, under its enterprising commander, Count Guyon, was enabled to take a part in active operations in the open country. On the 22d he attacked the Austrian general Sussay, who with a brigade was endeavoring to make his way back toward Presburg, and threw him back on Nyarod. In this way Georgey, by throwing the bulk of his forces on the left bank of the Danube round the bend at Waitzen, so as to turn the Austrian left, and threaten their communications with Vienna, rendered the retention of Pesth and Buda for any length of time impossible. At the same time the insurgents were daily assuming a more menacing position in Central Hungary. Arad was blockaded by a considerable body of their forces. General Leiningen, in haste, and with no small difficulty, threw himself into Temesvar, which was immediately blockaded, and the garrison of which was kept strictly on the defensive; while General Theodorowitch, assailed by a considerable body of insurgents, was thrown back upon the Danube; the detachments of Generals Nugent and Mamula, threatened with destruction, were driven toward Servia, and the frontiers of that province and Croatia were at all points laid bare to the incursions of the insurgents.¹

In these circumstances it was altogether impossible for the Austrian general to retain possession of Pesth; for though the force under his immediate command was superior to the two corps of Hungarians by which it was immediately threatened, yet the three corps under Georgey, which had turned his left flank, rendered any further stay there hazardous in the extreme. Orders were therefore given for the evacuation of that capital, which was carried into effect on the 21st April. The defense of Buda was intrusted to General Hentzi with a brigade of veterans, who, it was hoped, would be able to maintain it till the Russian succors arrived; and Welden himself, with the rest of the army, not more than eighteen thousand strong, took the road to Raab. Jellachich with his corps was directed to descend the Danube to Esseck with the heavy artillery and stores of the army, which were transported by water to that fortress. Welden's division of the army was to retreat by the right bank of the Danube, so as to neutralize in some degree the advance of Georgey along the left bank, and, having reached Raab, to form a junction at Gran with the division of Csoritch, which, since the evacuation of Waitzen, had occupied that town. But this design was soon found to be impracticable. The Imperial army marched out of Pesth in the deepest dejection on the 21st April, and on arriving in the neighborhood of Raab they found that

Csoritch had already been forced by Georgey to pass over to the right bank of the Danube, and, to avoid pursuit, to break down the bridge behind him. It was no longer possible, therefore, to concentrate the army at Raab, or even cross over there to the left bank: a retreat to Presburg, and concentration of the forces there, alone remained practicable to cover Vienna. This was accordingly done, and Hungary entirely evacuated by the Imperial forces, with the exception of the fortresses of Buda, Arad, Temesvar, Carlstadt, and Deva, which, held by slender garrisons, still remained in their hands. On the other hand, the Hungarians, in possession, on the west, of the important fortress of Komorn, in the south of Peterwaradein, and sheltered on the north by the Carpathian range, occupied a central position eminently advantageous for resisting the attacks either of the Austrian or the Muscovite forces.¹

The centre of the Hungarian army entered Pesth in great pomp and in the highest spirits on the 22d April, and immediately commenced the investment of Buda, which lies on the opposite bank of the Danube, within half cannon-shot, and completely commands the capital. Unbounded enthusiasm, both in the troops and the inhabitants, followed their entry; Hungary seemed to be delivered, and the war ended, now that their beloved capital was again in their hands. But when the leaders of the democratic and aristocratic parties met in council to deliberate on ulterior operations, the old discussion between them broke out with more violence than ever. "Kossuth forgot," said Georgey, "that Hungary, if it strove to be independent of Austria, resembled a fool who should wish to separate his head and arms from his trunk, that he might be able to walk about more easily. Kossuth has dug an impassable abyss between the king and us; Kossuth will ruin the country." "Georgey," added Damjanics, "will recover what Kossuth has lost; and for my part, I will march with my grenadiers to Debreczin, and fall with the bayonet on all the declaimers in the Diet." But Kossuth took the opposite side, and insisted on the necessity of securing Buda as a centre of operations and rallying-point for the country before proceeding further. "What avails victory," said he, "if, immured as we are up to the knees in mud, we can not enjoy the fruits of our triumphs? A district without a capital is not a country; Buda is our fatherland; let all arms be turned against it." Georgey strongly combated this opinion, representing that every moment was precious, and that if, in the present weakened state of the Austrian army, they marched at once on Vienna, merely masking Buda, the Austrian capital would fall, and the empire be destroyed. Kossuth, however, remained firm, and commanded Georgey to undertake the siege of Buda, and halt the centre at Pesth till it was taken. The general reluctantly obeyed, though he was still convinced that, in a military point of view, it was a great error—an opinion in which the best military authorities agree.* But for this, Georgey tells us, he would have disobeyed Kossuth's orders, and marched direct upon Vienna.²

* "C'en était fait peut-être de la monarchie Autrichienne."

40. Raising of the siege of Komorn, and continued disasters of the Austrians. April 18.

¹ Balleydier, 123, 127; Tolstoy, 84, 85.

41. Evacuation of Pesth by the Austrians. April 21.

¹ Tolstoy, 87, 89; Georgey, 1. 397, 402.

42. Divided opinions on what course should be pursued after Pesth was taken.

² Tolstoy, 90, 92; Georgey, 1. 370, 394; Balleydier, 124, 127, 128.

The siege of Buda being resolved on, the Hungarian siege-train was brought up from the rear. The place was summoned on the 4th May, and Georgey established his head-quarters at Schwabenberg, in the vicinity, as well to cover the siege as to superintend the operations. The garrison consisted of three thousand men, with fifteen field-pieces, and seventy-five guns of heavy calibre, with ammunition and provisions for two months. To the summons to surrender, the Governor Hentzi replied: "The Emperor, my august master, has intrusted to me the keys of Buda; I will return them to him alone. Meanwhile my honor and duty command me to defend the fortress, and I will do so to the last man. If the twin cities perish in the conflict, I declare you responsible for their ruin: I appeal to God, my right, and my sword. Long live the Emperor!" The acts of the brave Austrian did not belie these gallant words. Siege operations were commenced by the Magyars on the 4th May, and from that time till the 12th there was an incessant combat of the outposts, sustained on either side with equal intrepidity. On the 12th the breaching batteries were opened at five hundred yards from the gate of Stuhlweissenburg; and from that time till the 17th an incessant fire was kept up night and day on both sides, which speedily wrapped both capitals in flames. By the lurid glare of the conflagration the gunners on either part pointed their pieces; and with such effect was the cannonade kept up that on the evening of the 17th the breach was declared practicable. Georgey gave the signal for assault; at four on the following morning four columns moved forward to the attack. The first, however, missed its way in the dark; the scaling-ladders of the others were too short; and the assault was repulsed at all points with great slaughter. Taught by this failure the quality of the antagonists with whom he had to deal, Georgey renewed his operations with larger force. The fire continued with the utmost vigor till the night of the 21st. At midnight thirty-four battalions, numbering twenty thousand combatants, were in the trenches for the assault; and the leading columns rushed forward to the breach to the sound of the martial music of all the bands placed behind the lines, which played the patriotic march of Rakotzy. The Croats, headed by Hentzi, met them with equal resolution on the rampart; the conflict was long and doubtful; but at length, the brave Austrian general having been mortally wounded on the breach as he was encouraging his men to combat to the last, the pass was carried, and the place fell. The garrison, after the bloody strife was ended, was not put to the sword, as had been threatened, much to the honor of Georgey and the Magyars, who were much exasperated by the bombardment of Pesth, which they regarded, not without reason, as an unnecessary exercise of military severity.¹

While this important success was being achieved in the centre, another advantage hard-

¹ Georgey, ii. 52, 58; Balleydier, 132, 134; An. Hist. 1849, 511, 512. —L'OLSTROY, p. 92.

ly less important was gained by the Magyar right between Waitzen and Raab.

The whole left bank of the Danube had there been evacuated by the Imperialists as far as Presburg, but they still held the right bank, and the command of both was essential to a safe advance against Vienna. The Hungarians were in possession, however, of a bridge-head at Kniesen, but the bank opposite that town, covered by formidable batteries, was in the hands of the Imperialists. Anlich, who commanded the Magyars, resolved to force this position, and throw a bridge across. This bold and hazardous enterprise was successfully accomplished after an obstinate conflict, in the course of which the town, taken and retaken four times, was reduced to ashes. By this important success the Hungarians became masters of both banks of the Danube, and threatened the direct communication of Pesth with Vienna. So strongly was this felt in the Austrian camp, that the headquarters of the army were withdrawn, on its fall, to Presburg, within a few leagues of Vienna, where the most energetic efforts were made by the Government, warmly seconded by the citizens, to reinforce it by every disposable man and gun.¹

Successes also of a less material, but still important kind, were gained by the Magyars in the south. Jellachich arrived at Eiseck on 9th May, and there found the corps which had been left to guard the frontiers of Croatia and Slavonia almost destroyed. Colonel Puffen, after having been rudely handled by Perczel, could hardly muster 2000 men around Karlovitz, and Mayerhofer was shut up in Semlin, before Belgrade, with 1200. This was all that remained of 12,000 men which had been left in the south, under Theodorowitch, to guard the left bank of the Danube, who was driven back to Panesova. Before Peterwaradein, Colonel Mamula, with 2000 men, maintained the blockade in strong intrenchments, constructed with skill and defended with resolution. These trifling bands were the sole obstacles which prevented the insurgents of Central Hungary, 30,000 strong, from throwing themselves on Slavonia and Croatia. Nothing, in these circumstances, could be hoped from the south; the deliverance of Vienna, and salvation of the Empire, could be looked for only from the north.²

Fully sensible of the extreme danger of their situation, the Cabinet of Vienna were unremitting in their efforts to bring into immediate operation the succor of the Russians, as well as to recruit their army with every disposable man to fill up the wide chasm produced by the losses of the war.

The plan of operations concerted between the Cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg was this: A Russian corps concentrated at Dukla, in Galicia, under Field-marshal Paskewitch, was to penetrate through the Carpathian Mountains, and descend on Central Hungary. A second Russian corps, under the orders of General Luders, was to enter Transylvania by Kronstadt and the Rothenthurm Pass, and co-operate with another Russian corps,

⁴⁴ Successes of the Hungarians on their right, on the Danube.

May 12.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1849, 511, 514; Georgey, ii. 37, 41; Klapka, i. 27, 29.

⁴⁵ Successes of the Hungarians in the south.

² Ann. Hist. 1849, 511, 512; Tolstoy, 97, 99; Georgey, ii. 41, 47.

⁴⁶ Plan of operations of the combined Russians and Austrians.

which was to operate on Bistritz, and an Austrian division, under General Clamm, composed of the slender remains of Pückner's corps. The main Austrian army, which had recently been put under the orders of Baron Haynau, reinforced by the veteran Russian division Paniutine, was to form the third attacking column, which was to penetrate into Hungary from the westward, in the vicinity of Raab. A detachment under General Grabbe was to form a link of communication between these distant though converging columns, by operating in the valley of the Waag and on the plateau of the Schemnitz. The forces which the Russians brought to support this intervention were immense, and forcibly illustrated the diastrous effects of those democratic transports, which, spreading as from a common centre from Paris, had thus a second time brought the forces of the desert to decide the strife of civilization. They amounted in all to 161,800 men, almost exactly the number

¹ Tolstoy, 101, of Russians which, in its final result, the first Revolution brought of Europe, c. to the plains of Vertus, in Champagne. ¹ § 26.

Immense as was the addition which the accession of Russia made to the power of Austria, the chances of the conflict to the Hungarians were by no means so unequal as might at first appear, and not nearly so much so as those of Frederick the Great had been in Prussia in the Seven Years' War, or those of Wellington in Portugal in that of the Revolution. The Hungarian forces on paper amounted to 190,000 men, and they could bring of these 120,000 effective into the field. They had an inexhaustible supply of siege-artillery and 200 field-pieces, admirably horsed and equipped ready for action. Their central position, covered by several strong fortresses, amply supplied with all the means of defense, gave them the great strategical advantage which Genius has so often made to compensate inferiority of numbers, of having an interior line of communication to move over, while the enemy was moving over an outer and longer line. They were under the orders of Georgey, a general of first-rate abilities, admirably qualified to make the most of every advantage which chance or situation might present; and if he gained any considerable success, a second revolution was sure to break out in Vienna, and all Germany be again involved in bloodshed and conflagration. The greatest drawback to these chances of success were the loss of Damjanics and Aulich, his best generals, who had both been disabled in this desperate warfare, and the dissension between Georgey and Kossuth, which had now reached such a pitch that the former declined the rank of field-marshal, lieutenant, ² Georgey, 11 and the order of the first class of 67, 71; Balleydier, 137. military merit, tendered to him by the latter. ³

JULES BARON HAYNAU, born at Cassel, in Electoral Hesse, in 1786, of an ancient family, entered the Austrian service in 1801, and rapidly rose to distinction. He was in the front both at Nördlingen and Wagram in 1809, and was wounded in both battles. He was present in the chief battles of 1813 and 1814, and rapidly rose from merit through the various steps in

the Imperial army. He was already marshal-lieutenant in 1844, and distinguished himself at Verona in 1848, and it was his charge which, in the critical moment, decided the battle of Custoza. He was subsequently distinguished, both at Brescia and Malghera, in the second Italian war. His stature was tall, his carriage military and imposing; and he had in full perfection the firm determination, the iron will, which, in military not less than civil affairs, is so important an element in success. This disposition led him, in the close of the contest, into acts of severity which history must regret, but which the Hungarians had little right to condemn, for it was only an application to them of the inhuman acts with which they had commenced the contest. When the young Emperor, in his extremest need, informed him that he had intrusted to his hands the salvation of the Empire, he answered, "And I shall save it, unless a cannon-ball reserve that honor to some one more fortunate than myself." "I have full confidence," replied the Emperor, "in your energy, your experience, and your fortune."¹

Born on the 8th May, 1782, at Pultowa, in Little Russia, already celebrated in Russian annals, of a noble family settled there for three hundred years, **FIELD-MARSHAL PASKEWITCH** entered the army, on leaving the situation of page in the palace in 1800, under the auspices of the Emperor Paul, and made his first essay in arms on the field of Austerlitz in 1805. In 1806 he distinguished himself in the bloody war with the Turks, and gained such reputation that he was intrusted with an important command in the Russian army in the invasion of 1812, and led the Russian centre at Smolensko in that year. He was not less distinguished in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 in Germany and France; and he was intrusted with the command of the Russian army in 1826, 1827, and 1828, in Persia, and subsequently called to repair the errors of Diebitch, and restore the lustre of the Russian arms in Poland in 1831. He possessed a rare combination of all the qualities which constitute a great general; but among these he was pre-eminently distinguished by the two most important—caution and foresight in laying plans, and promptitude and vigor in carrying them into execution. As a natural consequence of this union, he was almost uniformly successful in all his enterprises; and this inspired the soldiers with unbounded confidence in his capacity and fortune. Severe in enforcing discipline, but equitable in considering particular cases, he with reason regarded self-control and obedience as the first of military virtues. Not less just and generous than brave, he was ever humane. After the combat was over, no acts of unnecessary severity sullied his victories; and he exhibited through life the most shining example of the practical adoption as a rule of conduct of the maxim, "No-² Balleyd. 359, 361. blesse oblige."³

The troops on both sides remained in a state of constrained inactivity, so far as the principal armies were concerned, for six weeks after the taking of Buda, preparing on either for the new and more terrible strife which was approaching. The Austrians, evacuating Raab, which

was occupied by the Hungarians, concentrated at Presburg, ready to resume offensive operations when the principal Russian army was prepared to cross the Carpathians. Haynau's army was by great exertions raised to four corps; it contained 70 battalions, 76 squadrons, and 288 guns—mustering 60,000 men, of whom 8000 were cavalry. To these, however, were added, before the campaign commenced, a Russian division, Paniutine, which came up with great expedition, and proved of the most essential service in the course of the campaign. It numbered 8000 combatants. The principal Russian army, under Field-marshal Paskewitch, which was destined to cross the Carpathian Mountains from Galicia, and carry the war into Central Hungary, was composed of three corps, each consisting of three divisions of infantry, and one of cavalry. These corps mustered in all 76,000 combatants. Thus, between the two grand armies, above 140,000 men were arrayed to invade Hungary from the west and northeast respectively, independent of the corps of Jellachich in Croatia, and the Russians in Wallachia, which, taken together, might amount to 40,000 men.¹

The forces which the Hungarians had at length by great exertions raised to meet this formidable coalition were, on paper, hardly inferior in number. They were divided into four corps, commanded respectively by Georgey in person, Dembinski, Perczel, and Bem, besides a corps of reserve. The entire force presented a total of 174 battalions, 188 squadrons, and 488 guns, harnessed for the field—mustering 94,000 infantry, 21,000 cavalry, and 22,000 artillery. To these might be added 27,000 irregular corps and garrisons in Buda, Peterwaradein, Komorn, and Arad, which formed the principal *points d'appui* of the insurrection. The main armies, under Georgey and Dembinski, were destined to make head against the two great hosts of Haynau and Paskewitch. The former, stationed on the Upper Danube, in front of Presburg, consisted of 61 battalions, 88 squadrons, and 229 guns, and mustered 29,000 infantry, 8000 cavalry, and 9000 artillery. The second corps, under Dembinski, styled the Army of the North, was less numerous; it consisted of 24 battalions, 12 squadrons, and 57 guns; it could not assemble more than 20,000 combatants; Bem's forces in Transylvania contained 47 battalions, 29 squadrons, and 202 guns, numbering 34,000 effective men. Perczel's corps, in the Banat, contained 32 battalions, 28 squadrons, and 88 guns; it could bring twenty-four thousand men into the field.²

Georgey at this juncture had firmly resolved to publish a declaration, saying, "The declaration of independence is invalid; long live the constitution of 1848!" and to have dispersed at the point of the bayonet the democrats who signed the declaration of independence.³ But to the realization of this project it was indispensable that the enemy should be driven beyond the frontier; and this was no easy matter; for the jealousy of Kossuth, and his suspicion of the hostile designs of Georgey, deprived the latter of the

force requisite for a successful advance. This explains what would be otherwise inexplicable—viz., the inactivity of the Hungarians in the interval between the fall of Buda on the 28th May, and the arrival of the Russian division at Haynau's head-quarters on the 14th June, which for the first time put him in a condition to make head against them. This interval was big with the fate of Hungary and of Europe; for, beyond all doubt, had Kossuth, in those three precious weeks before the arrival of the first Russian reinforcements, placed the bulk of the Hungarian forces at Georgey's disposal, that general would have driven the Imperialists back to Vienna and carried that capital. But Kossuth dreaded Georgey even more than the Russians; and accordingly, Georgey tells us that his inactivity during this momentous interval was owing to the want of ammunition, and the wretched condition of the new levies forwarded to him by the Government, great part of whom were unable to take the field, being hardly in a condition to go through the first rudiments of military drill. To this fatal conduct—the direct consequence of Kossuth's unjustifiable usurpation of the Government—the loss of the cause of Hungarian independence is mainly to be ascribed.⁴

The division Paniutine arrived at Presburg on the 14th June, and operations commenced on the 16th, on the banks of the Waag, where the Hungarians had established bridges, and were preparing to push forward toward Vienna, in order to drive the enemy over the frontier. After several combats with various success, the Austrians concentrated their forces on the left bank of the Danube, behind the Waag, and offered the Hungarians battle. Twelve battalions of Paniutine's division formed the centre. Georgey was greatly inferior in force, but being unable to withdraw his troops in sufficient time to the left bank of the Waag, which they had crossed, he was obliged to stand the shock. The Hungarian rode in front of his lines, bidding them recollect Buda and the glories of their ancestors. The conflict for some hours was very warm, and the result doubtful. Several squadrons of Magyars charged with extreme impetuosity, and broke some Austrian battalions; Georgey for a short time flattered himself with the hopes of decisive success. Vain hope! The Hungarian centre, after being shaken by the fire of twenty-four guns on its left flank, and a charge by two brigades on its right, was finally routed by a charge of Paniutine's

* "By the middle of June scarce half the promised recruits for the main army were on the spot, and the formation of the reserve corps was in a still worse plight; for the recruits already raised were not, as Szamero had affirmed, awaiting their destination. On the contrary, the leaders of the battalions had to await the results of the levy only just set on foot, while of the supplies necessary for clothing, arming, and equipping these men, no traces were to be seen till about the middle of June. Not less traceless than the official assurances of Szamero and Kossuth respecting it, had the latter's stereotyped asseveration, constantly recurring since the beginning of April, proved to be, that the army was to be reinforced by from twelve to sixteen thousand men, who, it was said, were unnecessary to Field-marshal Bem. I am at last—too late, unfortunately—that I had acted imprudently in delaying the long-intended offensive movement even for a single day—from relying on Kossuth's and Szamero's promises."—GEORGEY, II. 116, 117.

cuirassiers, supported by two Russian battalions and four guns. Paniutine upon this assumed a vigorous offensive, and after a sharp conflict drove the enemy out of the village of Pered, and took four guns. At the same time the Hungarian right, threatened with being turned by the brigades Pott and Perin, fell back at all points, and crossed the Waag, the fatal limit of their conquests. In this battle the Hungarians lost 2500 men, and the prestige of victory. Thus early in the contest did the value of the Russian veterans of Paniutine appear.¹

While hostilities were thus commencing on the Waag, the main Russian army under Paskewitch was concentrated at Dukla, immediately to the north of the Carpathian Mountains. The three corps of which it was composed broke up on the 17th June in Hungary. They experienced no serious resistance in the passes of the mountains, though the strongest of them had been armed with fortifications. The Hungarians under Perczel, twenty thousand strong, retired before them, and the Russian advanced guard arrived at Miskolcz. There, however, they encountered a more serious enemy than the bayonets of the Hungarians, in the form of the cholera, which broke out with such violence in the army that in a few days it carried off five thousand men. Constrained to halt his main body by this terrible disaster, Paskewitch dispatched one corps to cross the Theiss at Tokay, in order to threaten Debreczin. The bridge at that place having been broken down, a hundred Cossacks stripped off their clothes, took their sabres in their teeth, and swam across. The Magyars, astonished at this act on the part of these hardy children of the desert, abandoned their defensive position on the left bank; and Tcheodarff, having thrown a bridge over, advanced to Debreczin, which he entered on the 6th July. The occupation of this city—the cradle of the insurrection, and so long the seat of government—spread general consternation in Central Hungary, and, by diffusing the belief that the cause was hopeless, powerfully contributed to check the formation of the new levies and volunteer corps which was going on in the interior. The Russian troops preserved the most rigid discipline, and protected both the persons and property of the inhabitants; which furnished a striking contrast to the savage atrocities which had signalized the passage of the Magyars through the same city some months previously.²

In addition to the corps of Paniutine, which was thus united to the main Russian army, the corps of General Grabbe moved toward the theatre of war in the same quarter, and the advanced guard of Haynau, under Schlick, arrived before Raab on the 27th June, driving before him the Hungarian army, 34,000 strong. The young Emperor of Austria, who was full of military ardor, soon after arrived at headquarters, and put himself at the head of his troops. He was most anxious to lead the storming party, but the unnecessary risk thence arising was

saved by the retreat of the Hungarians, and Schlick, attended by the Emperor, entered Raab without resistance. At the same time June 30. the Emperor of Russia repaired in person to Dukla, where he passed in review the numerous reserve corps of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, which were daily passing through that town on their way to join the grand army. On the other side, Kossuth, with his lady, who July 4. sat on his right, made a triumphant entry into Pesth, in an open chariot drawn by four splendid horses, his head crowned with laurel, attended by a magnificent cortège of Magyar nobles on foot and horseback, and the whole troops in either capital, amidst the cheers of the multitude, and the roar of artillery on both sides the Danube.³

Sanguinary engagements soon succeeded the approach of the chiefs on either side to the theatre of war. The insurgents, pressed by Haynau with the grand Austrian army in front, and Grabbe's corps on their right flank, had retired from Raab toward Waitzen. A furious combat took place during this retrograde movement, by an attack on the Austrian advanced guard, consisting of Schlick's corps, which was suddenly assailed by Georgey in person at the head of the whole Hungarian horse, who issued from their place of concealment in the forest of Harkaly. So violent was the onset that the Imperialists were driven back in utter confusion to Acz, and Schlick sent the most urgent entreaties to Paniutine to come up to his assistance. The Russian general, without waiting orders from his general-in-chief, hastened to lead, and arrived just in time to save the Austrians from a total defeat. Georgey, who July 8. charged at the head of his hussars like a simple colonel, and fought in the mêlée with the energy of a private soldier, was wounded in the head, and taken from the field insensible. His fall, and the vigor of Paniutine's attack, restored the fortunes of the day. The Russian guns, placed on some sand-hills, opened a heavy fire on the Hungarian columns when disordered by victory. The result was decisive. The Hungarians, after an obstinate resistance, were obliged to abandon the field of battle, and retire under the cannon of Komorn, leaving the Imperialists the entire command of the forest of Acz, which was indispensable to the blockade of that fortress. In this hard-fought action, which did equal honor to the troops on either side, the loss to each was 1500 men.⁴

After this check Klapka, taking the wounded Georgey with him, withdrew into an entrenched camp in front of Komorn. The Russian corps of Grabbe at the same time approached that fortress, and entered into communication with the troops of Haynau. Threatened in this manner by forces more than double their own, the Hungarian chiefs resolved on a decisive attack on the grand Austrian army, with all the troops they could collect, to dispose of it before the Russians came up. To support this movement, Perczel's corps and the whole new levies in the interior were to move on Debreczin, drive the Russians from that town, and restore the communication of the

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army with Bem in Transylvania. The movement of Georgey took place on the 11th July 11. To conceal his real design, the Magyar general made a sally from the intrenched camp, on the right bank of the Danube, with forces superior to the Austrians, for he had 53 battalions, 70 squadrons, and 206 guns; while Haynau had only 53 battalions, 49 squadrons, and 176 guns. The Imperial battalions, too, were very incomplete, for 16,000 sick encumbered their hospitals, occasioned by the heat of the weather and the fatigue of the troops. The 1st Balleyd. 246, third corps of the Austrians was 247; Georgey, marching on Pesth, and could not 11. 237. take a part in the action.¹

Klapka commanded in the battle, as Georgey's 58. wound prevented him from sitting on Issue of horseback. The object of the attack conflict. was to gain the entire course of the Czonekzo, from its mouth to Igmand, which would compel the Austrians to evacuate their position, which surrounded the intrenched camp. The Hungarians had the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication. At nine in the morning the Hungarians, preceded by a numerous cavalry, debouched in demi-columns from the *tête-de-pont*, and planted twenty batteries in the forest of Harkaly, while Haynau at the first cannon-shot hurried to the spot, and hastily drew up his troops in order of battle. The first onset of the Hungarians was so impetuous that the Austrians were entirely routed in the centre, and the village of Czern, the key of the position, was carried. All seemed lost; for a huge gap had been made in the middle of the Imperialist line, into which the Hungarian columns, with loud shouts, and in all the confidence of victory, were rapidly pouring. But in that extremity the Austrian reserve, with the Russian division of Paniutine, and all the reserve guns, hastened to the spot, and met the advancing column with the discharge of eighty pieces of cannon, "the fire of which," says Klapka, "caused the very earth to shake." The Austrians kept their ground, the Hungarians did the same; but they did not advance, and this to them was equivalent to a defeat. Fresh troops came up to take the place of those which were weakened on either side, but the Imperialists were strongest, and at length began to prevail in the centre. Prince Leiningen, seeing this, placed himself at the head of the Hungarian reserve, and made a furious charge on the Austrian left, and at first with great success. But here again the Russian division Paniutine interposed with decisive effect, and changed the face of the day. His guns, suddenly brought up, opened with terrible effect on the Hungarian flank; Georgey, wounded as he was, appeared on the field, and strove to rally his shattered columns; and 2 Balleyd. 249, 252; Klapka, 1. 208, 210; Georgey, II. 287. after the most heroic efforts on both sides, the Hungarians were repulsed, and the Austrians remained masters of this hard-fought field.²

In this obstinate battle the Austrians lost 64 59. officers and 1536 men, and, including the Russian loss, they were weakened by full 2000 men, which was also the amount of the Hungarian loss. But the consequences of the action were eminently disastrous to the latter. Foiled in his attempt to drive

them from their position before Komorn, or arrest the march of the corps dispatched against Pesth, which entered that capital on the 12th, Georgey, who had now so far recovered as to resume the command-in-chief of the army, threw Klapka, with 18,000 men and 76 field-pieces, into Komorn, while he himself, with 28,000, moved as rapidly as possible by the left bank of the Danube to Waitzen, hoping to anticipate there the Russian advanced guard of Paskevitch's army under General Sass, which was approaching by forced marches to the same town. The object was of vital importance; for if the Russians made themselves masters of that town, they were interposed between Georgey and Perczel, the Hungarian forces were cut in two, and all the advantages of their central position lost. Arrived in front of Waitzen on the 15th July, Georgey found the town occupied by a *Musulman* regiment, forming the advanced guard of Grabbe's corps, which had entered it without resistance.

Having collected all his disposable troops, Georgey marched toward Waitzen with 60. 45,000 men and 120 pieces of cannon. Battle of On his approach the Russian light-horse Waitzen. retired through the town, and the Hungarians took a position in front of and July 14. July 15. on a ridge of low hills, which were lined by their numerous artillery. The Russian cavalry, supported by a brigade of infantry under General Rudiger, and transported by ardor, assaulted this position before the main body of Grabbe's infantry arrived; but the Hungarian guns were too heavy for them, and they were repulsed with serious loss. Next day, however, the heads July 16. of the infantry column began to appear, and entered into action, having made a forced march of eight German, or *forty English miles*, in twelve hours. The Grand-Duke Constantine led one of the attacking columns, and showed an example to the troops of the most distinguished valor. For some hours the Hungarians opposed a desperate resistance, and held the position, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Muscovites. But they fought only to cover the retreat of their main body, which defiled through the town all night without intermission; and next morning their position, so obstinately contested on the preceding day, was found to be deserted. The town of Waitzen was immediately 1 Tolstoy, 114, occupied, and the main body of the 116; Balleyd. Magyar army retired in good order 244, 257: by a circuitous mountain road toward the Theiss.¹ Georgey, II. 245, 256, 273.

Another desperate and bloody action took place a few days after between the 61. second Russian corps, which Paskevitch had detached from his main Desperate cavalry action army to support Grabbe at Waitzen, at Tzombor. July 20. and the corps of Perczel, which the Hungarians sent to intercept it. On this occasion the Magyars were superior in numbers, having 15,000 infantry and 5000 horse, with 14 guns, while the Russians were only 16,000 of all arms—the Russian advanced guard consisting of two regiments of cavalry, under Count Tolstoy. They were suddenly assailed on all sides by the Hungarian horse, which charged them with the utmost vigor, and, having cut off their retreat, summoned them to surrender. But the Russians indignantly rejected the proposal, and, closing

their ranks, prepared to perish to the last man in defense of their standards. Tolstoy had a trifling reserve, which he directed by a skillful charge on the flank of the enemy; and the shock was so violent that the Hungarian hussars yielded, and time was gained for the arrival of a division of infantry, which, by a heavy fire, completed the discomfiture of the enemy. The

Hungarians under Dembinski, disconcerted by this repulse, retired toward Szegedin, not without experiencing considerable losses in their retreat.¹

These repeated disasters produced the utmost discouragement at Pesth, where the dissension between the national party, headed by Georgey, and the democratic, led by Kossuth, was daily becoming more violent. Disturbances broke out, and Kossuth, with the Government, deeming themselves no longer in safety in the capital, retired to Szegedin, and both Buda and Pesth were occupied by the Austrians. In vain Kossuth strove to revive the spirits of the people by a proclamation, in which he announced that the "brave French, and the not less brave English, were marching to their support, and would not permit them to be crushed in an unequal contest." Every one saw that such succor, even if sent, would come too late, and that the existence of Hungary could not be prolonged beyond a few weeks. Georgey, with military frankness, explained the real state of affairs in a council of war held at Szegedin. "Before long," said he, "the converging march of the Imperial armies will bring us into a situation in which we must either capitulate or be killed to the last man. The loss of Hungary is now only a question of weeks, which time will soon resolve. But if Hungary is to fall, it is of little importance whether it is to sink before Austria or Russia—whether Haynau or Paskewitch is to deal out the last blow. What we are really interested in knowing is, to which of these powers we shall be assigned on a partition of the division of the spoil; what we require to see is, to which our dying efforts may cause us to fall." Instructed by his spies of the gloomy view which the commander-in-chief took of their affairs, Paskewitch dispatched several secret emissaries with proposals for him to capitulate on honorable terms, and terminate a contest which all must see was hopeless. But though no one was better aware of this than Georgey, he answered as became a soldier and a man of honor. "If I alone was concerned individually, and the safety of my troops, I should not be disinclined to listen to the proposals of the Emperor of Russia. But the salvation of Hungary is at stake, the existence of which the Emperor of Russia and those about him intend to destroy. We must fight, therefore, until our peaceful fellow-citizens are saved from the danger of subjugation, or we ourselves are destroyed in the struggle. This is my answer as a soldier, and the commander of the troops intrusted to me by the State."

Kossuth, who feared Georgey even more than the Russians, seized the opportunity of the wound of the latter at the battle of Acz, to remove him from the command of the army, and recall him

to head-quarters to discharge the duties of minister at war. This recall from active service was a thunder-bolt to Georgey, the brave general, and a very different result from what he expected from his glorious efforts, as his wound by no means disabled him from retaining the command. But his staff, who were highly indignant at this dismissal, repaired in a body to the Government, and laid before them such accounts of the feelings of the army on the subject, that Kossuth deemed it prudent to dissemble, and Georgey was restored to the command. Soon after, Kossuth offered Bem the situation of commander-in-chief, but that able officer, who well knew how much the common cause had suffered from the alteration of military movements by the civil authorities, refused to accept it, unless he was left supreme and absolutely uncontrolled in his movements. This the tribune was not prepared to admit, and accordingly the negotiation with Bem came to nothing, and Georgey retained the command.¹

By the result of the movements which have been described the Austrians and Russians had not only themselves gained a very great strategic advantage, but they had deprived the Hungarians of the chief one which they had hitherto enjoyed, and which had been the main cause of the comparative equality with which they had maintained the contest. In the outset of the campaign with the Russians, the latter threatened Hungary from the Carpathian Mountains on the northeast, and the Austrians from the side of Vienna on the west; but the Hungarians held the whole country between the two, and enjoyed the advantage of a central position and interior line of communication, which would enable them to accumulate their forces at pleasure against either of their assailants before the latter could by possibility effect a corresponding junction of forces on their side. But by the result of the combined movements of Paskewitch and Haynau, this advantage had not only been lost to the insurgents, but it had been gained to their opponents. By the advance of the latter on the right bank of the Danube to Pesth, and the descent of the former from the Carpathian Mountains into the central plain between that capital and the Theiss, the invading armies had entered into direct communication in the heart of Hungary; while Georgey's army had been driven into a wide and eccentric retreat through the Carpathian Mountains before he could rejoin the army of Dembinski, which had retired to the south to Szegedin to cover the seat of Government. The Hungarian armies were thus scattered by the blows delivered at the heart of their country; Georgey was in the Carpathian Mountains, Dembinski on the frontiers of Croatia, Bem in Transylvania, while the Austrians and Russians occupied the great plain of Central Hungary.

Georgey's march through the mountain country, by Lossonez and Miskolcz, upon Tokay, through the lower spurs of the Carpathians, was admirably conceived in this respect, that while it opened to him a mountain route through a difficult country, in which it was not likely he would be followed by the Russians to the Theiss,

¹ Tolstoy, 117, 119; Balleyd. 266, 268; Georgey, II. 271, 284.

⁶² Deperate state of Hungarian affairs, and proposals of capitulation. July 12.

⁶³ Georgey is dismissed and restored to the command. ¹ Balleyd. 297, 298; Georgey, II. 237, 245.

⁶⁴ Results of the first part of the campaign.

where he might hope to regain his communication with Dembinski and Bem, it at the same time effectually took the pressure of the enemy off the former and the seat of Government, and, in his own words, "secured to Dembinski the possibility of employing the southern forces *against the Austrians alone*." He compelled Paskewitch to follow him, for he threw himself directly on his communications with Galicia and Poland, his base of operations. The desired effect, accordingly, immediately took place. Suddenly halting all his troops in their advance to the south, the Russian general moved his headquarters, with the second and third corps, by Gyöngyös on Kapolna, while the fourth corps was pushed up nearer to the mountains through which Georgey was toiling. Both sides were making for the Theiss; the Russians by the shorter and interior, the Hungarians by the longer and exterior circle. The advanced guards of the two armies came into contact on the 25th July on the banks of that river, near Poroszló. Gortschakoff, who commanded the Russian advanced guard, found, on drawing near the river at that place, that the approach to it was by a single chaussée traversing a swamp, impassable for carriages, occupied by five thousand men and ten guns. Though his men were worn out by a long march in a sultry day, Gortschakoff gave the signal for attack; and after a severe action the defile was carried, the bridge over the Theiss, which the Hungarians had broken down during their retreat, restored, and the road to Debreczin thrown open.¹

Having won a bridge over the Theiss at this point, Paskewitch immediately threw another over at Csage, and his troops in great numbers began to cross. This rendered it necessary for Georgey to retire with the utmost expedition to Tokay, to avoid being intercepted in his exterior circuit. To cover the retreat and delay the advance of the Russians as much as possible, he detached a corps of his army under Nagy Sandor, with instructions to take a defensive position, and keep the enemy off from Debreczin as long as possible. This brought on an obstinate and bloody action on the 2d August. At two in the afternoon of the 1st the Russian advanced guard, under Prince Bebutoff, suddenly came on the Hungarian advanced posts, about a mile in front of Debreczin; and as the strength of the enemy was unknown, and they showed no disposition to retreat, Paskewitch halted his men; the equipages were left behind, and the whole army, consisting of the second and third corps, with a strong reserve, and a division of the fourth, nearly forty thousand combatants of all arms, advanced. Nagy Sandor thought the enemy were a single corps only, and that he had nothing to fear, insomuch that, on the forenoon of the 2d, when Paskewitch made his attack, he was in Debreczin at a banquet given him by the inhabitants of that place. The Russians on their side were nearly as much taken by surprise; their advanced guard, on approaching the enemy, were suddenly assailed by a shower of canister and grape from forty pieces of cannon placed in a masked battery, and found themselves in front

of eighteen thousand men, strongly posted on a line of sand-hills covering the town. Overwhelmed by the iron tempest, the Russian soldiers fell back, and Paskewitch, seeing the affair had become so serious, ordered up four heavy batteries of position to reply to the enemy's guns.¹

The combat now became more equal; and the Russian horse-artillery having come up, their guns answered with effect the discharges of the enemy. Still the Hungarian masses arranged behind the guns stood firm, and barred all access to the town. The cannonade continued for some hours without any advantage being gained by the Russians; but at length the experienced eye of Paskewitch detected a quarter on the enemy's right where an attack might be made. He immediately directed against this point two divisions from the reserve, supported by four batteries, while a column of infantry, with a division of cavalry, making a still wider circuit, marched with drums beating, and in an ostentatious manner, toward the town. This movement was attended with entire success. The Hungarians had no adequate reserve to oppose to these fresh bodies, by which their flank had been turned and their retreat was threatened; their cavalry, assailed by greatly superior masses, was driven from the field and dispersed. The victory was now gained. The Hungarian infantry, torn in flank by a terrible fire from the Russian guns, was no longer able to keep its ground, and was driven back into the town, closely followed by the *Circassian and Mussulman* horse, which chased them through the streets and far on the other side. In this disastrous battle the Hungarians lost 7 guns, 8000 prisoners, and their whole baggage, besides 1500 killed and wounded, while the entire Russian loss was 980. Paskewitch immediately entered Debreczin, where he established his head-quarters; and on the following day a solemn service was held in the same church, and *Te Deum* sung, where, a few months before, the dethronement of the house of Hapsburg had been proclaimed. Meanwhile Georgey, highly indignant at the surprise of his lieutenant, whom he deprived of the command, continued his circuitous retreat by Gros-Wardein toward Arad in deep dejection, but with a military ability, considering the difficulties with which he had to contend, which forms not the least honorable part of his career.²

While these decisive blows in the centre of Hungary were depriving the insurgents of their last hopes in the quarter where their chief forces had hitherto lain, disaster equally serious and unbroken had, notwithstanding the talents and energy of General Bem, occurred in Transylvania. It has been already mentioned that, simultaneously with the resumption of active operations by the Russian and Austrian armies, an invasion of that province was to be attempted from the side of Wallachia by General Luders, and from the Bukovine by General Grottenheim. Luders accordingly, on the 1st July, moved through the mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia,

65.
Ability and
consequences
of Georgey's
mountain
march, and
combat at Po-
roszló.
July 25.

66.
Combat in
front of De-
breczin.
August 2.

¹ Tolstoy, 126,
128; Balleyd.
275, 277;
Georgey, ii.
322, 376.

67.
Defeat of the
Hungarians.
August 2.

² Tolstoy, 130,
132; Balleyd.
277, 279, 283;
Georgey, ii.
326, 330.

68.
Disasters of
the insurgents
in Transylva-
nia.

July 1.

with twelve thousand men, with which he forced the pass of Tomorch, which had been fortified by the insurgents with great care, and made himself master of Kronstadt. On the July 2 day following, Grottenheim had a similar success, by forcing the defile at Tibretza, and throwing back the insurgents on Altorf. Having gained an entry into the province in this manner, Luders followed up his successes with vigor. After forcing the pass of the Rothenthurm, he advanced fighting all the way to Hermanstadt, which was occupied on the 21st without resistance. But meanwhile Bem was not idle. He had come, by his inexhaustible resources and marvelous victories, to exercise a superstitious influence over the minds both of the soldiers and the peasantry, who regarded him as not only invincible, but invulnerable, and firmly believed that guardian angels watched over his person. Supported by this confidence, he struggled with wonderful energy, at the head of eighteen thousand men, against the converging forces of the enemy, and even on some occasions gained considerable advantages over them.¹

Though defeated by General Grottenheim at Tckendorf, Turiak, and several other places, he appeared again as a conqueror at Taad, and showed how inexhaustible the resources of a general of capacity may be when he is cordially supported by a considerable portion of the people. Luders, on his part, wearied with incessant combats with an adversary whose resources seemed to multiply with every defeat which he experienced, collected all the forces he could command, and marched, on the 29th July, on Segesvar, of which he obtained possession without resistance. Bem, having also concentrated his forces, marched on the same place; and the two armies, of nearly equal strength, each mustering about thirteen thousand combatants, met on the 31st July, near Weiskirchen. "At last we have them; this time they shall not escape," said Luders, when his Cossacks announced the presence of the enemy; and immediately dividing his troops into two columns, he gave the signal for attack. Bem's men, who were by this time veterans tried in twenty combats, for three hours withstood the attack of the Muscovite battalions with great resolution; but at length the Russian commander threw some squadrons of horse on the insurgents' right flank, when disordered by a successful bayonet charge, which had been headed by Bem in person. This movement was decisive. The Magyars were instantly routed, and fled from the field in disorder, closely pursued by the Russian horse, who chased them several miles from the field of battle. Bem himself, who had combated with the utmost resolution, was only saved from capture by the aid of some Hungarian hussars, who dragged him out of a marsh, in which he had taken refuge during the heat of the pursuit. The losses of the insurgents in this disastrous battle were very serious; they had 1800 killed, 2800 wounded, nearly the whole of whom fell into the hands of the Russians, and lost eight guns, two standards, and great quantities of baggage and ammunition.² The casualties of the Russians did not exceed 900 men

in all; but among them was General Skariatine, one of the most promising officers of their army.

But while Europe was every day expecting to hear of his death or capture, Bem again collected his scattered forces, drew together reinforcements from every quarter, and made an attack on Hermanstadt, which was garrisoned by General Harford. After a violent struggle of five hours' duration, the Russians were driven out, and sought refuge in the woody recesses of the Rothenthurm Pass. Kossuth was highly elated when he heard of this unlooked-for success. "You see," said he, "Hungary is invincible; it is like the Phoenix, it rises from its ashes." But this was the last victory of the Hungarians. Luders no sooner heard of this disaster than he collected his troops, and advanced by forced marches to avenge the honor of the Muscovite arms. He reached Hermanstadt on the very day after Bem had entered it in triumph; the attack was commenced instantly; and the insurgents, flushed with their success on the preceding day, issued forth to anticipate the assault of the enemy. The conflict was very bloody, and for some time doubtful; for both sides fought with the utmost resolution, and were inspired by the most violent passions. At length, however, Luders, having got all his troops in hand, and brought up his last reserves, made a simultaneous attack on the centre and right wing of the insurgents. Bem advanced gallantly at the head of his cavalry to meet the attack; but at the very moment when the *mêlée* took place, his men were suddenly charged by a body of Russian horse on his right flank, who issued from an ambuscade. This manœuvre proved fatal. The Magyar horse broke and took to flight, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of Bem to rally them, and were quickly followed by the rest of the army. This defeat was fatal to the insurgent cause in Transylvania. They lost six hundred killed, five hundred wounded, twelve hundred prisoners, and all their artillery and ammunition, being fourteen guns and twenty-eight tumbrils. The whole insurgent force, utterly desperate, disbanded; and Bem, finding himself left without an army, repaired, attended only by a body of officers whose fidelity nothing could shake, to Temesvar, to join the last remnant of the Hungarian armies under the walls of that town. Luders himself, after this victory, directed his forces by the valley of Maros, and on the road came up with a body of the insurgents near Karlsburg, whom he defeated with the loss of twelve pieces of cannon and fifteen hundred prisoners.¹

While disaster was thus prostrating the insurgent cause in the north and east, events of the utmost moment were occurring in the south, on the Croatian frontier. It was hard to say which party was there most severely pressed; for, on the one hand, the insurgent Government, which had retired to Szegedin on the Theiss, had no adequate force to oppose to Haynau, who was pressing on in close pursuit; and on the other, the Austrian garrison of Temesvar were now at the last extremity, reduced by sickness, famine, and the sword, from 8000 to 1500 men, and in extreme want of provisions. The

¹ Balleydier, 296; Tolstoy, 136, 140. ² Balleydier, 302, 304; Tolstoy, 140, 143.

70.

Final defeat of Bem at Hermanstadt. August 5.

Aug. 6.

¹ Tolstoy, 141, 144; Balleydier, 304, 308.

71.

Advance of the Austrians to Szegedin.

honor of the Austrian arms was involved in rescuing this band of heroes from their beleaguering enemies; but the distances were great, the heat was overpowering, the drought excessive; and the relieving army would have nearly as much to suffer as the besieged before the deliverance could be effected. But Haynau, knowing that Paskewitch was interposed between him and Georgey, whose army formed the real strength of the insurgents, and relying on the ardor and spirit of his troops, pushed on through every difficulty, animating his fainting soldiers by the prospect of effecting the deliverance of their comrades. The Austrian outposts appeared before Szegedin on the 2d August, and entered that city without resistance, the Government and Diet having retired to Arad. Considerable stores of ammunition and provisions were found in the place.¹

The insurgents, however, had no intention, though they had abandoned Szegedin, which was on the right bank of the Theiss, of surrendering without a struggle the passage of that river. Their forces, numerically speaking, were strong; for Dembinski had concentrated all the detached corps and new levies round the seat of Government, and collected thirty thousand infantry, five thousand horse, and a hundred guns on its left bank. The ground there is extremely flat and marshy; and Dembinski had skillfully availed himself of a dike which stretches two miles from the bridge-head of Szegedin, in which he had cut fifty embrasures, filled with as many guns, behind which his army was posted in a very advantageous position. The Hungarian guns opened a prodigious fire from this formidable battery when the Imperialists endeavored to cross; and although the Austrian artillery replied at the distance of only six hundred yards, yet their discharges produced very little effect, as the balls stuck on the dike. Seeing this, the Austrian general detached two battalions to ford the Theiss below the bridge. They succeeded in doing so unobserved, and suddenly assailing the flank of the enemy, forced them to retire from the armed dike; and upon this the Austrians re-established the bridge, which had been partially broken down, and began to pass over. The Hungarians, however, collecting in a body, made a last effort to arrest the enemy, and with such vigor that the Austrians were driven back in great disorder to the neighborhood of the *tête-de-pont*. But the division Paniutine, which had so often interposed with decisive effect, was now brought forward. Quickly crossing the river, a battalion of those noble veterans stemmed the torrent, arrested the advance of the victorious Hungarians, and restored the fortunes of the day. Dembinski, though twice wounded, refused to leave the field, and with his staff made the most heroic exertions to reanimate his men; but in spite of all their efforts, they gave ground before the steady advance and deadly volleys of the Russians. At the same time intelligence arrived that the third Austrian corps had forced the passage of the Theiss at Kanira on one side,

and the first corps at Mako on the other; and Dembinski, seeing himself in this manner repulsed in the centre, and turned on both flanks, fell back at all points toward Temesvar.²

Dembinski now called a council of war, to consider whether they should any longer continue a contest which had apparently become hopeless. But it was unanimously resolved that they must try the fortune of war a last time under the walls of Temesvar; and thither, accordingly, all the columns were directed. Their forces, as they retired, greatly swelled in number, from the concourse of armed men on all sides, who hastened, some from courage, some from fear, to join the last army of independence. They amounted, when they reached Temesvar, to 40,000 combatants, with 140 guns. But great part were raw levies; and they were all extremely dejected, from the long-continued disasters which they had undergone, and the overwhelming fatigues with which these had been accompanied. These fatigues, however, told as severely upon their pursuers as on themselves; and even more so, from the open hostility or sullen indifference of the inhabitants of the country through which they passed. The sufferings of the army of Haynau, during the advance from Szegedin to Temesvar, were almost unparalleled. The open plain afforded no shelter, either from the rays of the sun during the day or the dews of the bivouac during the night. The inhabitants had all fled from their homes, after poisoning the wells by throwing into them the dead bodies of men or animals; and often the only refreshment the wearied soldiers dying of thirst could get during twenty-four hours was obtained by wringing from their jackets the plentiful dews which fell during the night. Still they struggled on with heroic constancy, in hopes of arriving in time to save the remnant of the garrison at Temesvar; and great was the joy of the troops of all arms when, on the evening of the 9th August, the domes of that city were descried, with the enemy drawn up in a defensive position, barring all access to it, save what might be won by the sword. Being joined by the corps of Vetter, and the blockading force before Temesvar, as well as the fugitives from Transylvania, they numbered 50,000 men, with 180 pieces of cannon.¹

The Austrians were numerically inferior, from the great losses they had experienced during their long and toilsome march; they were only 32,000 at the point of attack; but among these were the redoubtable veterans of Paniutine, and they had 190 guns. The Hungarians were posted strongly on a line of sand-hills, and vineyards or orchards on rising ground, which formed a natural protection against all but vertical firing, and they received the attack of the Imperialists with the utmost resolution. The action began at five in the morning, and continued with the utmost vivacity, and no apparent advantage on either side, till eleven in the forenoon, when it suddenly ceased on that of the Hungarians, and was succeeded by loud acclamations from every part of the line, accompanied by the cry of "Bem! Bem!" vociferated by forty thousand voices. In effect, it was the Transylvanian hero, who, by great exertions, had come up by the valley of Maros, in time to take part in the action; realizing thus, on a greater theatre than the field of Flodden, the vision of the poet forty years before:

¹ Balleydier, 826, 829; Tolstoy, 147, 149; Georgey, II. 350, 354.

² The advance to Temesvar.

¹ Balleydier, 820, 824; Tolstoy, 148, 149.

² Battle of Temesvar, Aug. 10.

"When such a shout there rose
Of 'Marmion! Marmion!' that the cry
Up Flodden mountain, shrilling high,
Startled the Scottish foe."^a

Taking advantage of the enthusiasm, Bem, who immediately assumed the command, after casting a hasty glance over the field of battle, put himself at the head of the Magyar cavalry, and made a headlong charge on the Austrian left. So violent was the onset, that the line in that quarter was in a few seconds broken through and routed, and the whole wing took to flight in the utmost disorder. The battle seemed gained; for Bem, having demolished the Austrian left, was pressing on in full career against their centre, when he was arrested by Paniutine's division, and the reserve artillery which Haynau in haste brought up to stem the torrent. The veterans of Russia, closing their ranks, received the charge with a rolling fire, the front rank kneeling: the artillery, at the same time, plowed through the flanks of the victorious horsemen, and they were forced to recoil. At the same time, Lichtenstein successfully turned the Hungarian right; and Simbschen did the same on their left; while the artillery in the centre acquired the superiority over that of the enemy. Upon this the insurgents retreated at all points; and the soldiers who had fought so nobly, now utterly desperate, in great part threw away their arms and dispersed.¹

The shades of evening had now set in, and the troops who had combated since five o'clock in the morning, under a burning sun, were ready to drop down with fatigue; and the horses were unable to strike into a trot. But Temesvar was not yet relieved; and it was known that the garrison, having exhausted their last provisions, were on the point of perishing of famine. In these circumstances, Haynau adopted a resolution worthy of the very highest praise. Collecting the least exhausted of the horsemen, and of the horse-artillery, he formed them into four squadrons and a flying battery, and putting himself at their head, he set out with all possible expedition to penetrate through the woods, still occupied by the enemy, and make his way into the beleaguered garrison. The gallant attempt met with entire success. The insurgents, on hearing the sound of the cavalry approaching, were seized with one of those panics so common after a hard-fought battle, and took to flight, dispersing in all directions. Haynau, with his gallant followers, made his entry, amidst the frantic acclamations of the worn-out garrison, into Temesvar; and provisions being quickly introduced, they were rescued from impending death. This memorable siege is one of the most glorious in the Austrian annals. It lasted one hundred and seven days, and during the half of that time the garrison, besides combating daily, had to contend with all the horrors of famine. The

name of the brave commander, General RUKAWINA, deserves a place in the Walhalla of European fame.²

If the defense of Temesvar is one of the most glorious events in the Austrian annals, the sally from Komorn about the same time may justly be ranked in a conspicuous place in the Hunga-

rian. Klapka, who commanded the powerful garrison of that great fortress—fully equal in number to the blockading corps—not content with providing every thing for its defense, resolved to strike a blow at the enemy by whom he was observed. For this purpose, he selected ten thousand of the most efficient troops of his garrison, and commenced an attack on the Austrians, who were only six thousand strong, on the left bank of the Danube. The attack, which was admirably directed in two columns, completely succeeded. After a sharp contest, the forest of Harkaly was taken, the heights of Acz carried, and the Austrian intrenchments broken through at all points. Utterly routed, the Imperialists fled over the bridge of the Danube back to Presburg, where, as well as at Vienna itself, then utterly drained of troops, they spread the utmost alarm. Pursuing the enemy along the right bank, Klapka made himself master of Raab, and entirely cut off the communication between the main army under Haynau and the capital. In this brilliant affair the Hungarians took thirty pieces of cannon, a thousand prisoners, and an immense quantity of ammunition and military stores. A thousand Austrians fell in the battle and pursued, with very little loss to the victors.³

Brilliant as this success was, it came too late, and was too distant to have any sensible effect on the fate of the war. The decisive blows had been struck at Debreczin and Temesvar. The only chance of the insurgents after the last disaster would have been to have retreated rapidly and joined Georgey, who, by incredible exertions, had reached Arad by circuitous and execrable roads, for the main road by Gros-Wardein had been occupied by the enemy under Rudiger. If this junction were effected, the united armies would have presented a mass of 60,000 men, with 200 pieces of artillery, with which, in a central position, the Hungarian general might have struck redoubtable blows to the right or left at whichever of his adversaries first approached him. But to do this required a sacrifice of jealousies, to which the Hungarian generals, how brave and skillful soever, were not equal. If they joined Georgey at Arad, which they might easily have done, for it was only twenty-eight miles distant by an interior and safe line of communication, he would, in virtue of his rank as general-in-chief, have taken the command both of Dembinski and Bem. This they could not endure, for both of them were Poles belonging to Kossuth's democratic party; while Georgey was the head of the national and aristocratic party. Add to this that both these generals and Kossuth, having come to despair of the insurgent cause, had determined to retire still farther to the south, instead of moving to the north toward Georgey, in order to secure their retreat across the frontier into the Turkish dominions. It was for this reason that they had retreated from Szegedin upon Temesvar, instead of Arad as Georgey had proposed. The consequence was, that when the advanced guard of Georgey's army broke up from Arad, and moved on the Temesvar road on the morning of the 10th on the way to that town, instead

76.
Defeat of the
Austrians be-
fore Komorn,
August 2.

Klapka,
II. 6, 10;
Balleydier,
332, 334.

77.
Eccentric re-
treat of Dem-
binski and
Bem to the
south.

^a *Marmion*, canto vi.

of meeting Dembinski's patrols, as they might have done had that general retreated on that line, they encountered the advanced guard of the Austrians under Schlick, whom Haynau had hurried forward to interpose between the two Hungarian armies. Dembinski and Bem, with Kossuth and the Government, were meanwhile retiring in the opposite direction toward Nerchitz, on the Servian frontier. So demoralized were

¹ Georgey, the Poles and Hungarians by their recent defeats, that, on meeting the Austrians, they fled up the valley of Maros.¹

The Hungarian cause was now utterly desperate; Georgey was irrevocably separated from Dembinski when within two marches of each other, and the united armies of Paskewitch and Haynau were interposed between them. Georgey saw plainly that the cause of independence was lost, and Kossuth

78.
Resignation
of Kossuth,
and Georgey
declared Dictator.

August 10.

had at length come to be of the same opinion. In these circumstances, thinking that Georgey could make better terms with the Russians than the republican tribune, they both agreed that the entire power, civil and military, of the commonwealth, should be vested in the former, who was declared Dictator, with absolute power, either for war or peace. Kossuth, in an eloquent proclamation, announced this determination to the nation,* and Georgey threw himself into the breach and accepted it. In an order of the day addressed to the nation, he said, "Hungarians! The Provisional Government has ceased to exist: the governor and the ministry have voluntarily relinquished their posts and the direction of public affairs. In these circumstances, a civil and military dictatorship is indispensable. I accept it. Every thing which is possible in war or in peace for the good of the country shall be attempted—every thing which can put a period to the cruelties, the persecutions, the assassinations. My sole advice to you is to retire and remain quietly in your dwellings; abandon all thoughts of combating or resisting. God, in His infinite wisdom, has decided on the fate of our country. Let us accept His decree with a manly resolution and a firm conviction that the good cause is not lost for all eternity. Hungarians! God be with you."²

Though all others, however, felt the necessity of yielding, Bem held on his way undaunted. By a circuitous route he repaired to Georgey's head-quarters, and earnestly implored him to con-

* "After several unfortunate battles, in which God, in the latter days, has proved the Hungarian nation, we have no longer any hope of continuing with success our defensive struggles against the considerable forces of the Austrians and Russians. In this state of affairs, the safety of the nation, and the security for its future, have come to depend entirely on the general who is at the head of the army; and I am profoundly convinced that the prolonged existence of the present Government would not only be useless to the nation, but might be attended with serious evils. I make known to the nation, as well in the name of myself as of the entire ministry, that, animated by the same sentiments which have guided all my steps, and induced the sacrifice of my entire existence to the good of our country, I retire from the Government, and invest with supreme military and civil power the General Arthur Georgey, until the nation, in the exercise of its rights, sees fit to dispose of it otherwise. I can no longer be of use to the country by my actions; if my death can be of any service to it, I willingly give it the sacrifice of my life. May the God of justice and mercy be with the nation!—KOSSUTH."—BALLEYDIER, *Guerre de la Hongrie*, 388, 389.

tinue the war, alleging that, with the 30,000 men whom he had under his orders, and ^{79.} the debris of other corps which could be collected, they could still muster an army of 100,000 men. But Georgey replied, with truth, that the troops, depressed by repeated defeats, worn out by interminable marches and counter-marches, without food, ammunition, shoes, or clothing, were in no condition to continue the war. "Poor Hungary! Unhappy Hungary!" exclaimed Bem; and mounting his horse, he refused Georgey's proffered hand, and riding off, regained some hundred faithful followers, chiefly officers, in the forest of Lugos, the rendezvous assigned to them after the defeat of Temesvar. Assembling them around him at midnight under the boughs of the ancient forest, Bem said, "Hungary approaches its last hour. Betrayed by men rather than deserted by the chances of war, she is about to lay down her arms before the Imperial eagles of the Emperor Nicholas, and bow before the Prince of Warsaw. To-morrow the Imperial bulletins will proclaim to Europe, 'Order reigns in Pesth.' Soldiers! you know what that order is; it is the order of Warsaw, the abuse of victory, the order of the executioner. I have no wish to influence, or even know, your intentions, but I will tell you what are my own. As long as I have an inch of steel in my hand, or a brave man at my side, I will defend the cause to which I have devoted my body, my soul, my blood, and my life!" Loud applause followed these gallant words, and they all declared their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood in defense of their country. But Bem explained to them that it was not in Hungary that the contest could be maintained; that they must look for the resurrection of Hungary from foreign lands, and that he would go forward to prepare the way. He gave the signal, accordingly, to such as chose to accompany him, and, attended by a few hundred unconquerable men, he set off for the mountains which separate Transylvania from Wallachia.¹

All was now accomplished. Georgey, seeing further resistance hopeless, and like-

ly only to induce utter ruin on the country, addressed a noble letter to General Rudiger, proposing an unconditional surrender to the Russian army, and offering himself as a

willing victim to the Austrian Government, in the hope that his blood might save that of his gallant companions in arms. He said in that memorable document, "The greater, and I may say with sincerity, the better part of the nation have not entered lightly into this contest: but after having been drawn into it by a number of honorable men who appertain to foreign lands, they have persevered in the contest firmly, honorably, and not, as you know, without glory and success. I now perceive that a further effusion of blood would be useless, and fatal to Hungary, as I foresaw would be the case from the moment of the Russian intervention. I have invited the Provisional Government to resign their power, which was every day more and more compromising the fate of Hungary. They have acknowledged this truth, and done so by resigning their power into my hands. Influenced by these feelings, and in order to stop the effusion of blood,

^{80.} Georgey's letter to Rudiger, offering surrender. Aug. 12.

¹ Balleydier, 341, 342.

and deliver my fellow-citizens from the horrors of war, I lay down my arms. In acting thus, I place my confidence in the well-known generosity of his Majesty the Czar, and I flatter myself with the hope that he will not abandon to their sad fate my brave companions in arms, who, formerly officers in the Austrian service, have found themselves involved by the force of circumstances in a war with that power. I indulge the hope that the Emperor of Russia will not deliver over the people of Hungary, bowed down under the weight of misfortune, to the blind thirst for vengeance in their enemy. *It may be enough if I am the sole expiatory victim for all.* Hasten, then, General, to take the necessary steps to insure that the sad spectacle of disarming may be witnessed only by the troops of the Emperor of Russia, for I declare solemnly that I would rather sacrifice my whole army in a hopeless contest than lay down its arms without conditions before the Austrian forces. To-morrow I shall march to VILAGOS; the day after to Borossino; and on the 14th to Biel. I indicate these points in order that you may know how to place your army between mine and the Austrians. Sur-
405; Balleyd. round me on all sides, and separate
358, 359. me from them.”

Having written this letter, Georgey summoned a council of war, laid it without a single comment before the assembled officers, and, having done this, left the room. It was unanimously acquiesced in by the assembly, and their approval officially signified to the general. The letter was sent accordingly, and Paskewitch cordially acquiesced in the proposals. The mournful ceremony of laying down their arms was arranged to take place on the following day at twelve o'clock, at Szollos, at the point of junction of the roads from Kis-Jeno by Zarand, and from Vilagos by Aj-Pankota to Boros-Jeno—a spot memorable in all future ages. At the appointed hour Georgey appeared at the head of his staff, and, riding forward alone, met Count Rudiger, who, similarly accompanied, advanced also alone to meet him. The meeting must be given in Georgey's own words: “Count Rudiger seemed filled with the sole desire of alleviating as much as possible the depression of my present situation; for his first words contained a frank assurance that he fully appreciated the motives which had induced me to abandon the prosecution of the war, and in confirmation of this he offered me his right hand. An involuntary but audible exclamation from my companions betrayed how agreeably they were surprised by this proof of esteem from the victor to the more unfortunate leader of the vanquished. I then delivered to Count Rudiger, together with a list of our requests, the names also of those members of the Provisional Government, and of the Diet, who had voluntarily attached themselves to the army, and who requested me to obtain, if possible, the permission to remain with the army during its captivity, till the fate of such had been determined on. To this Count Rudiger at once agreed, and consented that the
* Georgey, general officers should retain their
ii. 427, 429. arms.”

The mournful ceremony of surrendering their arms took place with great pomp, and all the courtesy toward the vanquished due to their glo-

rious achievements and present reverses. Georgey's men were still 28,000 strong, 82. with 140 guns. At four in the Mournful ceremony which then occurred. afternoon, having all come up, they were arranged in two lines, the infantry in front, with the cavalry on the wings: the artillery and caissons in the second. Right before them, in the great plain of Vilagos, stood the Russian army also in two lines, and the finest order. “With such men,” said Georgey, on seeing them, “you might conquer the world.” At a quarter past four, Georgey and his generals rode forward to the front between the two armies; Rudiger, similarly accompanied, advanced to meet him. Both generals saluted, and a long rolling of drums was heard along the whole line, and the Russians presented arms, while the Hungarians laid down theirs: the infantry placing them on the ground two yards in front of the line, the cavalry on the saddles of their horses. Georgey and all his officers retained their swords. At a second rolling of drums the ranks were broken, and the men and guns conducted, with their arms, to the place of their destination, under strong escorts. Most of the weapons were found to be of English manufacture. “In the twilight of the same evening,” says Georgey, “General Count Rudiger, the commander of a Russian army corps, inspected the troops under my command. But the cavalry were dismounted, and their swords hung on the pommels of their saddles; the muskets of the infantry were piled in pyramids; the artillery were drawn close together, and unmanned; the flags and the standards lay there unprotected before the disarmed ranks.”
Georgey, ii. 429, 430; Balleyd. 349, 351.

Georgey was conducted with his generals, after this melancholy scene, to Gros-Wardein, from whence he addressed 83. Surrender of the remaining corps and fortresses, and termination of the war. orders to the other generals to follow his example, and to the governors of the fortresses of Arad, Peterwaradein, and Komorn, to surrender them at discretion. The few army corps yet in the field surrendered or dispersed, the officers, especially of Polish origin, for the most part taking refuge with Bem, Dembinski, and the members of the Government and Diet who had not surrendered with Georgey, in the adjoining provinces of Turkey, where they were hospitably received, and became ere long the cause of a difference between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia. The governors of Arad and Peterwaradein surrendered their fortresses, agreeably to Georgey's orders, on the 17th August. Aug. 17. Vicszey's corps, still 7500 strong, with 1100 cavalry, surrendered at discretion to General Rudiger, with 72 guns; 5000 of Dembinski's men, hotly pursued by Simbschen, surrendered at Karanicher, with 19 guns. Aug. 19. Klapka was the last to obey this order; he held the fortress of Komorn with his powerful garrison till the beginning of October, when, Oct. 4. seeing the contest was at an end, and having learned that Arad and Peterwaradein had surrendered, he, with a heavy heart, capitulated on honorable terms, carrying with him the distinction of being the last who maintained the independence of Hungary.* The soldiers of the

* Georgey on this occasion wrote to Klapka—“Dear

garrison were offered rank in the Austrian army corresponding to what they had held in their own; but not a man accepted the offer. An old sergeant of hussars said, "General, we have faithfully served our country; we will support it again if need be, but *never*, *never*, will we go to the Austrians."¹

Paskewitch and his generals behaved with the generosity which brave men owe to each other, toward the Hungarian officers who had fallen into their hands. The former wrote a noble letter to the Emperor of Austria, seconding that of Georgey, and imploring him to extend his clemency to *all* the officers and soldiers who had been engaged in the insurrection. But the Emperor returned a cold answer, to the effect that, if he consulted only the dictates of his own heart, he would be too happy to accede to his request, but that "he had sacred duties to perform toward his other subjects, which, as well as the general good of his people, he was obliged to consider." These words were of ominous import; they froze every heart with horror. In effect, the Austrian Empire had gone through so terrible a crisis, it had so nearly been destroyed in the convulsion, and was so much humiliated by having been saved only by the intervention of Russia, that the feelings of the victorious sections of the community earnestly called for expiatory victims. Public opinion in England loudly condemned the melancholy executions which followed; but although all must regret that the Austrian Government lost the opportunity of doing a noble deed, yet, justice must recollect the circumstances under

which these severities were exercised. And if we would know what they were, we have only to ask ourselves what our feelings would have been if Smith O'Brien had led his Irish repealers in triumph to Brentford, and we had escaped destruction only by invoking the aid of France.²

The melancholy forebodings awakened by the Emperor's answer to Paskewitch's intercession were ere long too fatally verified. Georgey, indeed, was pardoned,[†] and Klapka escaped by the terms of his capitulation; but most of the other generals were brought to courts-martial, and mournful tragedies followed the convictions

friend: Since we have parted, events, not unexpected, but decisive, have occurred. The eternal disunion of the Provisional Government, and the vulgar jealousy of some of its members, have brought matters to the point which I have foreseen since April last. When I passed the Theiss at Tokay, and gained brilliant advantages over the Russians, the Government expressed a desire to make me commander-in-chief. *Kossuth, in secret, named Bem*; but the nation looked for my appointment, for Kossuth had given a perfidious answer to the Diet. Much deceit has been the cause of all our subsequent evils. Dembinski was beat at Szorey: Bem routed at Maros. Valashely fled under the walls of Temesvar, where Dembinski had also retired. He gained successes for a few hours; but at length was beaten to such a degree that, as Vicszey wrote to me, there remained only 6000 round their standards out of 50,000."—GEORGEY TO KLAPKA, August 14, 1849. BALLEYDIER. 353, 354.

[†] He was offered rank and employment in the Russian army, but honorably declined it, and preferred remaining in poverty in his own country, endeavoring to mitigate the severities exercised against his brave companions in arms.

which took place. Besides Count Bathiany—whose execution has already been mentioned—fourteen other Hungarian officers were sacrificed to the thirst of Austrian vengeance. They were—Colonel Ernest Kiss, Count Louis Anlich, General Damjanics, General Nagy Sandor, Colonel Ignatz Torot, Major Lahour, General Count Vicszey, Captain Knezich, Colonel Ernest Von Poltenberg, General Count Leiningen, General Joseph Schwirdel, General Aristides Desewffy, General William Lazar, and Count Ladislaus Csaryi—besides a few others condemned to lengthened imprisonments. The death on the scaffold of brave men, whose military exploits had so recently filled all Europe with admiration, excited a universal feeling of horror. They all behaved nobly on the scaffold. Damjanics, with his leg broken, was conveyed in a carriage to the place of execution, and was spectator of the deaths of his friends. "It is strange," said he, "that I should be the last here: I used to be the first in the attack." But here the severities of the victorious Government ended. The inferior officers and private soldiers were all dismissed without punishment to their homes; no massacre of common men took place. Seventy thousand of the Hungarian soldiers, after a short interval, entered the Austrian service, where they have ever since remained faithful to their colors.¹

Cruelties of this sort have in every age been found so uniformly to spring from the violence of the passions awakened in civil warfare, that they may be considered as inherent and unavoidable in that species of conflict; and it is that which has always caused the authors of such dissensions to be regarded as the greatest curses of the species. But in the present instance the reaction in the general mind against the severities was unusually swift, and the consequences lasting. Every one felt that the contest had been a national one, and should have been conducted on the principles of civilized warfare. Hardly was their joint triumph concluded, when jealousy broke out between the victorious armies. The Russians taunted the Austrians with their defeats, and their being forced to call in the aid of the Czar. The Austrians ascribed every thing to themselves, and allowed nothing to the Russians, to whom the success had really been owing. In an official proclamation to his troops on the conclusion of the war, Haynau, while he congratulated them on their ultimate victories, never once mentioned the Russians. The Czar retorted by a proclamation to his soldiers, in which he ascribed every thing to their valor, and utterly ignored the Austrians. Out of this ill-starred triumph arose a confidence on the one side, a sore feeling on the other, which brought these two powers into covert, but most effective, enmity during the Crimean war, and will probably bring them into fierce hostility in future times.²

Equal to any of the campaigns of Napoleon in the skill with which it was conducted, and the energy and courage which were displayed on both sides, the Hungarian war is almost superior to any in the moral interest with which it

84.
Mutual jealousy of Austrians and Russians after the war.

² Haynau's Proclamation, Aug. 15, 1849; Nicholas' Proclamation, Aug. 17, 1849; Tolstoy, 198.

87.
Deep interest of the Hungarian war.

was attended, and the dramatic scenes in which it terminated. The spectacle of a high-spirited and gallant nation, proud of its martial fame, and panting for independence, maintaining a protracted struggle with two of the greatest military powers in Europe, and at length sinking rather from the consequences of its own divisions than before their united strength, was one which powerfully affected the imagination, and awakened the sympathies of men. The annalist who records, the reader who studies these events, can not avoid, with whatever impressions he may enter on the subject, being carried away by the same feelings; and however clearly future times may see the disastrous consequences which would have attended the triumph of the Hungarian arms, they will never cease to mourn over their overthrow.

But, all this notwithstanding, reason and justice compel the admission, that the Hungarian insurrection was both unjustifiable in its origin, and, if successful, would have been calamitous in its consequences. It was unjustifiable in its origin, because, how much soever the Hungarians had formerly been oppressed by the Austrians, they had got all they desired from the Emperor by the constitution of 1848, and an amount of liberty far greater than that now enjoyed by Great Britain, and greater, as the event proved, than they could stand; for it was based on universal suffrage. The only return they made for these great concessions was to refuse a man or a florin to Austria when engaged in a desperate struggle with Italy on the plains of Piedmont, to recall their regiments from Radetsky's ranks when fighting for the existence of Austria, and at length, openly throwing off the mask, to advance, stained with the blood of Count Lamberg, the commander-in-chief of Hungary, to support the revolutionists of Vienna, yet reeking with the blood of Count Latour, its war minister. The constitution of 4th March, 1849, afterward promulgated by Austria, was doubtless a great infringement on these immunities; but six months before it was adopted, the Hungarians had advanced to Vienna, and fought the battle of Schwechat.

If the insurrection was unjustifiable in its origin, still more clearly was it likely, if it had proved successful, to have become disastrous in its consequences. Austria is the natural and the only effective barrier against Russia in Eastern Europe; Turkey is its vassal; Prussia has, hitherto at least, been its proconsul. The Hungarian revolt, if successful, would have destroyed this barrier, and opened a huge gap,

through which the Muscovite armies, unopposed, would have poured into the centre of Europe. Separated from each other, and animated by the strongest mutual hatred, Austria or Hungary would infallibly have allied itself with Russia, if it was for nothing else but to destroy its rival; Lombardy would have been detached from both; and where, in the weakness and animosities consequent on these divisions, was a barrier against Russia to be found? If dangerous to the independence of nations, the Hungarian revolt was still more hazardous to the liberties of mankind. Democracy was inscribed on the banners of Kossuth; and what democracy leads to may be gathered from what it has done in France. The Hungarian revolt arrayed men in two hosts, the victory of either of which would have been fatal to the cause of freedom in Europe; it ran them either into the despotism of the Czar, or the democracy-based absolute government of Louis Napoleon.

It is a mistake to suppose that the greatest calamities which afflict mankind spring from absolutely wicked motives. Good intentions, ill directed, are still more hazardous; for the reaction against them is much slower of arriving. Some of the greatest evils recorded in history have arisen, not from bad motives, but from good motives imprudently or ignorantly directed. Decided outrage and wickedness so rapidly produce a reaction in the moral feelings of mankind, that their reign is of short duration; but errors based on good intentions are far more difficult of extirpation, and many ages of suffering must elapse before they are at length worn out. Ever since the battle of Waterloo, England had openly or covertly promoted the cause of revolt in other parts of the world. She had succeeded in revolutionizing and ruining South America, altering the government in Spain and Portugal, and exciting a fearful insurrection in Italy and Hungary. What has been gained to the cause of freedom or the independence of nations by these endeavors to force upon other people institutions not fitted for them? The hour of retribution had even now struck. The Hungarian insurrection, by reviving the ambitious dreams of Russia, led to the invasion of Turkey and the Crimean war, and it, in its turn, by spreading the belief of the destruction of Britain's only army, to the Sepoy revolt. England has now felt the burning of those torches in her own bosom which she had so long thrown with impunity into that of others. She did all this with philanthropic views, but mistaken judgment. It has been said that hell is paved with good intentions: with equal truth it may be said that earth is blood-stained by imprudent zeal, or desolated by ignorant philanthropy.

CHAPTER LVI.

GREAT BRITAIN FROM THE SUPPRESSION OF THE IRISH REVOLT IN 1848 TO THE FALL OF LORD DERBY'S MINISTRY IN 1852.

As the cry for free trade is the wail of aged civilization suffering under the high prices which its own long-established wealth has produced, and seeking to compensate them by making its purchases in poorer, and therefore cheaper lands; so, when once introduced in reference to one great branch of commerce, it must of necessity be extended to every other. It is first called for in regard to articles of rude produce or general consumption, because they are the ones in which the power of capital and machinery, and of the division of labor, contends with least success against the rise of prices consequent on long-continued affluence. Accordingly, rich, old, and manufacturing England first established free trade in regard to cotton, however fatal to her independence with reference to the United States, and next demanded and obtained it in regard to corn, however clearly that tended to bring her into a state of subjection to her grain-growing neighbors. But when the victory was once gained in reference to these articles of rude produce, it became impossible to withstand the demand for a similar concession in regard to other articles of commerce, or the charges consequent on their conveyance; for the persons dealing in them were soon able to show, with truth, that, when the general scale of prices had been altered by the abolition or great reduction of other import duties on articles of commerce, they would inevitably be ruined if they alone were subjected to them. Accordingly, the concession of free trade in grain was immediately followed by the demand for an equalization of the duties on sugar, which was granted, although the authors of the change were well aware, and admitted, that it would prove the ruin of our West Indian colonies. And this was followed, before another year had passed away, by the cry for the repeal of the Navigation Laws, in order to lessen the cost of importing foreign produce.

Unmarked by political or external events of any great importance, the four years which elapsed from the suppression of the Irish revolt in July, 1848, to July, 1852, are second to none in the history of England in social and political importance; for then was tried, on a great scale and on a fair theatre, the effects of the social and political changes which had previously been introduced. The whole period from 1830 to 1846 had been one continued struggle between the agricultural and conservative, and the commercial and innovating class, which had for its ultimate object the benefit of the latter, by forcing down the price of the rude produce, on the raising of which the former were dependent. When the victory was gained by the latter, by the abolition

of the corn-laws in 1846, it became an object of the deepest interest, not merely to the inhabitants of the British empire, but of the whole civilized world, to examine its effects, and see whether the benefits expected by the latter, or the evils predicted by the former, really were to flow from the change. No other period but these six years has as yet elapsed which can with justice be referred to as illustrating its effects; for the disturbing causes, both before and since that period, have been so powerful, as during their continuance to obliterate its effects. In the last half of 1846 and the whole of 1847, the effects of the Irish famine were in full operation; and that terrible catastrophe was attended with such woeful consequences, that, while they continued, it is unfair to look for those of any other cause. Subsequent to 1852, the gold discoveries in California and Australia have come into operation, and by raising prices and stimulating productions in every part of the world, and especially in its commercial centre, Great Britain, have in a manner superseded or concealed the effect of all other circumstances. But from 1848 to 1852 the effects of free trade were displayed, undisturbed by any other or counteracting influences. Plenty had again returned, and spread its sunshine over the land. The harvest of 1847 had been so favorable, that, at Lord John Russell's suggestion, a public thanksgiving was offered up for it; and this blessing continued unabated in a sensible degree, as appears from the prices, to be immediately quoted, throughout the period, which were beyond all precedent low. Peace, so far as England was concerned, continued unbroken, and domestic dissension, appeased by the concession of free trade in grain, became almost extinct. The crown of England, resting on the attachment of a free people, remained unshaken amidst the storm which had so violently convulsed all the Continental monarchies; and Queen Victoria, instead of being driven into exile like the King of France, or expelled from her capital like the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, was chiefly occupied in progresses through her dominions, to receive the affectionate homage of her loyal subjects. On this fortunate period, therefore, of external peace and internal plenty, the eye of the historian may securely rest, to discern the effect of the great political and social changes which the preceding twenty years had introduced.

No one can have lived through that period, or, still more, been charged, as the author has, with the peace of a great commercial city and county during its continuance, without being sensible that the temper and feelings of the middle and working classes toward the Government have been sensibly amel-

iorated by the changes which then came into operation. The people had become, so far as actual outbreaks or treason is concerned, much more loyal and docile than they formerly had been. The long-continued and almost normal state of antagonism between the Government and the manufacturing and mining classes, which had so long existed, and threatened disunion, had worn out. The people belonging to these classes were not, in reality, either better off than they had been before the changes were introduced, or more contented with their lot. On the contrary, suffering was never so acute, or general, or long-continued, as during the three years which immediately followed the monetary crisis of 1848, as will immediately appear from incontrovertible evidence. But the difference—and it was a very great one—lay in this, that their discontent was no longer directed against the Government. They had got every thing they desired. They had been told, and they believed, that their sufferings in former days had all arisen from the nomination boroughs and the corn-laws, and that when these were abolished universal prosperity would prevail. They were both abolished, and yet they were worse off than ever; but they could not now charge it against the Government. The idea, accordingly, was taken up and widely spread in the manufacturing and mining districts, that their grievances in reality were social, not political, and that no alteration in the frame of Government was likely to be of any real service till a total change in the relative position of the classes of society took place. The master was held out as the real enemy of the workman; it was his riches which made their poverty, his prosperity their suffering. Trades-unions and strikes, with all their disastrous consequences, accordingly were frequent during this period; but the pressure was taken off the Government, and it was directed against the employers, not the Queen or the Legislature. The effect of this change was great, and most beneficial in a political point of view; for it enabled the Government to maintain its ground without difficulty during a crisis as perilous as any which the monarchy had yet passed.

If from the contemplation of the improved temper of the people during the five years which immediately followed the Irish famine and monetary crisis, we turn to the consideration of their real condition during that period, we shall find much less cause for satisfaction. Although the Irish famine and terrible suffering of the year 1847 had passed away, and a fine harvest had blessed the labors of the husbandman in both islands, yet distress, general and long-continued, wasted the empire during the next five years. A general feeling of languor and distrust pervaded the commercial towns and districts, the sad and uniform consequence of a severe monetary crisis. The moneyed classes, by the aid of the populace, had succeeded in getting the power into their own hands; the cheapening system was in full activity, and the main changes for which they had contended had become the law of the land; but none of the improvement in the condition of the people which they had predicted had resulted from their adoption. This is decisively proved by the evidence of the statistics of the period. The ex-

ports of Great Britain exhibited an increase of £16,000,000 from 1847 to 1852; but that was not more than was the result of the gradual rise in the price of the chief articles of commerce, when the depressing effect of the monetary crisis wore away, and the effect of the beginning of increased supplies of the precious metals was felt. In imports, the measure of the national consumption, there was a considerable decline; they had sunk from £126,000,000 in 1846 to £109,000,000 in 1852, in spite of that rise of prices. The paupers relieved in Great Britain had remained much the same in the period; they were about 870,000 in England, and 75,000 in Scotland, the whole time. In Ireland, in consequence of the termination of the famine and the prodigious extent of the emigration, there was a very great reduction; they had sunk from 640,000 to 140,000 a year.* But the emigrants from the empire had increased enormously and beyond all precedent; they had swelled from 129,000 in 1846 to 368,000 in 1852.

When the price of grain during this period, and the immense extent of the im-
portation of that article of subsistence, are taken into consideration, it will not appear surprising that very great distress should have prevailed, and that this immense exodus should have taken place. Upon comparing the prices of wheat for six years preceding 1842, the year when the tariff was lowered, and six years after 1846, when free trade was introduced, the difference was about a third; it had fallen from an average of 58s. to one of 44s. As this great and, as it then appeared, lasting fall and change of prices had occurred during a period when taxes were unchanged, rents had not as yet come down, and the cost of labor, from the effects of the prodigious emigration which had taken place, had considerably risen, it was felt with very great severity by the agriculturist interest over the whole country; and it was their suffering, and consequently lessened consumption, coupled with the effects of the monetary crisis, which occasioned the great decline of imports characterizing the period when the vast import of grain consequent on the famine had ceased. The British and Irish agriculturists found themselves, while working with increased wages, suddenly exposed to the competition of foreign corn-growing countries, in which labor was not a third of what it was in Great Britain, and rents, where they existed at all, were less in a similar proportion. The effect was immediate and universal; with the rapid and serious fall of prices, and the immense extent of the

5. Prices of grain during the period, and effects of the fall.

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, PAUPERS RELIEVED, AND EMIGRANTS FROM GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN EVERY YEAR FROM 1846 TO 1852.

Years.	Exports.	Imports.	Paupers relieved—England.	Paupers relieved—Ireland.	Emigrants.
1846	57,786,875	182,238,345	....	....	129,851
1847	59,842,377	126,130,936	....	....	258,270
1848	52,849,445	182,617,681	934,459	620,747	248,039
1849	63,536,025	164,539,504	920,543	807,970	299,498
1850	71,367,885	100,460,433	860,893	203,187	230,849
1851	74,448,722	110,454,947	834,424	171,418	335,966
1852	78,076,854	109,331,158	798,829	141,822	368,764

—Statistical Abstract, No. IV., 35; Trade and Navigation Returns, 1855; NEWMARSH, v. 458; PORTER, 357, 400, 405.

importation of grain during the period, which ranged from 7,000,000 to 10,000,000 quarters, corn went out of cultivation to a considerable extent in both islands; arable lands were very generally thrown into grass, and the lessened supply of wheat in the two islands just about equaled the foreign importation. If we are to give credit to the boast of the free-traders, that during the twelve years from 1846 to 1857 no less than 224,000,000 quarters of foreign grain or flour were imported, being *at the rate of 18,700,000 quarters a year*, we should arrive at the conclusion that the effect of the repeal of the corn-laws has been to change the nation from the state of being in ordinary years nearly self-supporting, to one in which *two-thirds* of the food of its inhabitants is imported from foreign countries.*

The general reduction in the price of commodities of commerce, especially such as were the immediate produce of the soil, which resulted from the combined effect of the repeal of the corn-laws and the monetary crisis, produced a general unsettling, and demand for relief in every quarter, among those suffering from the change. Foremost among these were mercantile and colonial classes who had been injured by the fall in the price of their produce. They insisted that it was indispensable that the price of the conveyance of goods should be reduced in the same proportion, or they could no longer carry on their business with any profit. This could only be done by establishing a free competition between British and foreign shipping, and breaking down the monopoly which for two centuries the protective system had established in favor of the former. To this it was added by the colonies, and especially Canada and the West Indies, that now that all protection for the staple articles of their produce had been taken away, and they were exposed to the unrestricted competition of their neighbors in the United States, it was absolutely necessary that the restraints which hitherto had been imposed on their coasting trade for the benefit of the British ship-owners should be removed. Thence a general demand from the interested classes for the REPEAL OF THE NAVIGATION LAWS; and this clamor was so violent that it was with some difficulty that ministers were prevailed to postpone the question during the session of 1848. It came on early in that of the succeeding year,

on the motion of Mr. Labouchere, who Feb. 14, 1849, moved in the House of Commons, "That it is expedient to remove the restrictions which prevent the free carriage of goods by sea to and from the United Kingdom and the British possessions abroad, and to amend the laws regulating the coasting trade of the United Kingdom, subject, nevertheless, to such control by her Majesty in council as may be necessary; and also

to amend the laws for the registration of ships and seamen." This motion gave 1 Parl. Deb.; rise to most able and instructive de- Ann. Reg. bates in both Houses of Parliament. 1849, 21, 22.

On the part of the promoters of the bill, it was argued by Mr. Labouchere, Sir 7. James Graham, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Gladstone:* "The navigation laws rested upon three fundamental principles: they secured to this country the monopoly of the colonial trade, of the long-voyage trade, and the carrying or indirect European trade. Of the first, great part is already gone from the effect of the reciprocity system; and it is the height of injustice, under such circumstances, to refuse to the colonies the abolition of restrictions of which they have always complained, and which true wisdom tells us we should no longer exasperate them by refusing to remove. The documents laid before the House illustrate the evils of which the colonies complain, and which Canada, in particular, suffers from the navigation laws. They throw grievous impediments in the way of an advantageous trade between Canada and the American territory, both on the margin of the lakes; for how could so distant a traffic be carried on prosperously by British vessels? In regard to the long-voyage trade, the system is inconsistent, and inverts the true principles of commerce; while in regard to the monopoly of the carrying European trade, it depends on its being confined to ourselves, and as long as we could secure that it was no doubt advantageous; but it is no longer possible to do so, for other countries have shown that they are aware of the injustice to them of this one-sided system, and that they are determined either to abrogate or retaliate for it. Is it not wise, then, for this country, which has been the first to introduce a liberal system into commerce, to complete it by placing the laws upon a rational footing, exchanging a narrow for an enlarged and liberal policy? If other countries shall not follow our good example, it is easy to re-enact the restrictions, in whole or in part, with reference to such countries as shall adopt a policy prejudicial to British interests. Great inconvenience, also, has resulted from the obligation in the present laws on ship-owners to take a certain number of apprentices, and this it is proposed to repeal.

"Little real advantage has ensued to the British ship-owners from the laws, who, by the very policy of these laws, are exposed to competition in the long-voyage trade in every country where competition is most dangerous to them. All the tests which have been applied prove the ability of British ship-owners to compete with the foreign. Even in the American trade, British ships have increased more rapidly than the foreign. The laws in many cases act as a protection to foreign ships at the expense of the British; and while practically they are of little benefit to the ship-owner, their restrictions operate, especially in emergencies, very injuriously upon consumers,

* "What is the result? Why, from 1846 to 1857—a period of twelve years—we have received into the country of grain of all kinds—of flour and Indian corn (maize)—all formerly articles not of absolute prohibition, but which were intended to be prohibited until it was no longer safe that the people should be starved—no less a quantity than 224,000,000 quarters. *That quantity is equal to 18,700,000 quarters per annum for the twelve years*, and during that period your home growth has been stimulated to an enormous extent."—Mr. BAILEY'S Speech at Manchester, Nov. 2, 1858; *Times*, Nov. 8.

* "Mr. Gladstone spoke most ably on the subject, and voted with the Liberals; but his speech was so mixed up with considerations on the other side as to call forth the remark of Mr. Drummond, which elicited general cheers, that he had spoken on one side and voted on the other."—*Parl. Deb.*

and ultimately upon ship-owners themselves. If a commercial marine is necessary to sustain our navy, free trade has increased, and must still further increase, that marine. It is absurd to suppose that a system which goes largely to increase the commerce between nation and nation is not to benefit the shipping interests of the nation which is at once the centre of that commerce and the greatest trading nation in the world. The British ship-owners will, by the repeal of the navigation laws, without doubt be exposed to a sharp competition from the Baltic and the United States all over the world. Some compensation to the British ship-owner is due for this disadvantage, and the compensation is to be found in the opening of new fields of commerce by the system of conditional relaxation. The effect of that system would be to give to the vessels of such states as conferred privileges upon our shipping corresponding advantages in our ports. Such a system would be an equal advantage to both sides.

9. Continued. "It is a mistake to say that the commercial interests of the country are unfavorable to the bill, and have spoken out against it. There are, indeed, a few petitions on that side presented by respectable parties, but they are few in number in comparison of the great body on the other side. The measure now on the table has been brought forward by the representatives of the great towns and emporia of commerce. The measure has been introduced on the responsibility of the Member for London (Lord John Russell), and it has been supported throughout by the representatives of the chief seats of commerce—Liverpool, Glasgow, Newcastle, and the West Riding. Without declaring reciprocity a condition of our opening our ports to foreign vessels, it will extend commerce and promote mutual intercourse all over the world, and in that event the lion's share is sure to fall to England. Admitting that the superiority of our mercantile marine is the keystone of our naval power, the measure is entitled to support, because there is no reason to suppose it will injure our mercantile marine. The complication of our reciprocity treaties is another and a most powerful reason for repealing the navigation laws at once, for they have now become so involved that none but those whose attention is constantly given to the subject can bear them in mind.

10. Concluded. "But most of all, the repeal of these laws is indispensable, if we would preserve our colonial empire from dismemberment. The colonies, in particular Canada, have spoken out on the subject: it is now evident that unless we are prepared to return to the protective system, and reimpose the duties on foreign corn, we shall lose Canada. The urgency of the question, in this point of view, is such that it will admit of no delay. If we attach any importance to the retention of Canada, no time is to be lost in passing the bill now before the House. It is a mistake to suppose that the navigation laws are a support to the shipping interest of the country. In fact, the old reliance on impressment for the manning of the royal navy is mainly owing to the injurious operation of these laws. If a change has become necessary, now is the time to make it, when the old protective system has been aban-

doned in regard to the producing interests both of the mother country and the colonies: it is indispensable to consummate the commercial policy on which the country has embarked. Without it all that had been done would prove infirm: with it, that which had been achieved could not easily be undone. This measure, then, is the great battle-field on which the last struggle must take place between reaction and progress. The peace and tranquillity of the country during the last year were mainly to be ascribed to recent legislation, and to go back now to protective duties ¹ Parl. Deb. c. III. 464, 581; might lead to convulsions and fatal ^{Ann. Reg.} consequences."¹ 1849, 23, 46.

On the other hand, it was maintained by Mr. Herries, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord 11. Derby, who found an unexpected Answer of the but powerful ally in Lord Brough- Protectionists. am: "The navigation laws have secured to this country a large commercial marine, and laid the foundation, in a numerous and trained body of seamen, of our maritime superiority; and the question is, are you to diminish that foundation and lessen that superiority in order to carry out a favorite theory? The reasons assigned in support of the change are visionary and problematic—the dangers with which it is fraught, real and imminent. It is said Canada demands this measure, because she has lost the benefit of protection; that is to say, having done one foolish thing, and essentially injured one great interest, you must do another foolish thing and ruin another great interest in order to put them on a footing of equality. The fact is undoubted that foreign ships can be built and navigated cheaper than they can in this country, for this plain reason, that many of them have the materials of ship-building at their own doors; whereas ours must be brought from a distance, and all of them, except the Americans, pay less than half the wages to their seamen. British ships, it is now proved, do not last longer than foreign: how, then, can our ship-owners, laboring under these disadvantages, compete with foreign? The result of the reciprocity treaties, which has been to seriously increase the proportion of foreign to home shipping in trade with all the countries with which they have been concluded, should make us pause before we apply the same system to our entire maritime interests. The proposed abolition of the seaman apprenticeship system is, if possible, still more hazardous; for it goes directly to diminish the skill and lessen the efficiency of the seamen who are employed in the mercantile marine, from whom alone our royal navy must be manned.

12. Continued. "It is in vain to say that, having taken protection from agriculture, we must remove it from shipping also. If that argument has any force, it amounts to this, that having done wrong once, we must do so on every future occasion, and shun as you would a pestilence any return to right principles. But in truth there is no indissoluble connection between free trade in grain and the removal of all protection from shipping. Each case must be judged of by its own circumstances, and by them alone, irrespective of past deeds, be they wise ones or errors. Reaction is, indeed, to be dreaded; but not because, like repentance, it is the first step to reformation, but because it

can proceed only from the agony of a suffering people. The present bill is not called for by any great interest in the country, or any loud popular voice; it is the mere shift of a party to elude or conceal the consequences of their own measures, and forced by it upon a reluctant people and a hesitating Parliament. Last year we were told that free trade had taken such root in the minds of the people that reaction was impossible; and already it has become so strong that the main argument adduced in favor of the bill is the danger of a prolonged contest between that principle and the old protective system.

“The time is coming when the people of England will no longer be satisfied with vague declamations about progress: they will ask what they are progressing to? We are told we may look for rebellion in Ireland unless this bill is passed. Is this, then, the fruit of your boasted free-trade measures: to threaten the dismemberment of the empire, to pluck the brightest jewel from the Crown, unless another great interest of the State is sacrificed? Probably we shall be told at this rate, next year, that the ship-owners and sailors will revolt, unless a sacrifice to appease them is made of the royal navy, which now competes with their industry. Are the results of free trade, so far as they have gone, so very encouraging as to call for a prolongation and extension of the system? During the three years which have passed since free trade was established, the poor rates have increased 17 per cent., the capital of the country has decreased a hundred millions, and the deposits in the savings banks have decreased one half. Is that a reason for extending the same system to another great interest in the State, and that the one which is the foundation on which our maritime superiority and national independence rest?

“The present question is not one of free trade: it has nothing to do with that question, any more than the manning of the royal navy has. Adam Smith, Mr. Huskisson, Mr. Washington, Mr. Madison, have all declared in favor of a protective system to encourage the breed of native seamen. The navigation laws did not create a monopoly in favor of our colonies: that has long ago been demonstrated. It is to no purpose in this question to refer to the statistical returns which show the growth of our shipping, irrespective of that of foreign states. The real question is, in what relative proportion have they advanced, and to what goal are they tending? Judging by this standard, the dangers of free trade in shipping are immense, and can not be exaggerated. It may well make us pause when we recollect that the measures we are considering may jeopardize 4,000,000 tons of shipping, navigated by 280,000 seamen, who now ride triumphant on every sea of the globe. Consider the effects of our false and meddling despicable foreign policy, and say, are we prepared for the maritime wars which, sooner or later, must be its inevitable consequence? That man is bold who entertains no apprehension for the peace of Europe, and can look across the Channel and see the character of the Republic there established without fear. Look at Italy, Germany, Hungary, all wrapped in flames, and can it be said that Europe is in a period of profound peace? Is this a period for

making great and portentous changes in a navy by which victories have been nobly won, and immortal triumphs gained? Is this a time for reducing our thousand ships of war to a hundred? The slave-trade, which we have made such efforts to extirpate, will spring up afresh when the Americans, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians are admitted by this bill into what has hitherto been our carrying trade.”¹*

The amendment proposed by Mr. Herries was rejected, and the bill passed in the Commons by a majority of 61; the numbers being 275 to 214. In the Lords, however, the division was more narrow, the majority being only 10. So close a division on a question vital to the Administration awakened doubts as to its stability; and reports soon began to fly about of a change of Government. These reports, however, were premature; the bill became law without any further discussion, and ministers recovered their majority sufficiently on other questions to be enabled to carry on the Government; and this great change, extricated from the collision of party interests and passions, took its place as part of the settled institutions of the country.²

Perhaps there is none of the great questions which have been agitated in the country during the forty years embraced in this History which have been so quickly brought to the test of experience as this of the abolition of the navigation laws. The two most bulky articles of commerce, as Adam Smith calls them, *Man and Corn*, came, shortly after it was introduced, to be conveyed to an unprecedented extent, across the ocean, to and from the British empire. The gold discoveries in California and Australia raised prices 40 per cent. over the whole world, and stimulated speculation to such an enormous extent, that the exports of Great Britain in 1857 had reached £122,000,000, and the imports £187,000,000, being more than double of what they had been when the navigation laws were repealed. Two terrible wars have broken out in the Crimea and India, each of which required the transportation of a hundred thousand men and horses, along with artillery in proportion, across the ocean. No circumstance could be conceived so favorable to a great experiment on the navigation laws; so favorable, indeed, that they might well have concealed its effects, and made them appear highly beneficial, when in fact they were the very reverse. From the effects which the change has produced, some idea may be formed of what they are likely to be under circumstances less propitious.

From the returns presented to Parliament it appears that while under the protective system the British shipping had increased from 922,000 tons in 1801 to 1,599,274 tons in 1821, the foreign employed in the British trade had declined, during the same period, from 780,155 tons to 396,256. On the other hand, under the reciprocity, which was a semi-free-trade system applied to particular countries, the British tons had increased from

* The last paragraph but one is taken from Mr. Disraeli's, the last from Lord Brougham's, admirable argument on the subject.

1,604,186 tons in 1823 to 4,884,210 in 1849, and the foreign had increased from 469,151 tons in the former period to 2,035,690 in the same year. In other words, during the twenty-seven years of peace, the British tonnage had *tripled*, but the foreign tonnage employed in carrying on our trade had increased nearly *five-fold*. But during the eight years which had elapsed from 1850 to 1857, both inclusive, subsequent to the repeal of the navigation laws, while the British shipping has increased, under all the favorable circumstances above mentioned, only from 4,700,000 tons to 4,915,712, the foreign, during the same period, has swelled from 2,400,000 tons to 4,570,296 tons. In other words, in eight years subsequent to the repeal of the navigation laws, the British shipping has increased 6 per cent., the foreign 90 per cent. The clearances of the United Kingdom from 1843 to 1848 exhibited an increase of 30 per cent., and from 1849 to 1858 of 65 per cent. During the first of these periods the clearances of foreign vessels exhibited an increase of 48 per cent., and in the last, subsequent to the repeal, of 90 per cent. In other words, under the protective system the annual increment of British shipping was three times that of the foreign; under the reciprocity system the increase of foreign shipping has been a half more than the British; and since the abolition of the navigation laws, *the increase of foreign shipping has been forty times that of British*. The returns on which these results are founded are all given in the note below, taken from the Board of Trade returns;* and it is evident from them, that in a few years the foreign shipping employed in carrying on our trade will come to exceed the

British. The vital importance of this change will not be duly appreciated unless it is recollected that under the free-trade system, on an average, a third, and in years of scarcity, a half, of the whole food of our people has come to depend on foreign supplies.

It was evident, from the animation of this debate, that, notwithstanding their frequent defeats, the Protectionists did not as yet give up the contest, and deemed it still possible to obtain some relief for the suffering agricultural interest.

Accordingly on the 8th March, Mr. Disraeli made a motion for a readjustment of the direct taxation of the country, in such a way as to take off some of the burdens which now exclusively affected the landed property of the kingdom. It must be confessed, the facts he adduced were sufficiently striking. From the parliamentary returns to which he referred, it appeared, that of the direct taxation of the country no less than £12,000,000 a year was exclusively *levied upon the land*, although, of the entire property of the kingdom rated to the income tax, which amounted to £186,000,000, only £67,000,000 came from heritable property. Why, he asked, should one third of the property of the kingdom be exclusively burdened with so heavy a load of direct taxation as twelve millions, being more than double the existing income tax, which was £5,600,000? "The injustice of this exclusive and class taxation upon the land appeared the more striking, when it is recollected that of all interests in the country the land has suffered most under the effects of recent legislation; and that it was already the boast of the free-traders, expressed in the House of Commons by their leader, Mr. Villiers, that by the introduction of that change the consumers of food had gained—in other words, the producers of food had lost, £98,000,000 a year! Thus you select a fragment of the community possessing only a third of its income, which has been enormously injured by recent legislation, while all others have been proportionally benefited, to subject it to *three times the income tax which the rest of the community bears!*" It was difficult to see what answer, founded in reason and justice, could be made to this appeal; but the free-trade majority in the House of Commons threw out the proposal by a majority of 91—the numbers being 280 to 189.¹

Notwithstanding the proof so often exhibited of the strength and resolute character of the free-trade majority in the House of Commons, it is probable that the strength of the case for a readjustment of direct taxation was such, that it would in the course of

time have worked out some legislative change on the subject, were it not that several circumstances combined to strengthen the party that supported free trade, and concealed for a season its injurious effect. The first of these was the enormous extent of the emigration going on at that time. The effect of this change upon the market for labor, and the remuneration which it received, was immense; for it kept up wages at a comparatively high level when the price of subsistence was rapidly falling. Wages for country labor in Ireland, which in 1845 had been 4d.

* I. DUTIES AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1801-1851—PROTECTION.

Year.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1801.....	972,804	784,186	1,757,990
1806.....	904,307	912,804	1,817,111
1810.....	804,001	1,170,340	1,974,341
1814.....	1,300,940	680,207	1,981,147
1819.....	1,800,136	805,004	2,605,140
1851.....	1,870,974	804,296	2,675,270

British tonnage increased as 9 to 15; foreign declined as 7 to 2.

II. DUTIES AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1852-1859—RECIPROcity.

Year.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1852.....	1,604,186	469,151	2,073,337
1857.....	2,000,000	751,004	2,751,004
1858.....	2,125,000	680,970	2,805,970
1859.....	2,017,100	1,000,000	3,017,100
1860.....	2,004,712	1,000,000	3,004,712
1867.....	4,405,004	2,505,000	6,910,004
1869.....	4,915,712	2,035,690	6,951,402

British tonnage increased 3 to 1. Foreign from 46 to 200, or 4½ to 1.

III. DUTIES AND FOREIGN TONNAGE, 1860-1867—FREE TRADE IN SHIPPING.

Year.	British.	Foreign.	Total.
1860.....	4,700,000	2,400,000	7,100,000
1867.....	4,915,712	4,570,296	9,486,008

Decrease of British tonnage as 47 to 50, or 6 per cent.; of foreign, as 24 to 46; or 90 per cent.

—FORRESTER, 307, 3d edit.; and *Stat. Tables*, 1864, p. 68; *Stat. Abstract*, p. 427.

18.
Mr. Disraeli's motion for relief to the agriculturists.

19.
Part. Deb. of Commons threw out the proposal March 8, 1846; by a majority of 91—the numbers being 280 to 189.

20.
Change of circumstances which weakened the Protectionists' cause.

a day, were now 2s., and the same effect was observable in a lesser degree in Great Britain. The second was the immense amount of labor required for the completion of the railways which had been set on foot during 1845 and 1846, and took many years for their completion. The multitude of workmen and artisans employed in the construction of these powerfully contributed to keep up the wages of labor and increase the well-being of society in all classes except the agricultural. The third circumstance was the gold discoveries in California and Australia, which came to raise prices considerably all over the world, and, by consequently encouraging speculation every where, gave an immense impulse to manufacturing industry of every sort. The manufacturers, and whole inhabitants of towns, felt the beneficial influence of these circumstances in the augmented wages of their labor, while the money they received in exchange for it was worth 40 per cent. more in consequence of the fall to that extent in the cost of subsistence. This was all sedulously ascribed by the free-trade party to the effect of their measures, and with such success that nearly the whole urban population came to adopt it as the basis of their political creed. But these very circumstances, which so largely benefited the manufacturing and commercial classes, only aggravated the sufferings of the agricultural, for they forcibly kept up the wages of labor at a level higher than had ever been known, at the very time when the vast importation of foreign grain had lowered by a third the price of their produce.

If the prices of foreign and British grain had continued, after the change of 1846, the same respectively as they had been before it, the consequence must have been the almost entire destruction of British agriculture. But three circumstances have intervened since the change, and had an important effect in mitigating the consequences with which it otherwise would have been attended. The first of these was the very considerable and permanent rise which took place in the price of foreign grain, and especially wheat, in the grain countries of Europe. So entirely is the price of grain in them, as measured by the markets of Dantzic and Odessa, dependent on the amount of export which is practicable to foreign countries, and especially Great Britain, that it has been raised permanently fully 40 per cent. by the repeal of the corn-laws; it has risen from an average of 25s. a quarter to one of nearly 35s. This, coupled with the natural protection to British agriculture which arises from the cost of freight from the countries where the corn is grown, has gone far to mitigate the severity of the blow which had fallen on the farmers of this country; a striking instance of the manner in which the wise provisions of nature mitigate the injurious consequences of hasty or selfish legislation.

The second of these circumstances is the great improvements which at the same period, and not a little owing to the change, took place in farming over the whole country, especially by improved draining. This may appear a strange and anomalous result to have flowed from a change which so seriously lessened the value of agricultural produce, and

consequently the remuneration of British rural industry; but in reality it is not so. The same thing for a long time was observed in the West Indies, where the profits of their cultivation were so grievously affected by the emancipation of the negroes and the reduction of the duties on foreign sugars. It arose in both cases from the desire to *compensate reduction of price by increase of production*. Experience has proved that the system of tile-draining, when rightly executed, raises the produce of corn lands about 30, and grass lands about 45 per cent., from whence may be conceived how vast a change in the productive power of British agriculture this felicitous discovery has made. But as the price of cereal produce of every sort was so ruinously low, and in 1849, 1850, and 1851, after the corn-law repeal had come into full operation, the price of wheat sank to 44s., 40s., and 38s. respectively, this altered system of agriculture ran chiefly into an increased pasturage and improved mode of dealing with green crops, instead of any addition to corn-fields. Every one who lived in Britain during these years must have seen how generally this change took place at that time. The unfortunate jealousy of the English farmers has prevented the magnitude of this change from being ascertained in their country by statistical evidence; but in Ireland, Captain Larcom's reports prove that while the production of grain was lessened within five years of the repeal of the corn-laws by above 2,000,000 quarters, the surface of grass land, and the average in grain crops, has considerably increased; and the ascertained fact, that with the great rise of prices consequent on the gold discoveries and the Crimean war, the production of wheat in Scotland increased 100,000 quarters in a single year, may give some idea of the corresponding diminution in the growth of that cereal which took place during the great fall of prices which resulted from the establishment of free trade in grain.*

A third circumstance which tended powerfully to counteract at this period the depressing effect of the fall of prices in grain consequent on the repeal of the corn-laws, was the completion of the vast network of railways which overspread all the fertile and some of the desolate parts of the British Islands. The extent to which this railway system of communication has been pushed, the sums of money which have been expended upon it, and the effect it has had upon rural industry and the balance of political parties in the State, are equally astonishing. From a parliamentary report in the year 1858, it appears that the total sum authorized to be raised in ordinary shares, prefer-

22.
Great effect on agriculture of the completion of the railway system.

* PRODUCTION OF GRAIN, POTATOES, AND GREEN CROPS IN IRELAND FROM 1849 TO 1858.

Years.	Wheat.	Potatoes.	Turnips.	Mangel-wormel.
	Barrels, 30 st.	Barrels, 30 st.	Tons.	Tons.
1849	8,641,198	82,112,679	5,806,848	346,596
1850	2,604,164	81,567,917	5,439,045	364,086
1851	2,508,968	85,528,175	6,081,326	466,236
1852	1,938,941	84,044,881	5,675,847	557,139
1858	1,904,809	45,932,801	6,562,471	588,988

—*Agricultural Returns*, "Ireland," 1848, p. 5, Introd.; 1855, p. xv. Introd.

Wheat raised in Scotland: In 1855, 191,300 quarters; in 1856, 261,849 quarters; in 1857, 298,400 quarters.—*Highland Society's Returns* in these years.

ence shares, and loans, for British railways, up to the year 1857, amounted to the enormous sum of £370,000,000, of which £303,000,000 has been actually raised and expended. The effect of this enormous expenditure of capital on purposes entirely domestic, and giving employment exclusively to our own people, has been immense; and its consequences upon the agricultural interests have been in the highest degree important. By it the monopoly of the farmers in the neighborhood of the great towns has been destroyed, and markets opened, especially for butcher-meat and the produce of the dairy, to rural labor in most parts of the country. To such an extent has this result ensued, that cattle are now sent up in a day from the uplands of Aberdeenshire and Morayshire to London, at a cost of 20s.—a sum not greater than was lost in value by the animal in driving during three days from Glasgow to Edinburgh; and an enterprising Scotch ship-owner,* who has transferred part of his great capital to Ireland, has 1500 acres of turnips in his own hands in the north of that island, and within five miles of his estate finds a ready-money market for his cattle at a railway station, all of them going direct to London.

Another consequence of a very singular and unexpected kind has arisen from the establishment of the railway system in Britain, namely, a great extension of the urban political interest in rural districts. This, like all the other great changes introduced by time, was unobserved in its origin, and only began to attract attention when it had come to make a great and lasting change in the balance of parties. As much and generally as it has brought the produce of the whole country into the towns, has it brought the interests and ideas of the great towns into the country. It is the great towns, however, only which have in this manner been spread over the country; the small towns are comparatively withered and dried up, from the superior attractions for customers of the shops and places of business in the large ones. But in the great commercial and manufacturing cities the change has been great and decisive. Their increasing wealth and importance has resulted in a general migration of the more wealthy citizens to country residences within a circuit of twenty or thirty miles around their boundaries, where they have their homes, and their families are established, and from whence the men return daily to their places of business during the forenoon in the great commercial emporiums to which they belong. The effect of this migration of urban classes and interests into the country has been in the highest degree important. These citizens of towns, for the most part, have carried into the country the ideas and wishes of towns; they have overspread the counties with city influence. The vast majority of these citizens are Liberal; their homes are in the country, but their hearts and their interests are in towns. As commercial towns in all ages have been the centres of democratic influences, and rural districts of conservative, it may be conceived how great has been the effect of this transference of country political influence to city majorities.

But although these circumstances tended powerfully, even before the gold discoveries came into operation, to counteract the depressing effect of the repeal of the corn-laws, yet the first effect of that repeal was in the highest degree distressing, and produced an unprecedented amount of clamor among the agricultural classes in every part of the country. In 1850 and 1851 especially, when the quarter of wheat was 40s. and 39s., the outcry was universal. Meetings were held in London, Dublin, Edinburgh, and almost every county town in Great Britain, where the most alarming statements were put forth as to the depressed state of agriculture in all its branches, and the utter ruin which must overtake cultivation if protection in some form were not restored. It is no wonder these statements were made; for the fall of at least a third in wheat, from an average of 56s. to one of 40s., at a time when wages were higher rather than the reverse, was to sweep away entirely the profits of cultivation, and leave the farmer nothing either to pay his rent or subsist his family. The story told at all these meetings was the same—that they could not compete with foreign cultivators, who raised grain by means of laborers paid 4d. a day, while they were paying 2s., and that to avoid ruin they had no alternative but to turn their arable lands into grass, and abandon, except in the most favored situations, all attempts to raise grain crops. This, again, led to a fresh set of evils; for the quantity of corn lands suddenly turned into pasture produced such an increase in the supply of butcher-meat, that it fell in a proportion even more alarming than the reduction in the price of grain. Meat sank from 9d. to 6d. and 5d. a pound: the complaint was universal among the graziers that, after buying sheep or cattle and feeding them for six months, they were obliged to sell them lower than they had bought them. In a word, the landlords and farmers in every part of the country were in despair; and the outcry raised was so general and violent, that in former times it must inevitably have led to a change of measures.

The free-traders, while these violent declamations were going on on one side, made no attempt to get up a counter-agitation on the other. They knew that the Reform Bill had given them command, through the boroughs, of three-fifths of the seats in the House of Commons, although two-thirds of the entire inhabitants of the empire were directly or indirectly dependent on agriculture for their support. Conscious of this, they allowed the Protectionists to get it all their own way in the public meetings, and calmly awaited the decision of the House of Commons, where they were sure of a majority on the question at issue. The journals which supported their side contented themselves with observing that, although without doubt the prices of rural produce had fallen very considerably, yet the efforts which were every where making to extend and improve agricultural industry by draining, inclosing, and the use of guano, afforded a sufficient proof that prices had not yet declined so much as to check it, and therefore that the reduction of price was a great benefit to the other classes of the community,

* Mr. Pollock, of Pollock, Gilmour, & Co., of Greenock.

and no injustice to the farmer. He was merely deprived of the benefit of an unjust monopoly, and brought to a level which, without being injurious to rural industry, is consistent with justice to the other great interests of the Empire.

The question came on for final discussion, after it had been exhausted by repeated debates previously in Parliament and the country, on the 23d November, 1852, on a motion brought forward by Mr. Villiers, the purport of which was to pledge the country to the principles of free trade.* It was maintained by the mover, and Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone: "All are agreed that recent legislation has improved the condition of the working classes; and that legislation has been, partly with common consent, characterized as 'wise, just, and beneficial.' Every thing which affects the price of food is material to the condition of the people; and the very argument so strongly urged on the other side, that the Act of 1846 has made so great a reduction in the price of subsistence of all kinds, affords a measure of the benefit which it has conferred upon them. This benefit has not been partial or confined to the commercial classes only; on the contrary, it has been universal, and pervaded as much the rural as the manufacturing districts, the farmers and agricultural laborers as the master manufacturers and operative workmen. Undeniable statistics prove this. On what other principle can we explain the increase of exports from £57,000,000 in 1846 to £74,000,000 in 1851, and the diminution of the paupers relieved from 934,000 in 1848 to 834,000 in 1851? Farmers have many grievances to complain of, which well deserve the attention of the House, but protection is not among the number. They are injured by the laws authorizing distraining for rent, the laws of settlement, compensation for unexhausted improvements, and the game laws, but not by free trade. Their distresses are real, but they are ascribed to a wrong cause by the gentlemen opposite, who have so long converted them into a trading capital for party purposes.

"It is a mistake to say that the improved condition of the working classes is owing to the gold discoveries or emigration, and not to the effects of recent commercial legislation. It is free trade, and free trade only, which has done the whole. The opinion of the country is completely and irrevocably made up upon this point. The constant assertion of their own views by the Protectionists has done, during the last six years, incredible mischief, for it has gone far to mislead foreign nations on the subject, and prevented them from meeting us by a corresponding removal of their restrictions. In this country, however, there is but one opinion among all men of sense on the subject. The Protection-

* "That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and particularly of the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent commercial legislation, and especially of the Act of 1846, which established the free admission of foreign corn, and that that Act was a wise, just, and beneficial measure. That it is the opinion of this House that the maintenance and farther extension of the policy of free trade will best enable the property and industry of the country to bear the burdens to which they are exposed, and will most contribute to the general contentment and welfare of the people"—*Ann. Reg.*, 1852, p. 136.

ists have appealed to the country, and lost the verdict. It is of the utmost importance that it should not only be affirmed by this House, but affirmed by so large a majority as to show the world that the policy of the country in regard to it is fixed and immutable, and that other nations would do well to descend into the same arena and imitate our example.¹

"Notwithstanding the bitter exasperation and extraordinary prolongation of this conflict now closing, a similar spirit of moderation and forbearance still animates the House, which prevailed when the change was introduced, and especially the honorable author of it. It is our honor and pride to be his followers; and if we are so, let us imitate him in the magnanimity which was one of the most distinguishing characteristics of the man. When Sir R. Peel severed the ties of five-and-thirty years, he felt the price he was paying for the performance of his duty. He looked, perhaps, for his revenge; but for what revenge did he look? He did not seek to vindicate it by stinging speeches, or by motions carried in his favor, or in favor of bad policy, if they bore a sense of degradation and pain to the minds of honorable men. The vindication to which he looked was this: he knew that the wisdom of his measures would, in the end, secure their general acceptance. He knew that those who had opposed them from erroneous opinions would acknowledge them after competent experience. He looked to see them established in the esteem and sound judgment of the country. He looked to see them governing by slow but sure degrees the policy of every nation of the civilized world. He believed that the aristocracy themselves would, in the end, come to see that he had never rendered them so great a service as when, with the whole weight of the Government, he proposed the repeal of the corn-laws. His belief was, that theirs was a great and sacred cause; that the aristocracy of England was an element, in its political and social system, with which the welfare of the country was irreparably wound up; and to him, therefore, it was a noble object of ambition to redeem such a cause from association with a policy originally adopted in a state of imperfect knowledge and erroneous views, but which, with the clear light of experience poured upon it, was each day assuming more and more, in the view of the thinking portion of the community, the character of sordid and false."²

On the other side it was answered by Mr. Disraeli, the Marquis of Granby, Sir John Pakington, and Sir E. B. Lytton: "If, as alleged on the other side, 'enormous mischief' has been produced by the conduct of the Protectionists, it is incumbent on this House to stigmatize it by a distinct expression of opinion, concerning which there can be no mistake. The Protectionists opposed the repeal of the corn-laws in 1846 on two grounds. The first, that it would prove injurious to the interests of labor; that it was a laborer's, not a landlord's question: the second, that it would prove injurious to a great national interest.

* The concluding paragraph is taken *verbatim* from Mr. Gladstone's eloquent peroration.

The same objection was made to the repeal of the sugar laws and of the navigation laws, so that since 1847 the nation has been incessantly occupied with discussions on agricultural, colonial, and shipping distress. From the time, however, that the change was made till the present moment, no attempt has been made by the Protectionists to restore the corn laws; for this reason, that the facts had not as yet so fully declared themselves as to warrant a demand for a return to the old policy. In this respect the Protectionists have imitated the conduct of Sir R. Peel, and the party which he headed, in regard to the Reform Bill, which they strenuously opposed while still under discussion, but accepted as an established fact when the change was finally adopted by the Legislature.

“There is in reality no question before the House on which it is necessary to come to a division. If the object is to settle the question, the Government had acknowledged that the conduct of the country in the recent elections was against the principles which they had supported, and they no longer attempted to struggle against it. This being so, it was a most unwise course, and grating to personal feelings, to compel persons to confess that a measure was just which they knew had been the cause of severe suffering to many. Since 1846 it has been apparent to all on this side that, after so great a change in our commercial policy, the Legislature could not retrace its steps but in deference to the general voice of the country. They are free to confess that the change has not as yet arrived, and therefore, without having changed their private opinions, they make no attempt to bring about a return to the former policy. Many of the gentlemen on this side could not concur with Sir R. Peel when he introduced

the measure of 1846; and in opposing him they made a great sacrifice, both of party and personal feeling.” Mr. Disraeli concluded with moving the following amendment: “That this

House acknowledges with satisfaction that the cheapness of provisions, occasioned by recent legislation, has mainly contributed to improve the condition and increase the comfort of the working classes; and that unrestricted competition having been adopted, after due deliberation, as the principle of our commercial system, this House is of opinion that it is the duty of Government unreservedly to adhere to that policy in those measures of financial and administrative reform which, under the circumstances of the country, they may deem it their duty to introduce.”

It is evident, from the turn which this debate took, that the mind of the majority of the House was made up on the subject. The Liberals plunged into the whole question of free trade, and repeated all the arguments by which they had so long and ably supported it. The Conservatives did not venture to dispute any longer the general question, but struggled only to render their fall as gentle as possible, and to avert the humiliation of being obliged to confess that the change they had so strenuously opposed was just and expedient. In principle, and apart from party considerations and triumphs, the amendment of Mr. Disraeli did not differ from the motion of Mr. Villiers.

The division, however, was considered as a trial of strength between the two parties; and probably its result afforded a tolerably just measure of the relative proportions in which the constituencies were divided. The motion was carried by a majority of 80, the numbers being 336 to 256. After this decisive division on the general question, any subordinate matter, of whatever importance, was of no real public moment. An amendment proposed by Lord Palmerston, however, deserves to be noted, as affording a measure of the strength, or rather weakness, of the Protectionists, who still, under circumstances the most adverse, adhered to their old colors. Before the division on this amendment ¹ *Parl. Deb.* took place, 71 members had left the *Dec. 8,* House, and the motion was carried by *1852; Ann.* an overwhelming majority, the num- *Reg. 1852,* bers being 468 to 53.^{1*} *141, 142.*

Thus was the principle of free trade and unrestricted competition finally established in the British Legislature; for the House of Peers, seeing the overwhelming majority in the Commons, prudently abstained from any division; and a resolution, proposed by the Marquis of Clanricarde, and slightly amended by Lord Harrowby, was carried unanimously, to the effect that “this House, thankfully acknowledging the general prosperity, and deeply sensible of the evils attending frequent changes in the financial policy of the country, adheres to the commercial system recently established, and would view with regret any attempt to impede its operations or disturb its progress.” Thus the minority in the Legislature acted on the same wise principle in regard to free trade which they had previously done in regard to reform; and seeing the country firmly bent on the adoption of that policy, withdrew all opposition, and allowed it to be tested by its effects. And without prejudging what the analyst of future times may say on the subject, when time has impressed its signet on the opinions of man upon it, it may at least be safely observed, that when the decision of the Legislature and the nation was thus irrevocably taken on the question, neither was as yet in possession of the facts requisite to the formation of a correct judgment regarding it. During the seven years preceding this decision, nearly three hundred millions sterling had been expended in the two islands on railways. In the same period the population of Ireland had declined two millions and a half, and the average emigration had been two hundred and sixty-six thousand annually; and during the last two years of the time, the gold discoveries, as will immediately appear, had come materially to affect prices, and stimulate industry, and encourage speculation all over the world. Whether the general prosperity which characterized the close of the period has been owing to

* Lord Palmerston's motion was as follows: “That it is the opinion of this House that the improved condition of the country, and especially the industrious classes, is mainly the result of recent legislation, which has established the principle of unrestricted competition, has abolished taxes imposed for the purposes of protection, and has thereby diminished the cost and increased the abundance of the principal articles of the food of the people; and that it is the opinion of this House that this policy, firmly maintained and prudently extended, will best enable the industry of the country to bear its burdens, and will thereby most surely promote the welfare and contentment of the people.”—*Ann. Reg.*, 1852, p. 142.

these causes, or to a reduction in the price of subsistence, which, as Mr. Villiers boasted in the House of Commons, had come to save the nation £93,000,000 annually, is a question which can be resolved only when time has developed the effect of the one set of causes without the simultaneous operations of the other.

The extreme severity of the monetary crisis in 1848 had diffused such distress through the community, and imprinted such languor and distrust on the operations of commerce, that relief from existing taxation, and the imposition of fresh burdens on the people, were alike out of the question. The payments from China, which came so opportunely a few years back to relieve the exchequer, had ceased; and the only resource of Government was the most rigid economy in every department, cutting down the army and navy to the lowest point, and the copious sale of old stores, to bring the expenditure within the income. As it was, they contrived to exhibit in the parliamentary accounts an excess of receipts over disbursements during three years; but this was obtained entirely from the income tax, without which the deficit every year would have exceeded three millions. The average net revenue of the nation during the period was £56,000,000, of which £5,500,000 was derived from that tax. The sums voted for the army and navy were about £6,500,000 each, and the ordnance £2,500,000; a woeful stretch of false economy, which the nation ere long expiated in tears of blood on the heights of Sebastopol and on the plains of India. The army kept up was only 92,000 men, exclusive of those in the employment of the East India Company, a force totally inadequate to the due discharge of the public service, especially as we were engaged in a serious and protracted war with the Caffres. The navy had only 34,000 men voted. With all this rigid economy, and the continuance of the war burden of the income-tax, little progress was made in the reduction of the national debt; and it was a melancholy reflection that after forty years of peace that burden was not materially less than it had been at the commencement of the period. Since the year 1833, when the Government of the Reform Parliament began, the public debt, funded and unfunded, had increased £4,500,000, though unbroken peace in Europe, so far as this country was concerned, had obtained during the whole period.*

Important as these details are, they yet yield in moment to the returns obtained by the gen-

eral census of the British Islands, taken in 1851, which exhibited results of a novel and startling character, that seem to indicate a turning-point in the fortunes and destiny of the State. For a long period the population of the empire had steadily increased, and it had gone on since the peace of 1815 at the rate of somewhat above 2,000,000 souls in ten years, or 200,000 a year. The increase between 1831 and 1841, in the two islands, had been no less than 2,700,000. Applying this rate of increase to the five years immediately succeeding 1841, the population of 1846 must have been at least 28,000,000.* But the population of the two islands, as ascertained by the census of 1851, was only 27,511,862, showing a decrease in five years of at least 700,000 souls, being at the rate of 140,000 a year during the whole period. We have only to look at the emigration, which, from the end of 1846 to the same period in 1851, amounted to 1,422,000 souls, and add to that 450,000 who perished directly from the effects of the Irish famine, to see what has been the main cause of the decline. Emigrants, it is to be recollected, are for the most part in the prime of life: four-fifths of them are under thirty; and therefore the abstraction of a million and a half in five years of such persons is far from being compensated by the addition of an equal number of infants, who can not be fathers or mothers for eighteen or twenty years. Till the census of 1861 comes to be taken, it can not be said with absolute certainty what the decline or increase of the population of the empire will then be; but it will undoubtedly be very small either way. Fonblanque, in his admirable statistics of Great Britain, estimates the inhabitants of England and Wales in 1856, from the result of the registered births and deaths, added to the census of 1851, at 19,045,157, and of Scotland at 3,035,000; in all, 22,080,187. The Census Commissioners of Ireland have reported that the inhabitants of

* POPULATION BY CENSUS OF 1831 AND 1841.

Years.	England and Scotland.	Ireland.	Total.
1831	16,364,698	7,767,401	24,132,294
1841	18,658,372	8,175,124	26,833,496
Increase	2,293,689	407,723	2,701,202

CENSUS OF 1851.

Population of whole empire in 1841-'42	26,833,496
Estimated increase to 1846 (half of 2,701,202)	1,356,101
Population in 1846	28,189,597
Ascertained population in 1851	27,511,862
Decrease, 1846-'51	677,735
—Census, 1851, Introd.; Irish Census, 1853, p. 16, Introd.	

* INCOME, EXPENDITURE, AND PUBLIC DEBT IN EACH YEAR FROM 1849 TO 1852.

Years.	Income.	Expenditure.	Surplus.	National Debt.	Unfunded Debt.
1849	£57,006,412	£55,480,659	£2,098,126	£772,168,316	£24,869,060
1850	57,481,796	54,988,534	2,517,341	763,272,592	25,185,454
1851	56,834,710	54,002,994	2,726,396	765,126,582	25,011,267
1852	57,755,370	55,229,836	2,417,559	761,627,760	24,786,526

—Ann. Reg., App. Public Documents, p. 432.

Public debt in 1833	£754,100,549
Unfunded debt in 1833	27,752,650
Total, 1833	£781,853,199
Public debt in 1852	£761,627,763
Unfunded debt in 1852	24,786,529
Total, 1852	£786,414,292
Added to the public debt in twenty years of peace	£4,551,093

—Finance Accounts, 1853; PORTER'S Parl. Tables, p. 6.

that island, in the same year, did not exceed 6,000,000, so that, not allowing for the emigration, the whole in 1856 was 28,080,000. But the emigration from 1851 to 1857 has been 1,558,268 persons.* Thus, the whole inhabitants of the empire, in 1856, were under 28,000,000, less by at least 500,000 than they had been ten years before.¹

In addition to these causes which have of late years stopped the increase of population in the British Islands—some of which may possibly be of a temporary nature—there is one cause of a lasting and general kind, which has of late years been so powerful as of itself to render the increase, in many places, of the people stationary. This is the daily increasing number of the inhabitants who have become indwellers in cities or thickly-peopled places, and the increased mortality of such localities when compared with rural districts. This change has long been observed since the great increase in trade and manufactures which has taken place since the peace; and in the census of 1851, while the population in many of the rural counties was found to have declined, that of the towns, with few exceptions in Great Britain, and *without one in Ireland*, has increased. But the census returns have now placed the matter beyond a doubt. Notwithstanding the immigration from the country into the towns which is every where going forward, so great is the comparative unhealthiness of the latter, that the mortality in the towns is 50 per cent. greater than in the country, while the annual increase is nearly twice and a half greater in the former than the latter.† The other fact, also ascertained by the census, that the entire inhabitants in the former are constantly and rapidly increasing, and those in the latter as constantly and rapidly diminishing, proves equally clearly the strength of the impulse which is now daily urging the people from the healthy rural to the unhealthy urban districts. Such is the force of the impelling cause, that in mountainous and generally barren Scotland, the inhabitants of the town districts are about equal to those of the rural; and even in rich and fertile England the proportion is nearly the same. It is evident, in these circumstances, that a powerful arresting cause has set in upon the inhabitants of Great Britain: the same as in all other countries has been the commencement of national decline. All great empires have perished, not from the redundancy, but the want of inhabitants—from the desertion

* Viz.:

Years.	Emigrants.	Years.	Emigrants.
1852	868,966	1855	176,807
1853	829,937	1856	176,554
1854	823,429	1857	212,875
Total		1,558,563	

—*Parl. Paper*, June 28, 1858.

† DEATHS AND ANNUAL INCREASE IN SCOTLAND IN TOWNS AND COUNTRY DISTRICTS.

Years.	Country Districts.	Town Districts.	Annual Mortality.		Annual Increase.	
			Towns.	Country.	Country.	Towns.
1855	1,475,489	1,483,241	1 in 40	1 in 60	} 1 in 192	1 in 70
1856	1,530,364	1,552,021	1 in 42	1 in 68		

—FONBLANQUE, p. 12.

In Glasgow, in the quarter ending 30th September, 1858, the deaths in the rural districts were 1 in 45; in the town-districts 1 in 75: the births in the former, 1 in 33; in the latter, 1 in 28. In Glasgow, 60 per cent. of the deaths were of children under five years of age.—*Registrar-General's Report*, quarter ending 30th September, 1858.

of the country, and the flocking of its inhabitants to great towns in quest of subsistence. Reflect on Rome in ancient, and observe Turkey in modern times. Lord Shaftesbury, whose life has been spent in investigating the condition of the poor, has lately said at the Social Science Association: "The time is coming, and is not far distant, when we shall experience a want of population for social, industrial, and military purposes."

Lord John Russell was the first statesman who prominently brought before the public, at a late meeting of the Social Science Association, the remarkable fact, that not only, during the forty years embraced in this History, had crime greatly increased—which of course was to be expected from the increase of the population—but that it had increased in a *much greater ratio than the increase of the population*; and what is still more remarkable, that this increase was particularly conspicuous in crimes such as robbery, burglary, and deadly assaults requiring violence for their completion.* The increase in murders of late has been so great as to have attracted general attention: from 1854 to 1856 the persons sentenced to death in England for that crime had increased from 11 to 31.¹ The common observation, that this increase of crime is apparent, not real, and that it arises from the more extended and improved police of later times, which has brought it to light, is an entire fallacy. Police establishments are an *effect*, not a *cause*. They are very expensive, and are always resisted to the very uttermost in every part of the country; and the "ignorant impatience of taxation" is never overcome till the mass of unpunished crime has fairly forced an effort to check it on a most reluctant people.† In truth, there is a progress in

* COMMITTED AND CONVICTED IN GREAT BRITAIN IN THE YEARS 1817, 1827, 1837, 1847, AND 1857.

	1817.	1827.	1837.	1847.	1857.
Shooting, stabbing, and wounding.....	26	.....	.....	.....	208
Robbing	154	.....	.....	.....	378
Burglary	374	.....	.....	.....	478
Housebreaking	152	.....	.....	.....	561
Theft in houses	148	.....	.....	.....	346
Forgery, and uttering forged notes	62	.....	.....	.....	184
Totals.....	911	1113	1061	1498	2057

The population of Great Britain has increased, from 1811 to 1851, from 12,000,000 to 21,000,000, being 70 per cent., while these serious crimes have in the same period increased from 9 to 20, or 116 per cent. In the year 1857 no less than 3584 men were brought before the police magistrates in England alone, charged with assaults on women, chiefly their own wives.

† For twenty years the county of Lanark successfully resisted all the efforts made to establish a rural police among its immense population. At length it was established in 1858 by Government authority; and in the first six months after it was set on foot the persons brought

human affairs; but these facts would seem to indicate that there is a progress two ways as well as one, and recall the observation of Disraeli, "Progress! yes, *but to what?*" It is evident, however, that these facts as to the more rapid increase of crime than population in an age when so much has been done to arrest it, by no means warrants the assertion that society, as a whole, is retrograding instead of advancing in morality. Unquestionably, in the higher and middle classes, and a great part of the working, the improvement is great and undoubted. The just inference from it is, that it is the effect of great wealth and long-established civilization to multiply to a great extent the "*classes dangereuses*," as the French call them, who are at the bottom of the social ladder, and in whom vicious habits and crime arise so naturally from the circumstances in which they are placed, that they seem to be almost unavoidable.

To this it must be added that a great and prolific cause of the increase of crime has come into operation in recent times in the British empire, owing to the virtual abolition of the *System of Transportation*. This great and calamitous change, which appears at first sight the most strange and inexplicable which has taken place even in an age in which every imaginable absurdity has been put in practice, under the influence of the passion for innovation, till it was abandoned by the force of experience, arose, in truth, from want of practical acquaintance with the subject on the part of those intrusted with its administration. The transportation of criminals is by far the best system which ever was devised by human wit, alike for the interests of the mother country, of the colonies, and of the criminals themselves. As such it succeeded perfectly for a very long period in Great Britain, and was attended with such advantages as rendered it the object of envy to all the statesmen and philanthropists of the Continent who were oppressed by the manifold evils of galley-slaves and public bagnets. Under it, too, the colony of New South Wales, to which the convicts were sent, made unprecedented strides in population, industry, and wealth—considerably greater than were made during the same period by either Canada or the Cape of Good Hope, though these possessed the advantage of much greater proximity to the mother country—a matter of the highest importance in regard to free emigration. The progress of Australia with convicts, before the gold discoveries gave it its recent prodigious start, had been before the magistrates were 1180, of whom 976 were convicted.

double that of either the Cape or Canada—a fact which decisively demonstrates the immense advantage of forced penal labor to an infant colony.* But toward the continuance of this salutary and healthful state of things, so fruitful of good both to the aged mother country, overcharged with inhabitants and crime, and to the young colony, in want of both, because both might be converted to the purposes of useful labor, it is indispensable that a *due proportion* should be observed between the convicts sent out and the free settlers, and that the former be kept a small fraction compared to the latter; because, unless this is done, the criminals will approach to an equality with the free inhabitants, and life and property will become insecure. Unhappily the immense increase of crime in the British empire, especially since the year 1846, occasioned such an augmentation in the criminals sent out, that they came to bear an undue proportion to the ordinary inhabitants. When the criminals of Great Britain and Ireland were only 27,000, as they were in 1822, and of these only 1200 or 1500 were sent out, no undue increase of criminals was complained of; on the contrary, Australia was constantly demanding more, and its inhabitants viewed with peculiar complacency heavy assizes in the British Islands. But when the proportion was changed, owing to the great increase of criminals committed at home, and committals had risen, as in 1848, to nearly 74,000, the stream of persons transported became from three to four thousand. This was felt as a serious grievance by New South Wales, the more especially as, anterior to the gold discoveries, the voluntary emigration had never exceeded three or four thousand annually. Accordingly the tide of public opinion in the colony turned; its inhabitants came to regard the convicts with apprehension; and numerous petitions were forwarded to Government from Sydney and its dependencies, praying to be entirely relieved from the burden of receiving transported criminals. When matters came to this point, Government had two courses to pursue. They might either have issued an order in council to the colonies, engaging that to whatever colony which would agree to receive the convicts they would send *four free settlers* for each penal one; and employ the latter in making roads, bridges, canals, harbors, and railways, so that every free settler would find the means of communication at the public expense brought to his door. Having from 250,000 to 300,000 emigrants to deal with annually, a small bounty paid to each would easily have brought the requisite number of free settlers to

* COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF THE CAPE, CANADA, AND AUSTRALIA, BEFORE THE GOLD DISCOVERIES.

Years.	CANADA.		CAPE.		AUSTRALIA.	
	Exports to.	Population.	Exports to.	Population.	Exports to.	Population.
1828.....	£1,691,044	1,781,000	£218,849	(?)	£448,889	276,019
1838.....	1,992,457		623,328		921,563	
1846.....	3,308,059		490,979		1,441,640	
1847.....	3,283,014		688,208		1,644,170	
1848.....	1,990,592		645,718		1,468,931	
1849.....	2,280,396		520,896		2,080,864	
1858.....	3,235,651	2,900,000	796,600	(?)	2,602,253	
					2,807,356	641,196

—PORTER'S *Parl. Tables*, 1846, i. 21; 1852, i. 43.

Increase of Canada in twenty-two years..... 3 to 1.
Increase of Cape in twenty-two years..... 3½ to 1.
Increase of Australia in twenty-two years..... 7 to 1.

keep in order the convicts, and the whole colonies of the empire would soon have been on their knees, to receive the prolific stream. Or if this failed, they might have established a new penal colony in a suitable part of our vast colonial possessions, and treated it in the same manner, with four free to one convict settler. It would soon have distanced all its competitors; property would have doubled in value in it every three or four years.

Pressed by financial embarrassment, the sad result of the commercial crisis of 1848, Government did neither of these things; but, to allay the terrors of Sydney, they sent the whole convicts to Van Diemen's Land, the most distant colonial settlement of the empire, and the passage to which costs £25, five times as much as one to America. No steps were taken to send out a due proportion of free settlers; and the passage to this remote settlement being so long and costly, the numbers of free settlers annually going out was much less than that of the convicts. The consequence of course was, that it became a scene of disorder and crime, much what Norfolk Island, to which the convicts were next sent, afterward became. Every sort of atrocity was practiced in it, often with impunity: the other colonies were confirmed in their determination to avert such a moral pestilence from their own shores; and when Government, by way of experiment, sent a ship-load of convicts to the Cape, the people made such preparations to resist their being landed that it was deemed prudent to desist from the attempt. Pressed with so many difficulties, the Government saw no way of escaping from the dilemma but by abandoning almost entirely the system of transportation. Penal servitude, varying from four to six years, was by act of Parliament substituted for it; and for six years past, with the exception of a few hundred sent annually with the best possible effect to Western Australia, where, being kept in due proportion to the free settlers, they are received with open arms, transportation has been entirely given up in the British dominions.

The consequences of the change, as was predicted by every person in the empire who had any practical acquaintance with the subject, and was fully explained to the parliamentary committees who sat on it, have been disastrous in the extreme. The difficulty, instead of being removed, has been only transferred from the extremity to the heart of the empire. The convicts, four or five thousand in number, annually convicted, who were formerly transported, being now kept in the country, the prisons were soon filled to overflowing. In the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, the average number of persons sentenced to imprisonment by summary and jury trial in England alone was about 114,000; in the two islands, from 140,000 to 150,000 annu-

ally. It may readily be conceived, therefore, how serious a burden four or five thousand criminals sentenced to five or six years of penal servitude each must have produced.* No building could hold, no establishment control, so prodigious a multitude. The cost of maintaining prisoners in the empire paid by the treasury, independent of a still larger sum paid by the counties, rose to £1,424,907 a year in 1856, and to £984,874 in 1857.†

In this extremity Government had no recourse but to exercise largely, through the official persons intrusted with the right of doing so, the power of liberating the penal servitude men, and letting them loose on the country long before either any real reformation had been effected in their habits, or the period of their sentence had expired. The consequences of this system have been in the highest degree pernicious. From the accounts laid before Parliament, it appears that in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, there were received into the convict establishments of Government 19,884 convicts, of whom 6563 were liberated before the expiration of their sentences, on tickets of leave, independent of those pardoned or whose sentences had expired.† With truth does the *Times* observe on the returns: "These figures show an uncertainty in the punishment of crime which can be paralleled in no country where protection of life and property is professed to be guaranteed by the State. They also make apparent a discrepancy between judicial sentences and actual punishments, which tends to bring our whole judicial system into contempt, and to render a criminal trial little better than a farce. The criminal's captivity has been measured, not by the circumstances of his crime, but by his behavior in the jail; it has been of less importance to him to convince his judge than to cajole his chaplain." The con-

† CONVICTS RECEIVED INTO, AND DISCHARGED FROM, THE GOVERNMENT PRISONS IN THE YEARS 1854, 1855, AND 1856.

	1854.		1855.		1856.	
	Received.	Discharged.	Received.	Discharged.	Received.	Discharged.
Pentonville....	436	88	453	1	793	55
Parkhurst.....	121	157	100	10	209	106
Milbank.....	1513	92	2624	59	2640	319
Portland.....	665	334	1260	634	881	507
Portsmouth....	545	264	886	458	617	349
Dartmouth....	443	396	545	405	560	308
Borstow.....	589	18	106	107	393	201
Chatham.....	....	....	....	....	677	91
Hulks.....	848	544	1385	633	153	104
Total.....	5760	1718	6511	2371	6823	2474

—FONBLANQUE, p. 86.

Received in 3 Years.	Discharged on Tickets.
5,760	1718
6,511	2371
6,813	2474
19,884	6563

* PERSONS COMMITTED BY JURY AND SUMMARY TRIAL, IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM 1854 TO 1856.

Years.	ENGLAND.		IRELAND.		SCOTLAND.		Total.
	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	Jury.	Summary.	
1854.....	29,359	71,193	11,718	23,212	8,994	15,999	135,473
1855.....	25,972	70,116	9,012	36,392	8630	16,342	151,494
1856.....	19,437	77,712	7,099	23,576	8713	16,281	147,753

—FONBLANQUE, p. 57, 71.

sequence has been that a stream of nearly three thousand criminals of the worst and most dangerous character is annually let loose from their places of confinement upon the country*—those who have superadded hypocrisy to their original offenses. On no other principle is it possible to explain the fact that, while there has been a great decrease of crime in the country generally, for three years after 1854 there has been a great and most alarming increase of violent attacks on property in England.†

If there is little to approve in this one particular of the British colonial administration, of late years a very different mode of approbation must be bestowed on another change, of far more importance, which was brought into general use about the same period, which may with truth be said to have been the salvation of the colonial empire of the country. This was the right of SELF-GOVERNMENT and the electing responsible legislative councils, which was generally conceded to the colonies between 1837 and 1854, and was universal at the close of the latter period. In this respect the nation has been deeply indebted to the liberal administrators who have ruled the country since 1850; for it is doubtful whether the old Tory Government would have been as much impressed as their successors have been with the necessity of yielding on this vital point; yet that it was absolutely necessary is now apparent. Self-government is indispensable to colonies as soon as they have attained any thing like mature years, for this plain reason, that it is forced on them by the necessities of their remote and isolated situation; while the same cause renders the Home Government ignorant of their wants and indifferent to their complaints. In every quarter and age of the globe, accordingly, colonies have contended for self-government, and those alone have been prosperous, and laid the foundations of mighty empires, which, springing from popularly-governed nations at home, have successfully asserted their title to establish similar institutions, and enjoy privileges as great in their new seats abroad. Witness the colonies of Greece, Carthage, and Rome around the Mediterranean Sea in ancient, and the more widespread colonies of Great Britain in modern times.

At first sight it would appear that the natural way to do this would be to give the colonies a share in the imperial Legislature in proportion to their wealth and inhabitants; but a little reflection must convince every impartial person that

* The sheriff of Lanarkshire stated in his evidence before the Transportation Committee in 1857, that in one instance which had come before him judicially, a garrote robber was first sentenced to ten years' transportation for a robbery on the streets of Glasgow; within a year after that, to fifteen years' transportation for a second garrote robbery committed within fifty yards of the same spot; and within another, to transportation for life for a third garrote robbery, committed within a few yards of the original spot.

† CRIMES AGAINST PROPERTY, WITH VIOLENCE, IN UNITED KINGDOM.

Years.	Crimes with Violence.	All Offences, with Jury.		
		England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
1854.....	1.408	23,647	2,89	7051
1855.....	1.315	19,971	2699	5920
1856.....	1.787	14,784	2723	4024

—FONBLANQUE, p. 58.

this would by no means answer the desired purpose. The difficulty in the way is not, as is generally imagined, the distance of the colonies from the seat of the imperial Legislature, for steam has obviated that impediment. The real obstacle is the entire divergence of interests on most subjects between the inhabitants of such widely-severed countries, and the certainty that, as one or other must be in a minority, one or other will, in a united assembly, suffer injustice—it may be great and irreparable—at the hands of the other. It is true, taxation without representation is injustice to the colonies; but representation without taxation *would be not less injustice to the mother country.* Yet how adjust a scale to taxation for an aged community staggering under thirty millions a year of interest of debt, and a young colony in which a direct impost has never yet been imposed, and if imposed, could not by possibility be levied? Not less at variance are the interests of the colonies and mother country. To produce and sell dear is the interest of the former; to purchase cheap is the interest of the latter. This lasting and irreconcilable diversity became still more serious in its effects when the Reform Bill had virtually disfranchised the colonies by putting the nomination boroughs into Schedule A, and a decided majority of the House of Commons became composed of the representatives of boroughs, actuated by an adverse interest from that of the colonies. From that moment, accordingly, the concession of separate Legislatures and the right of self-government became the necessary condition of our colonial empire holding together, and but for its concession it must have been dissolved.

The first symptom of this irreconcilable variance between the reformed imperial Legislature and the interests of the colonies occurred in 1834, when, as already mentioned, the immediate emancipation of the negroes was forced on Government through the portals opened by the Reform Bill. This important, and, as it has proved, ruinous change, could never have passed the House of Commons under the old system, when our West India interest was the strongest in the House, and could command eighty votes, nor under the new system of entire self-government in local matters conceded since the Reform Bill. It was during the transition from the one to the other, before the effect of the change was understood, that it could alone have passed. The next instance of the divergence was the Canadian revolt of 1837, during which the cry for self-government, and a responsible Government, was loud and menacing; and it was that revolt which, by forcibly drawing the attention to the subject and awakening their fears, mainly led to the change. The adoption of free trade as the commercial principle of the empire in 1846 rendered the change a matter of necessity; because, having lost all protection in the home market of Great Britain, and being exposed to a rude competition from all nations, it was impossible to suppose they would continue in their allegiance unless they acquired the power of regulating at pleasure their internal concerns. The Cape, in resisting the landing of the convicts in

44.
Difficulties of a direct representation of the colonies in Parliament.

45.
Colonial discontent produced by the Reform Bill, and its results.

1852, gave token of the spirit which was rising up; and Australia, though not yet numbering 400,000 inhabitants, was talking of Bunker's Hill and Saratoga. Awakened at length to a sense of their danger, Government somewhat tardily, but at length universally, conceded the desired boon. Representative Assemblies were every where established, and all the British colonies except India became practically self-governed. The chief merit in pushing through this great change belongs to Earl Grey, who for long, under the Whig Government, held the office of Colonial Secretary, and brought to bear on the subject the great talents which he had inherited from his illustrious father. And the good effect of the change is already conspicuous. The jarring between the colonies and the mother country has ceased; discontent, by getting a legal channel, has evaporated; loyalty has succeeded; and in Canada these feelings have become so strong that they have led to the raising of a noble regiment—the 100th—for the British service; magnificent subscriptions, both there and in Australia, on the occasion of the Crimean war and Indian revolt, have attested their warm sympathy with the glories and the sufferings of the mother country; and the rejoicings on the fall of Sebastopol and the capture of Delhi were as enthusiastic in Montreal and Sydney as either in London or Dublin.

If this concession of the right of self-government was important in allaying the ^{46.} New and true discontent of the colonies, and pre-colonial system. serving for some years longer the slender bond which unites them to the mother country, another change, scarcely less material to their internal progress, was at the same time introduced by the Liberal Government. This was the substitution, for huge grants of land to favored companies or individuals, of its sale at prices varying from 5s. to £1 an acre to adventurers, in lots of such moderate size as they really could bring into cultivation themselves, and applying the funds thus acquired to the general purposes of the colony, and especially the giving the means of emigration to active and industrious persons from the British Islands. This system, which is evidently the true one on the subject, and which has been at length generally, it may be said universally, adopted in the British colonies by all administrations, is mainly due to Sir William Molesworth, a statesman of enlarged views and valuable practical talents, whose premature death has been a serious loss to the British empire.

The concession of constitutions and the right of self-government came in time to ^{47.} Affairs of the Cape, discontent there, and its causes. stop the progress of discontent, and restore the feelings of loyalty in the other colonies, but not to avert a terrible catastrophe at the Cape of Good Hope. The origin of this disaster, as of all others which have shaken the fidelity or disturbed the prosperity of the British colonies, is to be found in the senseless measures of the Home Government, who applied to that distant settlement among savages the principles which are adopted amidst European civilization. Two especially are worthy of notice as the direct cause of the calamitous events which followed. The first of these was the sudden emancipation of the Hottentot slaves in the colony, for a most

inadequate compensation, by the Act of 1834. As this act deprived the colonists of their laborers, and gave them not a third of their value in compensation, it excited the most violent discontent among the settlers. To such a degree did this feeling go, that Government ere long deemed it unsafe to intrust them with the chief defense, as heretofore, of their country against the Caffre tribes, and required them to deliver up their arms, leaving the defense of the frontier to the British regular troops. These had been reduced, in consequence of the wretched passion for economy which prevailed at home, to thirteen hundred men, who were now alone charged with the defense of an endangered frontier thirteen hundred miles in length and a country as large as Great Britain. Sensible of the difficulty, Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, in pursuance of the system of conciliation and concession, then so much in vogue in Europe, had withdrawn the British colors from the Kei River—to which they had been advanced at the close of the last war, and which presented a very strong frontier—to the Great Fish River, the old boundary, but which presented no defensible positions. The motive for this withdrawal of the British authority from a district of country half as large as England, was good, for it was the restitution of a conquered country; and, judging by European ideas, it was expedient, for it evinced moderation in a victorious power; but applied to a barbarous people, who had not a conception of justice or moderation themselves, it was ascribed, as all similar concessions to barbarians are, to fear and a sense of weakness. ^{1 Ann. Reg.} It was attended, accordingly, by the 1851, 283, most disastrous consequences. ^{285.}

The Caffre tribes could bring three thousand fighting men into the field. Sensible of their advantage, they had for ^{48.} Caffre war, long been meditating a general rising against the British, and had established a secret correspondence with the natives in the British service, especially the mounted Cape Rifles, an admirably drilled and efficient corps, nearly the whole of which, when hostilities broke out, deserted to the enemy, carrying with them their arms and horses. So far from being grateful for the abolition of slavery, the Hottentots generally followed their example. The Governor of the Cape, Sir Harry Smith, no sooner heard of the threatening meetings of the Caffre chiefs, than he hastened from Cape Town to King William Town, the capital of British Caffraria, and summoned a general meeting of the Caffre chiefs to that place to explain their conduct. They came, according- ^{Oct. 16, 1850.} ly, in numbers about three hundred and fifty, and professed loyalty and obedience; but Sandilli, the principal and most hostile chief, kept aloof, and refused either to attend the council or submit. He was, accordingly, formally deposed by Sir Harry Smith, in virtue of the right of sovereignty which was still claimed by the British over the ceded territory. This was the signal for a general outbreak of hostilities along the whole frontier, which was immediately followed by a general defection of the Hottentots in the British service. The consequences were extremely serious, and at first most threatening. The Governor himself was shut up in Fort Cox, a fortified post to which he had ad-

vanced on the frontier, by some thousand of these formidable savages, to whom the defection of the Cape troops had given the advantages of arms, organization, and discipline. Colonel Somerset, who attempted to relieve him with a small body of regular troops from Fort Hare, was driven back, after a gallant resistance, to that post, with heavy loss; and Colonel Dec. 29, 1850. M'Kinnon, who had left Fort Cox with six hundred men to clear the country in the Keiskamma Valley, was defeated in the Amatola fastnesses, and with difficulty got back to Fort Cox, after sustaining considerable loss. Sir Harry Smith escaped from Fort Cox at the head of a flying escort, and reached King William Town with a few followers. Emboldened by these successes, the Caffres now broke on all sides into the British territories, and soon carried their ravages into the heart of British Caffraria. Not content with burning and plundering the whole open country, they laid siege to the principal fortresses, and were only repulsed from Fort Hare itself after a severe assault.¹

The war which ensued, and which was protracted for above a year, was for long bloody and indecisive. The force at the disposal of the Government, now that they were deprived of their native auxiliaries, was evidently inadequate to the task of combating a nation of armed and skillful warriors, who combated at the same time at all points, and possessed in the forest-clad rocks of the Amatola and the Water-Kloof intricate fastnesses, where the advantages of courage were of little avail, and the bravest of the British fell an early sacrifice to an unseen enemy, where rifles were discharged from the thickets often within three or four feet of their breasts. So terrible were the ravages of these ruthless plunderers in British Caffraria, that it was stated in a memorial presented to the Government by the inhabitants of Grahamstown, dated 19th July, 1851, "that within the last six weeks 20,000 sheep, 3000 cattle, and 800 horses have been swept from the district of Somerset alone; and since the commencement of the war, 200 farm-houses, on the northeastern border, have been reduced to ashes." Deeply impressed with the total inadequacy of the force at his disposal to meet this terrible invasion, Sir Harry Smith, when the war began, called out a levy *en masse* to defend the frontier; but it was by no means generally responded to, partly from the sullen discontent which pervaded the colony from the emancipation of the Hottentots, and their own subsequent disarming; partly from the general desertion of the farm-houses by their Caffre and Hottentot servants, which rendered it impossible for the masters to leave them without ruin to their families. Thus for nine months the war was almost an uninterrupted series of disasters; the frontier was rapidly receding before the torches and rifles of the ruthless invaders; and even in Grahamstown and Cape Town great apprehensions were felt, and preparations made to resist the enemy.²

It was a deplorable proof of the prostration of the military strength of the country, that the empire should in this manner be successfully set at defiance in a colony within a few weeks' sail

of the British shore, by a tribe of naked savages. So it was, however; and it was not till the end of 1851 that, by great Progress and exertion, something like an adequate termination of the war. force was put at the disposal of the Governor. At length, however, several regiments were sent out: the 74th Highlanders arrived, and brought to the contest the experience of Indian warfare and the prestige of Indian glory, and by a succession of skillful movements the enemy were so straitened that they were at length driven into the fastnesses of the Amatola and the Water-Kloof. The enemy, however, still held these fastnesses when General Cathcart landed, and took the command in April, 1852. This able and accomplished officer, trained in the great wars of Europe of 1813 and 1814, brought to bear upon the contest strategic talents of the highest order. After a series of hard-fought combats, and undergoing excessive fatigues, the British troops at length drove the enemy entirely out of the Amatola, Water-Kloof, and Gaikee fastnesses, and forced them to retire altogether beyond the Kei River, the real frontier of British Caffraria, which in an evil hour had been abandoned. The final stroke was put to the war by the general in person, in a series of skillful operations in December, 1852, on the right bank of the Caledon River, which ended in the capture of 6000 cattle and the submission of the chief, Moshesh, the last of these predatory warriors who held out against the British. By the treaty of peace which followed, the colony was again advanced to the Kei, and a defensive frontier gained which has never since been disturbed.³

Although, however, the war, which, as General Cathcart justly observes, had been, from the beginning, rather a domestic insurrection than a foreign warfare, was thus for the time terminated, yet the heart-burnings and animosities to which it had given rise were not so easily appeased, and the Caffres nourished in secret the strongest feelings of hatred against their invaders. It is probable that these feelings, so natural to warlike and predatory tribes, whose patrimony had been in part torn from them by a foreign enemy, would have, ere long, led to a fresh calamitous outbreak, had it not been averted by an event so extraordinary that, though occurring beyond the period embraced in this History, it deserves to be mentioned as intimately connected with its events. In the year 1858 a person appeared among the Caffres who gave himself out for a prophet, and soon acquired unbounded influence over the people. He preached that their misfortunes had been owing to the wrath of the gods, for their permitting Christian missionaries to settle among them, and that they could only be appeased by their sacrificing their whole cattle upon their altars. If they did so, the prophet announced the speedy destruction of the British power, and the gift by the gods of ten head of cattle for every one so voluntarily slaughtered. The announcement was believed, and forthwith acted upon. In a few weeks forty thousand cattle were killed by their own hands; and as this occurred at a season of the year when the inhabitants had no other food to subsist upon, they were soon involved in all the horrors of famine.

¹ Gen. Cathcart to Earl Grey, Feb. 11, 1853; Cathcart's Correspondence. ² Ann. Reg. 1851, 287.

Dec. 21, 1852.

³ Cathcart's Dispatch, Jan. 13, 1853; Add. Disp. 175, 185.

51. Subsequent transactions.

From thirty to forty thousand savages are computed to have perished by this extraordinary act of self-immolation; and the survivors, in the last stage of destitution, crowded into the British territory, humbly imploring employment and food at the hands of those into whose dwellings they had so lately brought fire and sword. Immense has been the benefit which this unparalleled event has brought to the British colonists; for it has at once delivered them for a long period, perhaps forever, from their most formidable enemies, and furnished them with an ample supply of hunger-tamed laborers, who have supplied the great want experienced in that particular ever since the emancipation of the Hottentots in 1834.

IRELAND, during the period embraced in this chapter, was fast relapsing into that state of chronic agitation and disorder from which it had so often been rescued by the rude method of coercion acts. The potato blight, which had greatly abated during the years 1847 and 1848, reappeared with partial severity in 1849, and with it the burnings, predial outrages and murders, the usual accompaniments of general distress in that distracted land. So far from being grateful for the unparalleled generosity with which the British Government had acted toward them during the famine, the Irish agitators were organizing, with the utmost activity, a renewed insurrectionary movement. In the township organization there were already 500 clubs, containing 30,000 fighting men. The prolonged war in Hungary kept alive the hopes of these desperadoes; the *Nation*, their chief organ, poured forth incessant incitements to rebellion, and denounced with peculiar scorn the "vice of loyalty." The disarming bill of last session had been attended with little practical good, so sedulously had the arms been concealed by the possessors. In these circumstances Sir George Gray, on the requisition of Lord Clarendon, the Lord-Lieutenant, brought in a bill for the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act for six months longer. So strongly was the necessity of the case felt, that the bill passed the Commons by a majority of 203, there being only 18 in the minority. In the Lords it passed without a division. Various measures of pecuniary relief were at the same time passed, and a committee appointed to examine into the working of the Irish poor-law. A rate-in-aid bill, as it was called, was also, after a long debate, passed, the object of which was to extend the area of local taxation, and thereby equalize the burden of pauperism, which at present fell with undue and crushing severity on particular districts. It was evident from these measures that Government, taught by stern necessity, had at length come to see how Ireland was to be dealt with, which was to cease to make it the battle-field of parties, to repress sternly the efforts of the agitators, and do every thing possible to relieve the real distresses of the people.¹

These measures, how wise and necessary soever, did not, however, go to the root of the evil. It was to be found in the excessive redundancy of the population, the result of long misgovernment; the low price of agricultural produce, the consequence of the contraction of the currency and free trade in grain;

the impoverished state of the landed proprietors which the latter caused, and the lawless state of the country, which prevented the establishment of fisheries or manufactures in it. Nature was silently, and unobserved amidst the strife of parties, preparing a remedy—the only effectual remedy for these evils—in the extension of the currency of the world by the gold discoveries, and the diminution of the population by the prodigious emigration; but neither of these measures could affect the encumbered estates, the insolvency of which acted as a dead-weight upon the industry and energies of the country. But Sir R. Peel discovered a remedy for this evil, which, though startling and even revolutionary in its character, met with general support, and ultimately was adopted by the Legislature, from the sense entertained of its paramount necessity. The general outline of his plan was brought forward in an admirable speech, during the debate on the Rate-in-Aid Bill; and it was afterward taken up by Government, and embodied in the famous **ENCUMBERED ESTATES BILL**, which passed both Houses without a division. The object of this bill was to facilitate the sale of estates which were drowned in debt, by extricating the procedure regarding it from the delays and technicalities of the Court of Chancery, which then had the sole jurisdiction on the subject, and to induce purchasers to come forward by giving them a clear, indefeasible, parliamentary title. To effect these important objects, a commission of three persons was appointed, invested with the whole powers of the Court of Chancery for the sale of encumbered estates, with power to make regulations for their own procedure, which was to be of the simplest and most summary kind, and a sale under which was to confer upon the purchaser an absolute, indefeasible title. This bill having passed both Houses, and received the royal assent, the commission was immediately issued.¹

Beneficial as this Act has proved in its effects to society in general in Ireland, and co-operating, as it has done, with other and more general causes of amendment induced at the same time by the merciful interposition of Providence, it was attended in the first instance, in reference to the interest of individuals, and even whole classes of society, with the most flagrant and alarming injustice. The estates in the country being for the most part deeply in debt, and those which, from their insolvency, fell under the operation of the Act hopelessly so, there was in many cases a shortcoming, often of great magnitude, when the estate was brought to a forced sale, between the debts charged on the estates, and the price which was realized for them. This arose chiefly from the prodigious difference between the value of agricultural produce during the plentiful currency of the war, when the debts were contracted, or the provisions for wives and children fixed on the estates. This great difference must at any time, and under the most favorable circumstances, have produced in many cases a very large deficiency; but at this time it was still farther aggravated by the terrors excited by the potato rot, and the almost total cessation of the payment of rents, or their entire absorption in poor-rates,

¹ *Parl. Deb.* c. II. 786, c. III. 255, 318, 347; *Ann. Reg.* 1849, 86, 89.

^{54.} Working of the plan, and its great effects.

owing to the failure of that crop, and the great fall in the price of rural produce of all kinds, owing to the vast importation of grain and cattle. So great was the effect of these concurring causes, that few estates at first, when brought to sale by the Encumbered Estates Commission, realized more than fourteen, some only nine years' price of the nominal rental. The debts affecting the encumbered estates, in the form either of mortgages, jointures, or provisions to children, were estimated at £30,000,000 sterling; and as, by the Irish law, debts are preferable for principal and interest according to the dates of the registration of the deeds vouching them, the most distressing cases immediately occurred of creditors and families whose deeds had not been recorded, being totally ruined by the sale, for a third of its value, of the estate over which their security extended. Several millions of debts were lost in this way, especially in the early years of the Act's working, and unspeakable misery induced on innocent and respectable parties.

¹ Ann. Reg. 1849, 86, 87; Report of Commissioners, September 1, 1858.

The bill, however, continued in operation, and the Commissioners worked it with diligence and fidelity. As prices rose, and the country became tranquilized by the effects of the prodigious emigration, the purchase-money rapidly rose, and in seven years came to twenty-eight or thirty years' purchase of the rental, then greatly augmented. Then the injustice to creditors ceased, for they were nearly all paid in full; and the benefit of a transfer of a considerable part of the land of the country, unencumbered, to new hands, possessed of more capital than the old insolvents, was strongly felt. From the Act coming into operation (25th October, 1849), to 31st August, 1858, the estates brought to sale had realized £23,160,000; the lots sold had been 11,000, and the amount distributed to creditors £21,934,000! So immense a transfer of landed property by forced sales can only be paralleled by the confiscation of the estates of the emigrant noblesse in France by the decrees of the Convention. But the injustice done in Ireland by this indispensable revolutionary measure was far less than resulted in France from the sale of the confiscated estates: the purchase-money realized gradually came to pay off the whole encumbrances in full; and the increased rural activity, induced by the expenditure of capital by the new proprietors, is to be reckoned as one of the causes of the marked and extraordinary improvement which took place in the condition of Ireland after the crisis was past, which will forever render memorable the middle of the nineteenth century.²

The foreign affairs of Great Britain during the period embraced in this chapter were chiefly remarkable for the narrow escape which the country made from a war, first with Russia, and soon after with France and Russia united, when in a state, as the event afterward proved, little qualified to maintain a contest with either taken separately. The origin of the dispute was a demand made by the cabinets of St. Petersburg and Vienna, jointly, for the extradition of Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, and a large body of Hungarian and Polish exiles, who

had crossed the frontier of Servia, and taken refuge in the Turkish dominions, after the capitulation of Georgey in the preceding autumn. The two powers made a formal demand upon the Sultan for the surrender to them of these fugitives, upon the ground that they were not ordinary enemies, but subjects of their own who had been guilty of high treason, and should be given up to the power whose laws they had offended. This demand the Porte resisted, alleging in support of their refusal that the fugitives had been guilty of no violation of the Turkish laws, and of no machinations against either Austria or Russia while on Turkish territory, and that to require them in these circumstances to be given up was to demand an outrage upon the laws of hospitality, and their own degradation as an independent power. Russia, however, persisted in her demand; and as the Turkish Government adhered to their refusal, Baron Titoff and Count Sturmers intimated to the Porte that all diplomatic intercourse with them had ceased. In this extremity the Sultan applied to the English and French Governments for succor, and they were perfectly united in supporting him. The English fleet in the Mediterranean, accordingly, received orders to make sail for the Dardanelles; and they arrived there in the beginning of December, under the command of Admiral Parker. Matters now looked very serious; for the British fleet, as it was said, owing to stress of weather, which rendered it dangerous at that season to lie outside, passed the Straits, and lay inside the Dardanelles. This, according to the letter of the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, was a *casus belli*; and if the Russians had chosen, they might have treated it as such, and declared war. The firm attitude of the British and French Governments, however, prevented a collision; the cabinet of St. Petersburg was not prepared for immediate hostilities; and after some negotiations it receded from its demand, and the exiles were not disturbed in their retreat. To justify their protection, however, the Turkish Government intimated to the fugitives that they had better embrace the Mohammedan religion. Kossuth returned an evasive answer, and avoided compliance; but Dembinski and Bem made no scruples, and became Mussulmans, saying it was their vocation to fight the Russians, and not to enter into disputes about religion! Times were changed since Zriny defended the towers of Sigeth against the army of Solymán the Magnificent, and John Sobieski hastened with the Polish *pospolite* to raise the siege of Vienna, beleaguered by the Turkish host.¹

¹ Ann. Reg. 1849, 843; Lord Palmerston's Speech, Dec. 1850, 93; Parl. Deb. c. 1v. 127, 132.

Hardly had the country escaped from this danger when another peril arose from the assertion of pretensions on the part of the British Government, neither so much called for by national honor nor so justifiable by the law of nations. A diplomatic correspondence had for some time been going on between the British Government and that of Greece in regard to certain claims of the former, founded partly on an alleged act of injustice of the King of Greece to a British subject, and partly on injuries said to have been inflicted on another British subject by an Athenian mob. The facts alleged were, that King Otho, in the course of clearing the

^{57.} Origin of the quarrel with the Greek Government.

^{58.} Difference with Russia in regard to the Hungarian refusal.

ground for the construction of a palace near Athens, had taken part of a garden belonging to Mr. Finlay, a British subject long settled in Greece, and had refused to give any adequate compensation; and that another British subject, but a Portuguese by birth, Don Pacifico, had had his house broken into and plundered by a Greek mob, and no redress had yet been obtained, either from the parties implicated in the outrage or the Government of Greece. The Government of Athens answered that they were willing to give a reasonable compensation, and that they would agree to the settlement of the claim by arbitration; but that the demand made was exorbitant, and twenty times what was really due; and this was warmly supported by the Cabinet of the Tuileries, who tendered their good offices to adjust the dispute. This, however, did not suit the views of Lord Palmerston, who was resolved to carry matters with a high hand, and extort immediate concessions to the demands of England at the cannon's mouth. Accordingly, he sent orders to Admiral Parker, who was returning from the Dardanelles with the British squadron, to make sail for Athens. He accordingly did so, and anchored off the Piræus with fifteen ships of war, repeating in the name of his Government a peremptory demand for the reparation sought; and on its being

¹ Per Lord Palmerston, May 12, 1850; An. Reg. 1850, 61; Parl. Debates, c. still withheld, it was formally notified to the captain of a vessel of war lying in the Piræus, that the harbor was placed in a state of blockade.¹

This demand thus enforced was clearly a violation of the law of nations, and an unjustifiable stretch of power by the stronger against the weaker. It never was heard of before that the claims of *private* individuals of different countries against each other, or the Government of either, could be made the subject of national demand, or be enforced at the cannon's mouth. The English never thought of calling the Government of the United States, or the Republics of South America, to account for the many millions of British capital which had been lost by the North American repudiation of their debts, or the "universal insolvency" of the "healthy young republics of the southern parts of that hemisphere." If such a doctrine were admitted into the law of nations, private debts would universally be made a pretext of public wars, and society would revert to the barbarous state when family feuds or individual wrongs kept nations in constant hostility. The French Government accordingly viewed the matter in this light; for having demanded explanations, and received none that were satisfactory, they instructed their ambassador at the Court of London, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, to leave that capital, which he accordingly did; and at the same time the Russian minister, Baron Brunow,

declined an invitation to dinner at Lord Palmerston's. These two powers were acting entirely in concert, as joint guarantees, by the treaty of 15th July, 1824, with Great Britain, of the independence of Greece. War seemed inevitable, or rather already begun, between England and the two greatest of the Continental powers.²

The announcement that the French embassa-

dor had left London, and that the Russian was preparing to follow his example, which was made in London on the 15th May, created, as well it might, a prodigious sensation. Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby), in a powerful and eloquent speech brought the subject before the House of Lords, calling on them to clear the character of a great nation, which had been prostituted by an attempt to enforce unjust demands upon a weak and defenseless State. The Government was strongly supported by Lord Lansdowne and the whole Whig party, but the motion of Lord Stanley was carried by a majority of 87—the numbers being 169 to 122. This hostile majority, in a House which had been so largely recruited from the Whig ranks during the last twenty years, made a great impression on the country, and a change of ministry was generally contemplated. Lord Palmerston tendered his resignation to Lord John Russell on the following morning; but the Premier declined to accept it till the opinion of the House of Commons was taken on the subject. They were not long of coming to the rescue. On the 20th June Mr. Roebuck gave notice of a motion approving the foreign policy of Government, which came on for discussion on the following day, and led to an important debate. In the course of it Lord Palmerston vindicated the aggressive policy he had pursued, by appealing to the old Roman saying when its citizens were brought to trial in a foreign land, "*Civis Romanus sum*;" a maxim more suitable to the ancient republican masters of the world than to a state such as Britain, surrounded by powerful and jealous monarchical neighbors. His speech on that occasion, which occupied four hours and a half in delivering, was one of the most powerful and effective ever made within the walls of Parliament. The House, after a debate of four nights, divided, when Government had a majority of 46—the numbers being 310 to 264. This victory prolonged the life of the Administration. The whole strength of the united Liberal and Roman Catholic party supported Ministers on this occasion.¹

As the House of Commons by so large a majority supported Ministers on this question, and brought the nation to the verge of a war with France and Russia united, it is worth while to examine what preparation they had made to sustain a war with these two powers. This is now ascertained by authentic evidence. From the return presented to the House of Commons on 5th June, 1857, on the motion of Mr. Sidney Herbert, it appears that the total military force voted by Parliament was, for 1850, exclusive of those in India, 99,128, of whom 39,730 were required for the colonies, leaving only 59,398 for service in the British Islands. Nor was the state of the navy more satisfactory; for the men and boys voted for the sea service in that year were only 39,000; and by no efforts could five sail of the line, *adequately manned*, have been collected in the Channel to protect the British shores from invasion. On the other hand, the Russians had 25 sail of the line constantly manned and equipped in the Baltic, and 15 in the Euxine; and France had 53,000 men ready to man 20 sail of the line, and

^{59.} Proceedings in Parliament on this subject.

¹ Parl. Deb. c. xii. 102, 739; An. Reg. 1850, 83, 68.

^{60.} Military and naval armaments of the empire at this period.

as many frigates and war-steamers to join in the crusade. And the danger was averted by no other means but abandonment by Great Britain of the pretensions she had in so heedless a manner advanced. After all this discussion, Lord Palmerston quietly succumbed, and agreed to

¹ Return, June 5, 1857, Commons; Parl. Debates, c. xli. 878, 472.

submit the disputed claims to arbitration, as France had all along urged; and the matter ended by the arbiters giving about a thirtieth part of the sums originally demanded.¹

The speech of Sir R. Peel during this debate

^{61.} was one of the most brilliant which he ever delivered, and it was attended with one mournful peculiarity—it was his last. Within a few hours

after, on the 29th June, as Sir R. Peel was riding up Constitution Hill, he was unfortunately thrown from his horse, and severely hurt. He was carried home, and the best surgical aid immediately obtained, but in vain; for after lingering in great pain for some days, he expired at eleven o'clock on the 1st July. It is impossible to describe the impression which this melancholy event produced on the country, or the universal grief with which the intelligence of it was received. The news of his death created as great a sensation abroad as it did in this country. The Queen was desirous to make Lady Peel a peeress, as had been done with Lady Canning under similar circumstances, but she declined it, agreeably to the expressed wish of her deceased husband. All parties concurred in the eloquent peroration of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons: "Though he has died full of years and of honors, yet it is a death which, in human eyes, is premature; for we had fondly hoped that whatever position Providence might still assign to him, by the weight of his ability, by the splen-

dor of his talents, and the purity of his virtues, he might still have been spared to render service to his country."²

Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet's silvery sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill."

The only other matter of general importance

^{62.} which came before Parliament in this session was a measure for the franchise change in the electoral qualification in the counties of Ireland.

The proposition of Government was that the franchise should be lowered from £10 a year of rated value, which it at present was, to £8. The ground on which this demand was made was the great diminution which had taken place of late years in the number of registered voters in that island, which was found, by the returns presented to Parliament, to have declined from 208,000 to 72,000. The motion was strongly opposed in both Houses, as being virtually a new reform bill, placing the constituency of Ireland on a different footing from what it was in any other part of the empire. An amendment was proposed, on the one hand, to lower the franchise for the counties to £5 rating, and on the other to raise it to £15. Lord John Russell, however, on the part of Government, resisted both these changes, and at length the matter ended in the rating of £8 a year being adopted as the standard both in boroughs and counties. It afforded

a melancholy picture of the state to which Ireland had been reduced under the combined operations of the potato famine and the free admission of foreign grain, that it became necessary for the authors of the Reform Bill, and the supporters of free trade, to lower the suffrage, in order to prevent the constituency : Parl. Deb. c. dwindling away to nothing—to a ix. 818, 354; level scarcely equal to the annual Ann. Reg. maintenance of an English pauper.¹ 1850, 102, 109.

It is remarkable that the question upon which the Government was most decidedly

in the wrong was the one on which ^{63.} Circumstances which led to Lord Palmerston's removal from office. they ultimately went to issue with their opponents, and on which a change of ministry for a brief period soon after took place. It is still

more remarkable that this change took its origin, not in consequence of a defeat on any of the great questions of the day, but of a matter personal to one of the cabinet ministers. Lord Palmerston, who had so long conducted the foreign affairs of the country, had become so much elated by the triumphant majority which had carried him through on the Greek question, that he was not only complained of by his colleagues for carrying on matters in his department too exclusively of his own authority, but even fell under the censure of his sovereign for not making her sufficiently acquainted with important public measures, and altering some state papers in material passages after they had been submitted to her approval. In addition to this, the Premier complained of some expressions used by the Foreign Secretary to the Hungarian refugees, as likely to disturb the peace of Europe, and of a conversation held by him with the French ambassador in London regarding the *coup-d'état* of December 2, 1851, repugnant to the tenor of the instructions sent by the Government to their ambassador at Paris, which was to abstain from all interference whatever in the affairs of France. The result was that Lord John Russell felt it his duty to recommend to her Majesty to remove Lord Palmerston from office, which was accordingly done, and Lord Granville was appointed his successor.²

So far Lord John Russell was successful in maintaining the system of non-in-

terference in the affairs of foreign ^{64.} Defeat of the Ministry on the Militia Bill. nations, which was the only true policy for the country, and getting quit of a rival in the cabinet, whose

abilities he perhaps had some reason to dread. But he had an experienced and skillful antagonist to deal with. Lord Palmerston ere long had his revenge. Notwithstanding the extreme reluctance of the majority of the House of Commons to any augmentation of the army or navy estimates, the Government felt so strongly the perilous position in which the country was now placed in presence of the Sovereign of France, whose intentions were as yet unknown, that they felt it absolutely necessary to adopt some measure which might in some degree strengthen the national defenses. Accordingly, on 16th February, 1852, Lord John Russell brought in a bill, the object of which was to establish a *local* militia of 70,000 men in England, in addition to a trifling addition of 4000 infantry and 1000 artillery to the regular army. The troops were only

to be called out for a few weeks in the year, and in the first instance the cost would be only £200,000 a year. In the second year, however, the force was to be raised to 100,000, and in the third to 180,000, still, however, on the footing of a local militia. Lord Palmerston, who, notwithstanding his daring foreign policy, was fully alive to the defenseless state of the country, and was more conversant than the prime minister with the necessity of *permanent* embodiment toward the formation of an efficient military force, moved as an amendment, that the word "local" should be left out of the bill, besides other alterations of a less important character. The object of this was to render the proposed militia a permanent force, differing from the line only in not being bound to serve out of the country. Probably Lord John Russell was too well versed in history not to know that this species of force was much more likely to be efficient than the other; but he stood too much in awe of the members for the manufacturing towns, and deemed the finances of the country not sufficiently recovered from their long-continued depression to acquiesce in the amendment. He resisted it, accordingly, with the whole weight of Government; but a coalition having been formed between the Conservative opposition and Lord Palmerston's personal friends, the Premier was thrown into a minority, on a division, of 9, the numbers being 135 to 126. Upon this, Lord John Russell threw up the bill, assigning as his reason for

Feb. 23. doing so, that the vote of the House was substantially one of want of confidence in the administration, and that he could no longer conduct the Government when he had lost the power of carrying its measures. The result was that the whole ministry resigned; and the Queen having sent for the Earl of Derby (formerly Lord Stanley), he, with some hesitation, undertook to form an administration, the members of which 1852, 21, 29. were announced shortly after.*

The EARL OF DERBY, who was now called to the chief direction of affairs, has not Lord Derby on this occasion, or since that time, as an orator. been so long in office as to enable a just estimate to be formed of his merits as a statesman, and it will belong to a future historian to pronounce a judgment on that subject. But there is one quality he possessed, which already had become so conspicuous that a confident opinion may even now be pronounced upon it. He is, beyond all doubt, and by the admis-

sion of all parties, the most perfect orator of his day. His style of speaking differs essentially from that of the great statesmen of his own or the preceding age. His leading feature is neither the vehement declamation of Fox, nor the lucid narrative of Pitt, nor the classical fancy of Canning, nor the varied energy of Brougham. Capable, when he chose, of rivaling any of these, illustrious in the line in which they excelled, the native bent of his mind leads him rather to a combination of their varied excellencies than an imitation of any one of them. In many respects he is a more perfect and winning orator than any of his predecessors. His eloquence presents a combination of opposite and seemingly inconsistent excellencies, but which combine in a surprising manner to form a graceful and attractive whole. At once playful and serious, eloquent and instructive, amusing and pathetic, his thoughts seem to flow from his lips in an unpremeditated stream, which at once delights and fascinates his hearers. None was ever tired while his speech lasted; no one ever saw him come to a conclusion without regret. He is capable at times of rising to the highest flights of eloquence, is always thoroughly master of the subject on which he speaks, and never fails to place his views in the clearest and most favorable light; but the natural bent of his mind is to win the assent of his hearers by the charm of his fancy or the delicacy of his satire, rather than sweep away their judgment by the torrent of his oratory.

Lord Derby's cabinet, by the admission even of its adversaries, was composed of men of distinguished abilities. As 66. His Cabinet. a leader of the House of Commons, armed at all points in the panoply of talent, Mr. Disraeli stood pre-eminent; and if his peculiar and great sarcastic talents had not such a field for their exercise as when he was the chief of the Opposition, he had a still more favorable opportunity of exhibiting his vast stores of information and practiced powers of debate. Lord Malmesbury conducted the foreign affairs of the country with judgment and temper, and in the most conciliatory spirit—qualities of the highest importance in regaining the confidence of the European powers, whose jealousies had been generally awakened, or hostility produced, by the aggressive propensities of his predecessor; and Sir John Pakington, in the important situation of colonial secretary, exhibited an amount of information on these great and varied interests, and judgment in dealing with them, which won for him universal confidence. The days of this administration, however, were numbered from the hour when they first ascended to power: not from distrust of the nation in their capacity for government, but from an opinion generally entertained, and sedulously inculcated by their opponents, that they were in secret adverse to the new principles, and that the ascendancy of the urban class, in whom the Reform Bill had vested the government of the country, would be endangered by their continuance in office.

In one particular of vital importance, as it ultimately turned out, to the character and safety of the country, a great and salutary change was introduced. The state of the national defenses, to which the attention of Parliament had at length been

67. Embodying of the militia, and increase of the military forces of the country.

* THE MINISTRY OF THE EARL OF DERBY.
Cabinet.

First Lord of the Treasury... Earl of Derby.
Lord-Chancellor..... Lord St. Leonards.
Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Disraeli.
President of the Council..... Earl of Lonsdale.
Privy Seal..... Marquis of Salisbury.
Home Secretary..... Rt. Hon. Spencer Walpole.
Foreign Secretary..... Earl of Malmesbury.
Colonial Secretary..... Sir John Pakington.
First Lord of the Admiralty.. Duke of Northumberland.
President of Board of Control. Rt. Hon. John Herries.
President of Board of Trade.. Rt. Hon. Joseph Henley.
Postmaster-General..... Earl of Hardwicke.

Not in the Cabinet.

Commander-in-Chief..... Duke of Wellington.
Master-General of Ordnance. Lord Hardinge.
Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland... Earl of Eglinton.
Attorney-General..... Sir F. Theobald.
Solicitor-General..... Sir Fitzroy Kelly.
—Parl. Deb., clix., Introduction.

aroused, early occupied their serious attention, and a bill was introduced into Parliament for embodying the militia in England, to the extent of 80,000 men, to be raised in the first instance by voluntary enlistment, and, failing that, by ballot. Scotland and Ireland were, in the mean time, excluded from the operation of the bill. It was warmly supported in the Commons by Lord Palmerston, who said with truth, "it was impossible to over-estimate the importance of this bill," and it passed the House by a majority of 187 to 142, notwithstanding a fierce opposition from Sir de Lacy Evans and the Radical members. In the Lords, the bill passed without a division; but not before it had called forth

a powerful and invaluable speech from the Duke of Wellington, memorable as being the last, of any moment, he ever delivered in Parliament.^{1*}

Meanwhile Lord Hardinge was actively engaged in measures to augment the regular army in that department in which it had become most inefficient. When he came into office he found only *forty guns* in the island and capable of service, and most of these would have gone to pieces the first time they had got into a clay-field. By the indefatigable exertions of that able officer the number of guns fit for service was, by the end of the year, raised to 200; and this was the train which upheld the national honor in the siege of Sebastopol. Such was the anxiety of that gallant soldier on the subject, that he could speak and think of nothing else;² and while the peace

party in Manchester and Liverpool were resisting every attempt to augment the national defenses, and dreaming only of pacific influences, the hero of Albuera and Ferozeshah spent sleep-

¹ "I am certainly the last man," said the Duke of Wellington on this memorable occasion, "to have any hesitation of opinion as to the relative advantages of meeting an enemy with disciplined or half-disciplined troops. The things are not to be compared at all. With disciplined troops you are acting with a certain degree of confidence, that what they are ordered to perform they will perform. With undisciplined troops you can have no such confidence; on the contrary, the chances are that they will do the very reverse of what they are ordered to. Look at the state in which we stand at the present moment. We are at peace with the whole world; but who can say how long that peace will last? Our peace establishment should have in contemplation future wars, and this should have been provided for long ago. It is futility to expect any thing from troops after only a month or six weeks' training. *We have never up to this moment maintained a proper peace establishment*: that is the real truth; and we are now in such a position that we can no longer carry on that system, and we must have a suitable peace establishment. I tell you that, for the last ten years, you have never had more men in your armies than were sufficient to relieve your sentries in the different parts of the world; such is the state of your peace establishment. You have been carrying on war in all parts of the globe, in the different stations, by means of your peace establishment: yet on that establishment you have not more men than are necessary to relieve the sentries and regiments on foreign service, some of which have been twenty-five years abroad. In the last war we had several militia regiments in the field, and they were as fine and highly-disciplined a body of men as I ever saw. Every thing must have a beginning, and the militia now proposed to be established is that beginning. The eighty thousand men now proposed to be raised will, in time, become what their predecessors have been, and form an invaluable auxiliary to the regular army."—*Parl. Deb.*, cxxii. 728, 731. *Ann. Reg.*, 1852, p. 65, 67.

less nights ruminating on the imminent peril of a misled and infatuated people.

The House of Commons acted with the forbearance, to the new Ministry, which they usually exercise toward a young speaker. They gave them a fair trial. It was understood and tacitly agreed to, that no measures not absolutely necessary should be brought forward till the sense of the country was taken on the comparative claims of the two rival parties to power; and that, to such as were indispensable, no mere party opposition should be offered. Both parties honorably abided by this understanding. Parliament was prorogued on July 1st, and next day the House of Commons was dissolved by royal proclamation. The general election which ensued was conducted on both sides with great keenness, but happily without the violence or intimidation which had so often of late years disgraced the people of both islands. Bribery and corruption, however, were carried on to an extent unknown on any former occasion; and it was hard to say which of the two contending parties attained the greatest eminence in this unenviable particular. No less than fifty-two petitions were presented against the return of members in the new House—a number as yet unprecedented. One thing, however, was very remarkable in the elections: none of the Conservative candidates, not even those most strongly wedded heretofore to protection principles, were bound to maintain them on the hustings. They either professed themselves converts at the eleventh hour to the new opinions, or passed them over in silence, saying they no longer contested the matter out of deference to general opinion. The general prosperity, the result in reality of the gold discoveries, which had begun to affect prices in the preceding year, and were in full operation in this, was invariably ascribed by the free-trade party to their measures; and this obtained such general credence, that any resistance to it was out of the question. Whatever posterity might say on the subject, it was evident that, in the opinion of the great majority of the constituency at this time, free trade was a specific for all the evils under which the nation labored.¹

The new Parliament met on the 4th November. By mutual consent, the trial of strength was reserved for the budget, which Mr. Disraeli had been preparing during the recess, and which in one respect involved an important financial principle. An addition of 6000 men was, in spite of the violent resistance of Mr.

Hume and the peace party, voted for the navy, in order to lay the foundation of a Channel fleet, and 2000 men and 1000 horses for the artillery. But the great resistance was reserved for the budget. Mr. Disraeli proposed a reduction of the duty on tea from 2s. 2d. to 1s. a pound, by progressive reductions during six years, of half the present duties on hops, and half the malt tax. Altogether, the reductions proposed amounted to between three and four millions. So far all were agreed; but when he came to the new taxes to supply the deficiency thus created, the case was very different. The income tax was

¹ *Ann. Reg.* 1852, 123, 127.

^{70.} The Budget, upon which Lord Derby is defeated, and he resigns, and the Whigs return to office.

to be continued, at least for another year, and Ireland included in it, that island being taken at the moderate sum of £60,000, while Great Britain was £5,420,000. But then came another proposed tax, at which the British urban constituencies immediately took fire. He proposed that the house-tax, which at present did not descend below houses rated at £20, should be extended to those rated at £10 and upward. In support of this change, he reminded the House that, since 1832, the inhabited houses of Great Britain had been relieved of direct taxes amounting to £3,080,000, besides indirect taxes, of which more than half fell on them, amounting to £17,000,000 more; while the landed interest, which paid exclusive taxes to the amount of £13,000,000 a year, had obtained the remission of none of them. "Who can justify a house-tax," said he, "the operation of which is limited to houses of £20 value?" It was all in vain; the urban constituencies, threatened with an approximation to the dire scourge of equal taxation, said, "We can justify it." No sooner was the dreaded change announced than meetings got up in all the chief boroughs of the kingdom, and the most peremptory and significant instructions were sent to their representatives to make every effort to throw out the hated measure. The result was, that, after an animated debate of four nights, the budget was rejected by a majority of 19, the numbers being 305 to 286. Next day

the Earl of Derby and all the ministers resigned their offices, and 1570, 1703; Lord John Russell, with the whole Whig administration, were, as a matter of course, reinstated.¹

Two events of a calamitous nature occurred in this year, which forcibly attracted the attention of the country and of Europe. The first of these was the burning of the *Amazon*, a magnificent steamer of 2250 tons burden, having on board, including crew and passengers, 210 persons, in the Bay of Biscay, on the 4th January. Among the passengers lost on this melancholy occasion was the gifted and eloquent Mr. Elliot Warburton, whose recent work, *The Crescent and the Cross*, had already attained, and has since maintained, a European reputation. A large vessel passed within 300 yards of the burning ship, and was hailed with the energy of despair by the unhappy crew, but it rendered no assistance. If this heartless conduct makes us blush, the next catastrophe makes us proud of human nature. The *Birkenhead* steamer had been dispatched with detachments from several regiments, amounting to 18 officers, 466 men, and 20 women and children, in all, with the crew, 630 persons, to reinforce their respective corps in Caffraria. She sailed from England on the 5th January, and from Simon's Bay, at the Cape, on the 23d February, and was proceeding on her way, when, at two next morning, she struck on a sunken rock within sight of the shore, and shortly after went to pieces. There were six life-boats on board, but one was swamped in endeavoring to lower it, and two could not be got loose from their moorings. Thus only three boats were available, capable at the very utmost of holding 78 persons out of 630. The scene which ensued must be given in the words of one of the survivors of the wreck.

"Mr. Salmond, the captain of the vessel, gave orders to Colonel Seton, of the 74th Highlanders, to send the troops to the chain-pumps, which was immediately done. The women and children were calmly placed in the cutter, which lay alongside under charge of an officer, and pulled off to a short distance to be free from the rush. In this awful moment the resolution and coolness of all on board were very remarkable, far exceeding any thing which could have been conceived possible from the most exact discipline. Not a cry nor a murmur was heard among them, even when the vessel made her final plunge. All the officers received their orders, and had them carried out as if the men were embarking instead of going to the bottom, with this difference only, that I never saw an embarkation conducted with so little noise and confusion. When the vessel was first going down, the commander called out, 'All those that can swim, jump overboard and make for the boats.' We begged the men not to do as the commander said, as the boat with the women must be swamped if they reached it. Not more than three left their ranks and made the attempt." Only 194 were saved of the 630 persons on board when the vessel struck, and of these 7 were women and 13 children, being the whole of those on board. The names of the officers are given below; would that it were possible to give the names of the soldiers also, to be ennobled in the proudest niche of their country's glory.* And with this memorable deed of heroism, more glorious than the rush of the charge or the ascent of the breach, because more generous and disinterested, the author closes his long narrative of the deeds of his countrymen during the wars of the French Revolution.¹

1 Captain Wright's Narrative—an Eye-witness; Ann. Reg. 1852, 468, 473; Rem. Occurrences.

It will belong to a succeeding historian to narrate the wonderful spring which the country made during the five years which followed 1852, under the influence of the gold discoveries in America and Australia; but a brief notice of them is here indispensable, in order to explain the main causes which were in full operation in that year, when the general election took place and free trade was finally adopted as the system of the nation. It is well known that, in consequence of the extension of the American dominion over Texas in 1848, and the war with Mexico which ensued, the peninsula of California was ceded to the United States, and became a part of the Union. The Spaniards, thirsting for gold, had been there for three hundred years, and the gold was mixed with the alluvial sand under their feet, but they never found it out. Before the Americans had been there six months it was discovered, and the face of the world was changed. Miners speedily flocked to this *El Dorado* from all parts of America, and many of Europe, and the progress which ensued

73. The gold discoveries in California and Australia in 1850 and 1851.

* They were Cornets Bond and Rolt, 13th Lancers; Ensign Boylan, Queen's Royals; 6th Reg.; Ensign Mitford; 12th, Captain Blake; 43d, Lieutenant Girardol; 45th, one officer; 73d, Lieutenants Robinson and Booth, and Ensign Quear; 74th, Lieutenant-Colonel Seton and Ensign Russell; 91st, Captain Wright and Staff-Surgeon Brown. Captain Wright, Lieutenants Girardol and Lucan, Cornet Brown, and Staff-Surgeon, alone were saved.—CAPTAIN WRIGHT'S NARRATIVE; Ann. Reg., 1852, p. 473, 476.

was so rapid that it would be deemed fabulous if not ascertained by authentic evidence. In February, 1849, the population of Europeans in the State was 2000; in June, 1852, it was already 182,000; and in 1856 it had risen to 560,000. Soon after this great discovery had been made, a similar vein of prosperity was opened in Australia. Gold was there discovered in 1849, in the alluvial plains near Ballarat, and this led to a general search in the vicinity, and the precious article was soon found in great quantities. The effects were immediately the same as they had been in California. Population and wealth enormously increased, and the emigration to it in 1854 rose to 87,000 persons; the exports turned £14,000,000, being about £28 a head; and the gold obtained amounted to the enormous value of £15,000,000.

The annual supply of gold and silver for the use of the globe was, by these discoveries, suddenly increased from an average of £10,000,000 to one of £35,000,000! The words of poetic genius were more than realized. "Methinks, as I gaze around, I see the scheme of the All-beneficent Father disentangling itself clear through the troubled history of mankind. How mysteriously, while Europe rears its populations and fulfills its civilizing mission, these realms, which have been concealed from its eyes, divulged to us just as civilization needs the solution to its problem; a vent for feverish energies, baffled in the crowd, offering bread to the famished, hope to the desperate, in very truth;" enabling the New World to redress the balance of the Old.¹ Here the actual *Æneid* passes before our eyes. From the hearts of the exiles scattered over this hardier Italy, who can not see in the future

A race from whence New Albion's sons shall come,
And the long glories of a future Rome?"

Most of all did Great Britain and Ireland experience the wonderful effects of this great addition to the circulating medium of our globe. That which for five-and-twenty years had been awanting—a currency commensurate to the increased numbers and transactions of the civilized world, was now supplied by the beneficent hand of Nature. The era of a contracted currency, and consequent low prices and general misery, interrupted by passing gleams of prosperity, was at an end. Prices rapidly rose; wages advanced in a similar proportion; exports and imports enormously increased, while crime and misery as rapidly diminished. Emigration itself, which had reached 368,000 persons a year, sank to little more than half the amount. Wheat rose from 40s. to 65s.; but the

wages of labor of every kind advanced in nearly as great a proportion: they were found to be about 80 per cent. higher, on an average, than they had been five years before. In Ireland the change was still greater, and probably unequalled in so short a time in the annals of history. Wages of country labor rose from 4d. a day to 1s. 6d. or 2s.; convicted crime sank nearly a half; and the increased growth of cereal crops, under the genial influences of these advanced prices, was as rapid as its previous decline since 1846 had been. At the same time, decisive evidence was afforded that all this sudden burst of prosperity was the result of the expanded currency, and by no means of free trade, in the fact that it did not appear till the gold discoveries came into operation, and then it was fully as great in the protected as in the free-trade states.*

The Duke of Wellington, full of years and honor, died of an affection of the head, on the 18th September. The body was brought to London on November 10, it being resolved, in obedience to the universal voice of the nation, to give him a public funeral. No words can convey an idea of the excitement which pervaded the metropolis and the country when the appointed day drew near, and England was to bestow the last honors on her greatest hero. Despite storms and floods of severity unusual even in the gloomy month of November, multitudes flocked to the metropolis from every part of the country; and before the 18th, which was the day fixed for the mournful ceremony, it was calculated that at least five hundred thousand persons had been added to the two millions and a half which already formed the population of the metropolis. In London nothing was heard of for days before but preparations for the mournful pageant, which was to pass from the Horse-Guards up Constitution Hill, and from thence, by Piccadilly, St. James Street, Pall-Mall, and the Strand, to St. Paul's, where the most magnificent preparations had been made for its reception. Seats for above 200,000 persons were provided along this long line, which were disposed of at very high rates. In a word, as was well expressed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the feeling was so strong and universal that "a peaceful people had become inspired with warlike enthusiasm, a practical people with sentiment, and a busy people had resolved to sacrifice a day to give expression to the universal feeling."

The morning of the 18th November, 1852, as that of the 18th June, 1815, opened gloomily. A deluge of rain had fallen during the preceding night, and the lowering clouds presented a melancholy prospect for the approaching day. Nothing, however, could damp the universal

* EXPORTS, IMPORTS, CONVICTED CRIMINALS, EMIGRANTS, AND PRICE OF WHEAT IN GREAT BRITAIN, FROM 1852 TO 1857.

Years.	Exports— Declared Value. United Kingdom.	Imports— Real Value.	Convicted Criminals. United Kingdom.	Emigrants.	Passers.	Wheat per Quarter.
1852	£ 78,976,574	£ 109,331,159	49,215	368,764	718,822	s. d. 39 6
1853	98,923,781	123,099,313	45,917	329,937	774,214	43 10
1854	97,184,786	152,339,053	45,141	323,429	864,617	73 7
1855	95,688,065	143,542,830	38,614	176,807	897,686	70 1
1856	115,926,949	172,544,154	30,249	176,564	917,084	72 8
1857	122,066,107	187,844,441	31,319	212,875	885,010	69 1

—Stat. Abst., WHITMARSH, VI. 465.

passion to see the approaching spectacle. By four in the morning, carriages were to be heard in every direction, conveying the noblest, the most celebrated, and the fairest, to their selected places in the cathedral, in the clubs or private dwellings in the line which the procession was to pass. By six every one not detained by sorrow or sickness was astir; and the balconies and seats prepared for their reception were by eight all filled with respectable persons clad in mourning. All the club-houses and principal mansions on the line of the procession were hung with black cloth. The streets, before the procession began to move, were crowded to excess; in Waterloo Place there were not less than eighty, in Trafalgar Square above a hundred thousand. Throughout the line the procession was to move, even from Apsley House to St. Paul's, a distance of fully three miles, not a crevice was unoccupied in the streets; the windows were filled with respectably-dressed persons, all in deep mourning; the very roofs were covered by spectators, who risked their lives to obtain a glimpse of the pageant beneath. On the whole line, it was computed that not less than a million and a half of human beings were collected together. Yet, though so great a multitude was assembled, there was no jarring or confusion; each took his place in order and silence, as if the discipline and spirit of the mighty commander had animated the immense mass; and so admirable had been the arrangements of the police, and so numerous the opportunities afforded by the length of the line for viewing the procession, that not one person, even of the humblest, was disappointed in the means of seeing it.

At ten o'clock the clouds dispersed, and the sun shone forth in uncommon splendor, which continued during the whole remainder of the day. The procession itself was well calculated to satisfy all expectations, and give a memorable proof at once of the power and grandeur, and of the deep feelings of the British people on the occasion. The first and noblest in the land were there, of all parties and persuasions. Prince Albert occupied a conspicuous place; the Duke of Cambridge had the military command of all the troops employed on the occasion; the Duke of Norfolk, as hereditary Earl-Marshal of England, regulated the array. Both Houses of Parliament attended, in uncommonly full muster. The splendid array of the Horse and Foot Guards attracted universal admiration; the latter, presenting as numerous and imposing a column as that which defeated the Old Guard at Waterloo, headed the procession. His own regiments, the Rifles and the 83d, entire, and detachments from every corps of artillery, cavalry, and infantry in the service, followed in succession. All the ambassadors, and the whole *corps diplomatique* of Europe, were present. That of France even attended, in a noble spirit; the British did not feel less warmly to their old and worthy antagonists for their conduct on this occasion. The whole superior officers of the English army, and representatives from all the monarchs of Europe, save Austria, were present. An unworthy feeling of irritation at the recent policy of England caused the Government of Vi-

enna to withhold an expression of respect which none felt more sincerely than its brave and loyal inhabitants. Many veterans who had fought with Wellington during the war followed his remains to the grave; but not the least moving spectacle was the charger of the deceased, led by his old and faithful groom, with his boots and spurs, reversed, suspended in the stirrups.

All the ministers of state, judges, and public functionaries of the realm were present. There was to be seen the Marquis of Anglesea, who, albeit past eighty-four, and bereft of a limb at Waterloo, still exhibited a spirit and vigor beyond his years; and Lord Hardinge, whose iron soul had saved the Peninsula at Albuera, and India at Ferozeshah. The keen glance of Sir Charles Napier bespoke the hero who had contended against ten-fold odds at Meeanee; Sir William Napier, though wounded and broken by sickness, exhibited the spirit which shone forth in every page of his *History of the Peninsular War*. Lord Gough, who had added lustre to the long line of Indian triumphs at Goojerat; Lord Combermere, the hero of Bhurtpore, and companion-in-arms of Wellington; and Lord Seaton, who commanded the 51st Regiment in the last attack at Waterloo, were there. The intrepid air of Sir Harry Smith marked the veteran who turned the tide of fortune at Aliwal. The chivalrous Marquis of Londonderry, the worthy representative of him who so nobly struggled for his country, was one of the pallbearers. So great was the impression produced by the scene, that when the magnificent car, bearing the body on its summit, was drawn past by twelve horses, robed in black velvet palls, every head was uncovered, and there were few dry eyes among the countless multitude. Among them was one man, now advanced in life, who in early youth had hastened from his paternal roof to see the allied armies on their first entrance into Paris in 1814, and who now, forty years afterward, witnessed one last scene in the mighty drama of which he then formed the conception of writing the history, and which, during the interval, he had completed.

Precisely at twelve the procession reached the great door of St. Paul's, having been met at Temple Bar by the Lord Mayor and all the civic authorities. The Duke of Cambridge, as representing the army of England, received it at the gate with his sword drawn; the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and three hundred of his clergy, in full canonicals, met the coffin as it entered the church-yard. The interior of the cathedral was hung with black, and magnificently lighted with gas, which, as evening approached, threw a mellow light over the vast interior of the dome. Splendid music added its charm to the magic influence of the scene. Eighteen thousand persons, arranged on seats in the form of an amphitheatre, embracing the first and noblest in the land, witnessed the spectacle. When the procession entered the cathedral, and the anthem was struck up from the powerful organ and a splendid orchestra, twenty thousand voices swelled the strain. When the titles of the deceased came to be read out by Garter King-at-Arms, it appeared he had been loaded with honors from every country in Eu-

rope. A Prince in Belgium, a Duke in England and Spain, he was a Field-Marshal in Russia, Prussia, Austria, Spain, France, Hanover, the Netherlands, Portugal, and England; nine batons fell from his hand when he breathed his last. Foreign princes and marshals stood at the head of the coffin; Prince Albert and the English generals, who had borne the pall, at its foot.* Every heart throbbed with emotion

when, in dead silence, the coffin was lowered into the grave in the centre of the cathedral, close behind Nelson's tomb; and the last earthly honor he received was from his old companion in arms, the Marquis of Anglesea, who, as it vanished from the sight, bowed to his unconscious remains.

"Such honors Ilion to her hero paid,
And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade."

* Marquis of Anglesea, Marquis of Londonderry, Lord Gough, Lord Combermere, Lord Seaton, Sir Harry Smith,

Sir Charles Napier, Sir Alexander Woodford, and Sir Peregrine Maitland.

CHAPTER LVII.

FRANCE FROM THE ELECTION OF LOUIS NAPOLEON AS PRESIDENT, IN DECEMBER, 1848, TO HIS ASSUMPTION OF THE IMPERIAL CROWN AND THE RESTORATION OF THE EMPIRE, IN 1852.

THE immense majority by which Prince Louis Napoleon had been created President of the Republic added greatly to the power of the executive, and the election of the President was an important step in the restoration of order after the Revolution, but it was far from appeasing the parties, or producing a similar union in the Assembly. It was, in truth, a declaration of France against the Revolution, and bespoke the anxious desire of the inhabitants to terminate the disorders which it had introduced, and return to the occupations of peaceful industry. But to the Legislature, or at least a large part of its members, it was a serious blow, and was felt the more severely that it had been so completely unexpected. They had entered the Assembly expecting to be little kings, or, at the very least, Roman senators; they found themselves reduced to the rank of ordinary legislators. The executive power—so important in all countries, so powerful in every age in France—had been appointed over their heads by the general voice of the people; the President was no longer their officer or administrator, but the nominee of a rival power, and might be expected on a crisis to be supported by the army, which looked to him for promotion, employment, and glory. The seeds in this way, not merely of discontent and division, but probable strife, were sown in the very outset of the President's power; the balance between a popular chief magistrate and an ambitious but discontented Legislature could not long be preserved; and as the nation would certainly not again go back to the Republic, it was already foreseen that it must go forward to the Empire.¹

The first care of the President, after installation in office, was to organize a powerful army under the command of Marshal Bugeaud at Lyons and the adjacent provinces near the Alps. The foundation of that army had been laid in March, 1848, when it was expected that the Republic would be attacked by the neighboring powers, and it at first consisted only of three divisions, mustering 30,000 bayonets and 4000 sabres, with 38 guns. It was now raised, by the care of the President, to 72,000 infantry and 8000 horse. The threatening aspect of affairs in the north of Italy amply justified these precautionary measures; and it was mainly owing to the formidable front thus presented that the Austrians, after their successes over the Piedmontese, had been prevented from crossing the Ticino. But the army was destined also for another object, and its main purpose was to form a support to the President's power in the event of a rupture with the Assembly. It had already rendered important service to the cause of order on occasion of the insurrection in June preceding, when it prevented an outbreak at Lyons from immediately succeeding that at Paris; and one of its divisions had on the first alarm advanced by forced marches toward the capital. It was to this powerful force that Louis Napoleon mainly looked for the support of his authority, in the event of that breach with the Assembly and democratic party, which it was evident, sooner or later, must ensue.¹

¹ Cassagnac, *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 2, 3.
² *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 2, 3.

2. Formation of the army of the Alps under Bugeaud. The foundation of that army had been laid in March, 1848, when it was expected that the Republic would be attacked by the neighboring powers, and it at first consisted only of three divisions, mustering 30,000 bayonets and 4000 sabres, with 38 guns. It was now raised, by the care of the President, to 72,000 infantry and 8000 horse. The threatening aspect of affairs in the north of Italy amply justified these precautionary measures; and it was mainly owing to the formidable front thus presented that the Austrians, after their successes over the Piedmontese, had been prevented from crossing the Ticino. But the army was destined also for another object, and its main purpose was to form a support to the President's power in the event of a rupture with the Assembly. It had already rendered important service to the cause of order on occasion of the insurrection in June preceding, when it prevented an outbreak at Lyons from immediately succeeding that at Paris; and one of its divisions had on the first alarm advanced by forced marches toward the capital. It was to this powerful force that Louis Napoleon mainly looked for the support of his authority, in the event of that breach with the Assembly and democratic party, which it was evident, sooner or later, must ensue.¹

The thorns were not long of showing themselves, and that in the cabinet of the President. Following up the principle laid down in his circular to the electors, already given,² Louis Napoleon, in the first instance, formed his cabinet from a combination of all parties, though the majority was composed of those who were known to incline to the monarchical side. It is true M. Thiers, M. Molé, M. Berryer, M. de Broglie, M. de Montalembert, were not themselves in the cabinet, but their friends and supporters were so, and constituted its majority. M. Odillon Barrot, M. Leon de Malleville, Drouyn de Lhuys, M. Passy, M. Leon Tracy, belonged to the constitutional party, who had formed the Opposition, but desired a free government under the Orleans dynasty. It might be presumed, what was soon found to ensue, that they would incline to the monarchical side under the government of the President. On the other hand, M. de Falloux represented the religious party, united with the Legitimists, who formed so important a part of the electors, especially in the rural districts, and M. Bixio the extreme Republicans. Coalitions of this kind are often desired by the people, and deemed practicable by the inexperienced; they are always looked on with distrust by those versed in real life, and never fail to terminate in the expulsion of the weaker party from the administration. So it proved in the present instance. A sincere and honest republican, M. Bixio soon found that he was out of place in a Conservative cabinet, and he retired accordingly, and was succeeded by M. Buffet in the office of Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. This was immediately after followed by the resignation of M. Leon de Malleville as Minister of the Interior, who was succeeded Dec. 29, 1848.

3. Early divisions and changes in the Cabinet. ² Ante, c. ii. § 23.

by M. Leon Faucher, transferred from the Ministry of Public Works, in which he was succeeded by M. Lacrosse. The latter changes were not produced by any divergence of political principle, but by a private rupture between the President and M. Leon de Malleville,³ occasioned by a warm altercation relative to the demand made by the President for the delivery of some documents in the office of the minister of the interior, Jan. 6, 1849.

³ *Moniteur*, Jan. 7, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 4, 6; *Cass.* 41, 80, 41.

bearing on the abortive Strasburg and Boulogne affairs ten years before.

There remained, however, before the Government could be considered as fully completed, the office of Vice-President of the Republic to fill up. This was a situation of great importance;

for not only was he *ex officio* President of the Assembly, but in the absence, or during the sickness, of the President, he exercised his functions, and was intrusted with his powers. The appointment, too, was of the more importance, that it was to be made neither by the President nor the Assembly taken separately, but by the latter from a list of three furnished by the former; so that both the rival powers would have a share in the election. In terms of the law, the Cabinet presented, on the 18th January, a

list of three candidates for the situation, and they were M. Boulay de la Meurthe, General Baraguay d'Hilliers, and M. Vivien. The first two were received with such marks of displeasure by the Assembly, that the President was obliged to invoke the respect due to the executive authority to bring it to a close. When the

election came on, however, the result was different: M. Boulay de la Meurthe was elected by a large majority, the numbers being 417 for him, against 277 for M. Vivien, who alone came to the vote. The ill-humor of the Assembly at this result was shown in the vote on the salary of the Vice-President, which was reduced from 60,000 francs a year to 48,000 francs by a majority of 372 to 270. The Cabinet had even some difficulty in resisting a proposition of the Radical party in the Assembly, headed by Babaud-Larivière, to the effect that the Vice-President should receive for his residence, not a separate house, but the upper flat of the building occupied by the Council of State.¹

The first serious subject, apart from the strifes of factions, which occupied the attention of the Assembly, was the finances of the Republic, which were still in the most disastrous state, and threatened immediately to become utterly hopeless, in consequence of the cessation of the duty on salt, on 1st January, according to the decree of the Provisional Government on 18th April preceding. The loss of this tax, which brought in 70,000,000 francs a year, would evidently reduce the Republic to a state of bankruptcy, for the deficit of the current year already exceeded 250,000,000 francs, and it was necessary to come to some immediate resolution regarding it before the fatal day of the termination of the tax arrived.

The debate came on upon the 27th December, and the reasons for resisting any reduction of the tax were thus stated by M. Passy, the finance minister: "Never, not even in the days of its greatest prosperity, did the receipts of the exchequer reach 1,400,000,000 francs: in the last year of the reign of Louis Philippe they were only 1,370,000,000 francs. The entire revenue of 1848, if you deduct the produce of the 45 per cent. addition to the direct taxes, will not exceed 1,200,000,000 francs, while the national expenses have increased in a still more alarming proportion. In the year which is drawing to a close, the expenditure has been

1,800,000,000, showing a deficit on the ordinary revenue of 600,000,000 francs in a single year. Nor are our prospects for the future more consolatory: the revenue in 1849 can only be estimated at 1,300,000,000 francs, while the charges of the year can not be taken at less than, at the very least, 1,600,000,000 francs, showing a certain deficit of 300,000,000 francs in the ensuing year. Is this a time when it is possible to reduce the permanent revenue by withdrawing a tax producing 70,000,000 francs annually?" Notwithstanding the weight of these arguments, and the urgency of the case, such was the sense of the Assembly of the unpopularity of the tax, or their terror of meeting their constituents if they had had any hand in reimposing it, that though they departed from its entire abolition, it was only on condition of its being reduced from 1st January, 1849, to two-thirds of its former amount. This was carried, on the final division, by 372 to 363. It was well understood to be a political vote breathing hostility to the Government; and it was sufficiently alarming, as indicating how nearly parties were divided in the Assembly. But it was a still more serious blow to national credit, and excited great alarm among all persons of property, from the apprehension that it was an unworthy concession to popular clamor, which could not fail to be followed, as in the preceding year, by a serious addition to the direct taxes.¹

The financial situation of France was discussed and fully developed a month after, when the new taxes to be laid on to meet this great deficit came under consideration. As the temper of the Assembly against any increase of the indirect taxes had been so unequivocally evinced, no resource remained but an augmentation of the direct; and as the continuance of the forty-five per cent. addition to the direct taxes was not for a moment to be thought of, no expedient remained but to levy an increased duty on successions. M. Goudchaux had, six months before, brought forward a proposal, when he was finance minister, to levy a *progressive* duty on successions, whether in money or heritage—a proposal evidently of a Socialist character, and tending to introduce a system confiscating the property of the rich to alleviate the burdens of the poor. It was rejected, accordingly, by M. Passy, the present finance minister; but he proposed a very serious addition to the tax by increasing it from twelve to twenty per cent., successions under 500 francs (£20) being entirely exempted. This proposal occasioned a perfect storm in the Assembly; but M. Passy was firm, alleging with truth that the public service could not be carried on unless the tax was conceded. He concluded with the significant words: "Either enable me to execute my duties, or I resign." The Assembly felt the power of the appeal, and, in spite of the extreme reluctance to increased taxation, was constrained to agree to the increased duties by a considerable majority. A similar measure was, from the same cause—the reduction of the indirect taxes—introduced into Great Britain.² Thus, in both countries, the first durable effect of popular triumph was to change, to a considerable extent, the system of indirect taxation—the creation of Euro-

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 19, 21, 22, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 7, 9.

² *Disastrous state of the finances; debate on the salt duties.*

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 16, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 12, 20.

² *Moniteur*, Dec. 28, 29, 1848; *Ann. Hist.* 1848, 13, 14.

pean freedom—into that of direct and crushing burdens, the offspring in every age of Asiatic despotism.

A very valuable report was presented on 22d January by the finance minister, on the comparative financial state of France in 1848 and 1849. Though somewhat different from the position of the country in the preceding year, it still presented a mournful and almost hopeless aspect. The total receipts of 1849, as compared with 1848, showed a diminution of no less than 487,718,732 francs, arising from the termination of the 45 per cent. on the direct taxes, and the want of the loan of 232,000,000 francs, which had been contracted by the Government in the preceding year. On the other hand, the ordinary receipts might be expected to be increased by 243,716,000 francs, of which no less than 99,230,000 francs were from the increased duty on successions, and 83,873,000 francs was hoped for from the rise in the produce of the indirect taxes arising from the increased strength of Government, and tranquillity of the country. Still this exhibited a diminution in the total receipts, ordinary and extraordinary, of 1849, compared with 1848, of 194,000,000 francs, which required to be made up by loan exchequer bills, or some other extraordinary resource. For the whole reduction in the expenses for 1849 which was deemed practicable amounted to 178,491,000 francs, as no less than 41,498,000 was for increased interest of debt on which no reduction was practicable; so that, upon the whole, the deficit of 1849 would be 15,510,000 francs more than that of 1848, which already had been so enormous! Such were the first-fruits, in a financial point of view, which France reaped from the Revolution of 1848, and they were bitter in the extreme. The magnitude of the public armaments, rendered necessary by that convulsion, in a great measure explained this deplorable state of the public finances; for the army on the 1st December, 1848, numbered no less than 502,196 men and 100,452 horses, of which 78,000 men and 15,490 horses were employed in Algeria. These forces were to be reduced in the course of the present year to 380,824 men and 92,410 horses. The navy was fixed on a more moderate scale, proving that the Government had no apprehensions on the side of England. The ships afloat in commission were ten of the line, two floating batteries, eight frigates, and eighteen corvettes.¹

A very important matter, both as regards the social interests of the country and the party struggles in the Legislature, came under the consideration of the Assembly early in January, connected with the administration of the prisons. The Provisional Government, in the first fervor of their philanthropy and sympathy with the inmates of jails, had, on the 24th March, 1848, entirely abolished labor in prisons; but the effect of this, as any one might have anticipated who knew any thing of the matter, had been so injurious both in demoralizing the prisoners by idleness, and augmenting the severity of their punishment by their having nothing to do, that the Assembly, on the 28th August, had reverted to the system of prison labor, leaving it to the prefects to decide in what species of work they should be employed. This immediately gave rise to violent remonstrances from the free laborers in the neighborhood of the prisons, who complained that they could not compete on terms of equality with workmen who, fed, clothed, and lodged by the State, could of course undersell them in the produce of their labor. Pressed by these opposite interests and considerations, the Assembly adopted, with a slight modification, the report of the committee, which was to the effect that the produce of prison labor should not be exposed for sale in competition with that of freemen, but so far as possible employed in furnishings to the troops by land and sea. This system is adopted also in Holland, Belgium, Bavaria, and Genoa; but it is evident that it is a mere elusory solution of the difficulty, and only *appears* to succeed, because it keeps the competition out of the sight of those who suffer under it. The true principle to adopt in the case is, that idleness in prison is so great an aggravation of its pains, that it is unjust to inflict, and so great an incentive to crime, that it is unwise to permit it. No class in society is entitled to insist that another class shall be kept in a state of compulsory idleness and moral ruin, lest its industry should interfere with their own. The command of Providence is that all mankind should eat their bread in the sweat of their brow, not that this sentence should be confined to the free. Any undue interference with the remuneration of free labor can be prevented by making the prices charged for the produce of penal labor not lower than the average.¹

The all-important subject of primary education early occupied the attention of the Assembly. M. Carnot, their Minister of Public Instruction, had, on the 80th June, 1848, immediately after the suppression of the revolt, brought forward a project for the universal education of the people at the public expense; but the necessitous state of the Exchequer had prevented it from being immediately adopted, and they fell upon the usual expedient, when delay was desired, of referring it to the Legislative Committee. They having made a report, it was again, for a similar reason, remitted to the committee for further consideration; and at the same time commissioners were appointed, with instructions to prepare laws on primary instruction, secondary instruction, and the books to be taught in schools. The Council of State also soon came under consideration, a very important body, as it was appointed by the Assembly, and intrusted with the examination of all legislative motions which appeared to the Government to be too hastily prepared, or of so much importance as to be thoroughly matured, and requiring deliberate consideration. It was soon found, however, that the interposition of a body having such important functions between the executive and the Legislature, nominated by the latter, led to great inconvenience, and might seriously fetter the executive, especially in matters relating to foreign states, or requiring immediate dispatch. A motion was accordingly made and carried to reduce the number of the members of the Coun-

1. *Moniteur*, Jan. 10, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 36, 41.

9. Measures on the question of primary education and the Council of State.

June 30, 1848.

Jan. 4, 1849.

Jan. 11, 1849.

cil from forty-eight to thirty-two, as a more manageable number; but it was provided that they should be re-elected *by the Assembly* before they entered on their functions. This was an effort on the part of the Assembly to maintain the influence and consideration of which they already felt they had been in a great measure deprived by the election of the President.

Public opinion meanwhile in France was so rapidly turning against the Legislature, that it was foreseen its existence could not be long prolonged. The general feeling was forcibly expressed in meetings held in Rennes and Lille. "It will no longer do,"

said an orator in the former city, "for Paris to send us down revolutions by the mail-coach; for it is now no longer political but social revolutions with which we are visited. The departments in Jura have shown unequivocally that they are determined to put an end to this system. Reflect on the days which we denominate by the 24th February, the 15th May, the 23d June. Is it to be borne that we are still doomed to go to bed at night without knowing whether we shall ever waken in the morning?" "It is unprecedented in history," said a speaker in Lille, "that a few thousand turbulent adventurers, ever ready for a *coup-de-main*, should have succeeded on so many occasions in putting in hazard the destinies of a people so advanced in civilization as that of France. We present to Europe the extraordinary spectacle of a nation of 35,000,000 of men ever ready to take the yoke from 20,000 or 30,000 creators of revolutions, who descend into the streets at a signal given by a few ambitious leaders, and treat France as a conquered country. A few months only have elapsed since we saw a handful of misled men, taking advantage of the inertness of some, the connivance of others, the terror of many, and the weakness of Government, gain possession of the sanctuary of the national representation, and chase from it the representatives of the country. A unanimous resistance has now declared itself against the Parisian tyranny; a violent desire to shake off its yoke has made itself felt even by the Central Government. It is not a conspiracy, still less a dream of a federative government; it is an open and deliberate movement by the provinces of France, as the old

ones of Gaul were determined that their interests shall no longer be swallowed up in those of Rome."¹

When such was the temper of men's minds in the provinces, it was only a question of time when the Legislature was to be dissolved, to make way for one more in harmony with the general wish of the nation out of the capital. After the election of the President by so great a majority of votes over all France, this desire assumed a practical direction, because its realization seemed more nearly approaching. The general wish found vent in a motion made by M. Râteau, that the general election should take place on the 4th of next May, and the existing Assembly be dissolved on the 19th of that month. This brought matters to a crisis; and it was doubtful how the matter would be decided, for the parties were very nearly divided upon it—the general wish of the vast majority

of the people being counterbalanced by the desire of the members in the Assembly to retain a power by which they hoped largely to profit. In the Council of State the votes were equally divided; and in the Assembly itself it was decided by a majority of *four*—the members being 400 to 396—to take the motion into consideration, which was equivalent to giving leave to bring in the bill in the English House of Commons. The whole supporters of Government lent their aid to the measure. "There is something worse," said M. Montalembert, "for a real lover of his country, and friend to social progress, than the overthrow of existing Governments; for however sad this may be, the executive power survives, and often gains by it. What is much more deplorable is the weakness of government in the hands of those who received it young and energetic. Do not, I implore you, present to Europe that mournful spectacle; do not let a power which has nothing above, nor even on a level with it, perish from inanition in your hands. A part of the Assembly does not wish to advance, because it is not sure it will be able to retrace its steps; another wishes to move on for the opposite reason. Terminate, I implore you, so humiliating a spectacle in the eyes of Europe." After a long and impassioned debate, the motion of M. Râteau, slightly amended by M. Lanjuinais, was carried by a majority of 424 to 387—a short respite being merely given to the Assembly in order to enable them to mature a new law regulating, in some matters of detail, the approaching election.¹

It was not, however, without an attempt at a violent *coup-de-main* that this great victory was gained by Prince Louis Napoleon and the moderate party in the Assembly. The Republicans were quite aware that it would annihilate their ascendancy, and they resolved to anticipate the legal dissolution of the Assembly by a *coup-d'état* against the President. "Louis Bonaparte once down," said M. Proudhon, "and the counter-revolution is at an end. It is astonishing that, for a month past, neither the Republicans in the Assembly, nor the democratic press, have been aware that that is the real state of the matter. Strike the idol, and the faith being dishonored, the worship is at an end. Let the vote strike Louis Bonaparte, and it is done. Have no fear of a reaction; it has no force but in the noise which it makes. An energetic vote in five minutes will deliver you from all your dangers."² This was a direct appeal to a civil war, and an invitation to a *coup-d'état*; for the President, having been elected by the direct votes of the people, and not by the Assembly, could not be removed but by the same authority which had created him, before the legal period of his tenure of office, which was four years, expired. Government meanwhile were not idle. A motion was brought forward by the Minister of the Interior to shut up the clubs, which was rejected by 418 to 342; and this was met by a counter-

motion, proposed by M. Ledru-Rollin, for an accusation of the Ministers, upon the ground of their having, by this motion, violated the constitution.³ But the Republicans had

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 13, and Feb. 14, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 77, 79; *Cass. II.* 43, 45.

² *Le Peuple*, Jan. 27, 1849.

³ *Cass. II.* 44, 47; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 92, 96, 164; *Lespey, Hist. de L. Napoleon, II.* 185, 187.

no expectation of carrying this extreme measure in the Assembly; it was the hoisting the signal of insurrection that was really intended; and this design was carried into execution on the 29th January.

The clubs had for long been in a state of extraordinary activity; and the demand for an accusation of the Ministers was signed, not only by a great many members of the Assembly, but by nearly the whole editors of newspapers in Paris. It was universally known, accordingly, that a great democratic movement was in agitation; and the conspirators at this critical moment received a great and unexpected accession of strength from the discontent of a part of the Garde Mobile, owing to a project which was in course of execution for reducing the strength of their battalions to that of the regiments of the line, and organizing them in fewer battalions than heretofore. As this measure threatened to deprive several subaltern officers of their situations, it excited great discontent; and to such a length did this go, that two hundred of them repaired in a menacing manner, on the 28th January, in order to extort a revocation of the decree reducing them. General Changarnier, the governor of the armed force in Paris, received them kindly, and persuaded them to retire, but they did so uttering seditious cries, and immediately entered into communication with the heads of the clubs, who, charmed with such an unlooked-for accession of strength, immediately fixed a grand demonstration for the following day. It took place accordingly, but proved a miserable failure. The fire of democracy in the great body of the people was burned out. The Government were acquainted with the whole plans of the conspirators, and from an early hour of the morning all their places of rendezvous were occupied by large bodies of troops, who, so far from joining them as they expected, forcibly prevented any attempt at assembling. Foiled, disconcerted, and utterly overmatched, the conspirators,

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 30, 1849; *Lepeux*, i. 183, 196; *Cass. II.* 47, 49; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 95, 98. worse than defeated—turned into ridicule.¹

During the panic occasioned by this abortive insurrection, the proposition of M. Râteau was again taken into consideration, and finally carried by a majority of ONE—the numbers being

416 to 415. The days of the Assembly being now numbered, its legislative acts ceased to be an object of any consideration; and the regulations for the approaching election having been passed without a division on 15th February, the clubs were closed after a stormy debate on the 20th March following, by the slender majority of 19 votes—the numbers being 378 to 359. This was the last important act of the Constituent Assembly. It

rejected, on 15th May, by a majority of 87, a motion to the effect that the Ministry had lost the confidence of the country, and four days afterward came to an end. Every eye was now fixed on the approaching general election, fraught as it was with the future destinies of France; but the preparations on the opposite sides to meet the crisis were very differ-

ent. The clubs were in ceaseless activity, and they had established branches in the chief provincial towns. The press was nearly unanimous in favor of the democratic side, and loud in its abuse of the President and the ruling authority. On the other hand, the Government was in a false position. Louis Napoleon alone was elected by a power independent of the Assembly; all his ministers were members of that body, and accustomed to regard its majorities as the only foundation of their authority. Thus the chief magistrate of the Republic and his ministers looked to different bodies, and were actuated at bottom by opposite motives. The first, depending directly on the people, regarded the Assembly as an enemy to be overcome; the second, in constant collision with the Legislature, looked upon it as an ally to be conciliated. Had it been possible for Louis Napoleon to dispense with the Assembly, and govern of his own authority, he would probably have secured the suffrages of an immense majority of the people. But the nation was not as yet sufficiently awakened from the illusions of the Revolution to render that possible; and as the Government had been severely censured for interfering in the elections of the preceding year, it was deemed advisable to abstain altogether from any attempt to influence them on the present occasion. Thus the people were left without either leaders or direction on the one side, and with both of the most efficient kind on the other. A club to secure the return of members of Conservative principles was established in the Rue de Poitiers, and raised considerable sums to organize an opposition to the Socialist doctrines, which were now spreading in every direction from the capital to the provincial towns. But like all other attempts since 1789 to resist the spread of democratic principles by any other means than the Government, it had very little success. The electors, distracted between their own secret wishes and the republican clamor with which they were surrounded, saw in general no resource but in returning a member on each side, or electing a Republican not as yet pledged to violent measures. Thus the parties were nearly equally divided in the new Assembly, as they had been in the old. But there was this difference between them, and it proved

most material; the leading Republicans were not elected. Ledru-Rollin nearly alone survived amidst the general wreck of his party.¹

The equally divided state of the returns, when announced in Paris, produced universal consternation. The disorders and miseries of the Revolution were immediately anticipated, and the public funds sank 7 per cent. in one day. An attempt was made to renew the intimidation of the Assembly by a threatening mob, which surrounded its doors on the 28th May, the first day of meeting; but it was dispersed without difficulty by a body of cavalry, which cleared the approach amidst frantic yells from the Jacobin party. M. Dupin aîné, an able and intrepid man, was elected President, which situation he held, with credit

to himself and advantage to the State, during the two years that its sittings continued.²

The first great effort of the democratic party

¹ *Cass. II.* 76, 77; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 282, 264; *Lepeux*, i. 196, 233.

² *Meeting of the Legislative Assembly.* May 28.

³ *Moniteur*, May 29, 30, 1849; *Cass. II.* 79, 80.

was made on the 13th June, and was brought about by the affairs of Italy. By
 16. Preparations for the insur-
 rection of June 13.

Assembly had enjoined the Government to take steps for preventing the expedition to Rome from being any longer diverted from the object for which it was intended. That object, in the view of the Government, was the establishing the French power in Rome, to prevent the Austrians getting there; but in the sense of the Assembly which passed the vote, it was to aid Garibaldi and the Republicans of that city. A large part of the new Assembly, and even some of the President's ministers, had taken the same view; and this feeling was so strong and general, that possibly, contrary to the intentions of the Government, it might have led to the French troops entering Rome as allies, as the Romans expected, had it not been for the collision and bloody repulse sustained by Oudinot before its walls, which at once set up the passions of the French people and decided the side they were to take. This, however, was a subject of bitter regret and vexation to the Revolutionists, who had looked to that expedition as the commencement of that system of propagandism which they had so long and so ardently desired. In contemplation of the great movement which was organized on this subject coming on, the Socialists had compelled the members elected under their influence to subscribe a declaration setting forth—"The Republic is above any majorities. If the constitution is violated, the representatives of the people should be the first to set an example of armed resistance. The employment of the forces of France against any people is a crime, and a violation of the constitution. France is bound to give succor to every people combating." This was the programme of the revolutionary campaign, which was immediately followed up in all the Radical newspapers, and in the clubs, which had never been thoroughly suppressed. "A contest is commencing," said one; "it will be terrible. Treason is consummated; they are about to assassinate the Roman Republic. We are entitled to say so to a functionary who has betrayed the Republic, and Bonaparte is that functionary. Louis XVI. conspired, and little time elapsed between the return from Varennes and its expiation." "To-morrow," said the *Vraie République*, "the Mountain will come to the Tribune to proclaim the dethronement. High treason has been committed; the right of dethronement has arisen; to oppose it would be to tear in pieces the constitution, destroy the Republic, and abdicate, by the very act, the sovereignty of the people." In pursuance of these principles, M. Ledru-Rollin laid on the table of the

² *Vraie République*, June 11, 1849; *Moniteur*, June 12; *Case. ii. 87, 88; Rev. Dem. et Sociale*, June 12, 1849.

17. Insurrection, and its defeat. June 13.
 The die was now cast, and war declared; but the revolutionists found that they had a very different antagonist to deal with than Louis XVI., Charles X., or Louis Philippe. The act of

accusation against Louis Napoleon was rejected by a large majority of the Assembly; but the bringing it forward was only a signal for insurrection. Early on the morning of the 13th June a crowd began to assemble on the Boulevards, at the Château d'Eau, which soon swelled to a formidable number, being reinforced by the whole Socialists of the Faubourg St. Antoine and the Faubourg St. Marceau, and soon began to march toward the Tuileries along the Boulevards, having a man of resolution, and a colonel in the National Guard, Stephen Arago, at their head. They loudly proclaimed, as they moved along, they were going "to finish with Bonaparte and the National Assembly." But the Government were on their guard. Changarnier, who commanded the armed forces of Paris and of the Department of the Seine, was at the head of two regiments of dragoons, two of infantry, and one of the Garde Mobile. With these troops, whose steadiness could be relied on, he remained motionless in the Rue de Richelieu, which falls at right angles on the Boulevards, till half the column of insurgents was passed; and then, suddenly issuing forth, he fell perpendicularly on its flank, and instantly passing through, cut it in two. The force which had done so, rapidly accumulating as the rest came up from the rear, charged vigorously to the right and left, driving the insurgents either way before them, and completing their defeat and dispersion without ever having occasion to make use of their arms.¹

¹ *Moniteur*, June 14, 1849; *Case. ii. 94, 95; An. Hist.* 1849, 316, 319.

While the insurgents on the Boulevards were undergoing this humiliating defeat, M. Ledru-Rollin and twenty-five of the most determined leaders of the Mountain were in anxious expectation in a house in the Rue Hazard, leading off the Rue Richelieu, from whence, when they heard of the defeat of the column on the Boulevards, they sought refuge with 400 artillerymen of the National Guard as an escort, in the Conservatoire des Arts et des Métiers, in the Rue St. Martin. They proclaimed at first their determination to defend themselves to the last extremity, and preparations to barricade every access to the building were made. But these bold resolutions speedily gave way, when they found themselves surrounded on all sides, and no general insurrection in the city, as they had expected, hastening to their relief. Three barricades were commenced in the streets adjoining, when a company of the 6th Legion of the national guards arrived, and having been fired on from one barricade, rushed forward and carried it by storm. The effects of this discharge of fire-arms must be given in the words of an eye-witness: "Some panes of glass of the Museum were broken by the shots, and immediately the deputies threw themselves out of the windows and took to flight, leaving all their papers and effects behind them. Ledru-Rollin got out of the garden into the Rue de la Croix, and thence into the Rue du Temple, where he disappeared, and finally made his escape in the obscurity of the evening." Thus, amidst ridicule and contempt, terminated this attempt of the Jacobins to revolutionize the Revolution, and from which its authors anticipated nothing less than the final triumph of extreme Democratic and Socialist principles. The Government was ma-

18. Flight of Ledru-Rollin and the Mountain; and measures of repression in Paris.

terially strengthened by the defeat of this insurrection. The clubs were finally suppressed, and so thoroughly were they sunk in general estimation that this important step excited very little

attention. Paris was declared, and continued for a short time, in a state of siege, and after long debates, in the course of which M. Montalembert drew a picture in the most

sombre color of the state of France, ¹ *Moniteur*, June 15, 1849; a fresh law was voted restraining the liberty of the press, and imposing fresh penalties upon all who should incite the citizens to revolt, or endeavor to dissuade the soldiers from discharging their duty to the Government. ² *Attentat du 13 Juin, 1849; Requis du Proc. de la République; Cass. II. 97, 98. July 28.*

It soon appeared that this was not a mere insulated insurrection in Paris, but that it was connected with a general democratic movement in other great towns.

On the 15th June the capital was thrown into consternation by the receipt of a telegraphic message from Lyons, announcing the breaking out of a revolt in that city. It had commenced

on the night of the 14th, by some unknown criers announcing in the streets that "Paris was in a state of insurrection, the Assembly dissolved, a convention summoned, and the President and his ministers arrested."

The Socialists immediately rose, and in the course of the night erected strong barricades on the heights of the Croix Rouge, and other dominant points in Lyons. Fortunately the troops remained steady, otherwise the consequences might have been very serious.

Heavy guns were quickly brought up, and a warm fire opened upon the barricades, especially those on the Croix Rouge, the head-quarters of the revolt, and after being shaken by the discharges, they were stormed, with great slaughter, and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Seven hundred prisoners were made on the spot, and eight hundred men were taken with arms in their hands at the Bernardine Convent, and in the Hôtel de Ville. The losses of the insurgents were severe, as they fought desperately at all points. The intelligence of the suppression of this formidable revolt excited a great sensation at Paris, and augmented the loyalty of the army, who had a grand military display a few

days after, at the funeral of Marshal Bugeaud, who had died after a short illness of cholera. Thirty thousand soldiers attended the funeral of the veteran: the pall was borne by M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, Marshal Molière, General Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, the President of the Council, and M. Rulhières, the Minister of War. A strange combination, considering how they had stood opposed at the fall of Louis Philippe, but eminently

descriptive of the union of parties around the President which was now taking place to defend the last refuge of order and government. ³ *Lespey, I. 522, 533; Ann. Hist. 1849, 321, 323.*

Notwithstanding this double victory in the metropolis and the chief manufacturing town of France, the position of the President was still a false one, and there was little harmony between him and his ministers. He resolved to be done, accordingly, with parliamentary administrations; and, suddenly dismissing his whole cabinet, he

astonished the world by the formation of an entirely new ministry, composed of persons of capacity and business habits, but by no means known in the debates of the Assembly. In his opening address to the new Assembly at the beginning of the new session, the President then explained the motives which had induced him to take this step. "To strengthen the Republic, and on all sides by crushing anarchy to secure order better than has hitherto been done, and to preserve to France that high position she has hitherto occupied among nations, we require men who, animated by patriotic devotion, are alive to the necessity of a single and firm direction, and of a policy distinctly announced, who will not compromise power by any consideration, who are as much impressed with my responsibility as their own, and who may be limited in action as well as in words. I wish to inspire in the country by my sincerity, my perseverance, and my firmness, such confidence as may permit affairs to resume their usual course. The letter of the constitution has, without doubt, a great influence on the destinies of a country, but the manner in which it is worked has a greater still. Let us then unite in restoring power, without injuring real liberty. Let us calm apprehension by boldly extinguishing the bad passions, and giving to all useful instincts a useful direction. Let us confirm the religious principle without abandoning the conquests of the Revolution, and we shall save the country in spite of the madness and ambition of parties, and even the imperfection of institutions which we are called on to rectify."

Immense was the sensation which this decisive step, and still more the message with which it was accompanied, exerted in the Chamber, the capital, and over all France. The members of the new cabinet were so unknown, and drawn from such various quarters, that it

could not be said that any known party in the Assembly or the country had obtained a triumph; it rather appeared that the President was endeavoring to create one of his own, which might act independently, and, in the end, obtain the mastery of them all. This system would have been impossible had the President been elected by the Assembly, or dependent on a parliamentary majority for his existence; but the case was different when he was elected by the direct votes of the people, and capable of appealing to them in any quarrel between him and the Legislature. The impression made, accordingly, was very different in Paris and in the provinces. In the former, after the first moments of stupor, the prevailing feeling was one of astonishment and indignation. The popular members of the Assembly could scarcely believe that it was seriously intended to form a Government independent of their influence, and setting at naught their eloquence. "It is the Government of one man," they exclaimed: "the shadow even

of constitutional or parliamentary government is at an end." But in the provinces the impression was very different. They regarded it as an attempt to emancipate the Government from the thralldom of the clubs in the capital, or the des-

¹ *Moniteur*, Nov. 1, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 400, 403, and Appendix 88.

^{21.} Impression made by this step in Paris and the provinces.

² *Constitutionnel*, Nov. 22, 1849; *Ann. Hist.* 1849, 402, 404; *Cass. II.* 111, 113; *Lespey*, I. 320, 324, II. 1, 10.

potism of an oligarchy of orators in the Chamber, and loudly applauded it as the commencement of the only government really suited to the circumstances of the country.

The power of the President being founded on the direct voice of the people, he was careful in all matters which fell under his power as chief magistrate to attend to their interests, and as far as possible anticipate their wishes. But so profoundly had society

been shaken in all its parts by the Revolution of 1848, that it was no easy matter to apply a remedy to the multiplied evils which prevailed. He did, however, what he could, though slowly and cautiously, to restore order without alarming democracy. By an edict of 8d November he restored the magistracy over all France, which had never been properly constituted since the fall of Louis Philippe. On the

18th of the same month, the judgment of the Superior Criminal Court of Versailles, which had convicted the members of the Assembly, twenty-three in number, who had been implicated in the insurrection of the 18th June, was carried into effect, and they were expelled from the Assembly. On the 16th,

the necessity of a "certificate of studies," as it was called, before children were admitted to the primary schools, was taken away, as that was nothing but a security of their having been brought up in revolutionary principles. On the

1st March, 1850, a new law was brought forward regarding the mayors and substitutes, which put an end to the anarchy

which, since the last revolution, had prevailed in the municipalities. Such, however, was the disorder which had crept into this part of the administration, that it was found necessary, before the end of the year,

to dismiss 124 mayors and 88 substitutes, and to dissolve the national guards in 153 communes.¹ On

the 15th March a general and important law on primary education was passed; and on the 7th April, in the same hall of the Luxembourg where M. Louis Blanc had so recently destroyed industry by organizing labor, both were reanimated by the opening the session of the Council-General of Agriculture, Commerce, and Manufactures. Finally, on

the 18th of the same month, the Pope returned to Rome, and openly resumed his Government under the protection of the French legions, a step which strongly confirmed the opinion of the rural districts of France in favor of the President, to whom mainly the French intervention in his favor had been owing.²

These were all steps, and not unimportant ones, in the reconstruction of society in France; but they did not strike at the root of the evil, which was the vast spread of Socialist and anarchical principles in the metropolis and great towns, in consequence of the incessant efforts of the revolutionary press. This had gone to a length which was neither generally known nor suspected by the other classes of society. The

Socialists had long boasted that they had 187,000 men in Paris alone who subscribed to their opinions, and were ready to support their principles.

Though not a fourth part of that number had ever turned out with arms in their hands, yet an event occurred at this time which demonstrated that the estimate was far from being exaggerated. The Jacobins, ruined as a revolutionary party by the defeats of 27th June, 1848, and 13th June, 1849, had now thrown themselves into the arms of the working classes, and become Socialists. So early as the 18th September, 1848, Ledru-Rollin had said in the club of *La Reine Blanche*, "I am a Socialist, and have been so for eighteen years. In the Executive Council they were eight to one against me, and therefore I have come this evening to say that all the treasures of the earth are not, in my opinion, equal to your esteem, and to say how happy I should be to receive a ball in my breast in your service." All the other chiefs of the Mountain had done the same; the fusion of them with the Socialists was complete, and their united strength was tested by what occurred in March, 1850. The elections then came on to fill up the vacancies occasioned in the Chamber by the sentences passed on those who had taken part in the revolt of the 18th June, and no less than six of them were in the metropolis. The clubs, which, though formally closed, were still in activity, immediately put forward candidates of the most decided Socialist principles, and in every one of them they were successful, and by such large majorities as demonstrated that their leaders had by no means overrated their strength in the constituency of that city. MM. Carnot and Vidil, both noted Socialists, were

each returned by 188,000.* In the provinces it was quite the reverse; the returns from them were almost all in the conservative interest.¹

The returns, by such overwhelming majorities, of these decided Socialists in the metropolis, struck France with astonishment. In Paris the consternation among the superior classes was extreme; the public funds fell 2½ per cent. in an hour when the numbers were announced. Terror and general distrust again prevailed; the danger, which it was hoped had been averted by the victory of the 18th June, again appeared instant and threatening; the triumph of Socialist principles, the division of property, and dissolution of society, seemed to be inevitable. The favorable returns from the provinces were far from counterbalancing the alarming result in the metropolis; it was now proved that more than 140,000 Socialists were in Paris, at the very door of the Government, who might any day rise in insurrection, and to whom the defection of a few regiments would give the command of the State.

So general was the alarm, and so anxious the wish for a union of the respectable classes to resist the dangers with which they were threatened from the anarchical, that the President, in obedience to the universal desire, convened a meeting of the leaders of the different parties in the Assembly to con-

* The votes were, in round numbers—all Socialists: M. Carnot, 189,000 votes; M. Vidil, 188,000 votes; De Flotte, 126,000 votes; Fernand Foy, 125,000 votes; De la Hette, 105,000 votes; Bougeau, 124,000 votes.—*Moniteur*, 11th March, 1850.

Meeting of Louis Napoleon with the electors. March 14.

Effects of this election on public opinion.

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sider what was to be done. It took place, accordingly, in the Elysée Bourbon, and was attended by M. Montalembert, M. Thiers, M. Molé, the Duke de Broglie, and some others. The President received them courteously, and opened the discussion with these words: "I have assembled you, gentlemen, to assist me with your intelligence and patriotism in this crisis. What, think you, should be done to avert the dangers revealed by the progress of the Socialists?" A long pause ensued; but at length Montalembert said: "In the old assemblies of the clergy the youngest always spoke first; I will answer the question of the Prince with as much frankness as he has put it. In my opinion we can only escape from the dangers with which we are surrounded by the President appointing, as his ministers, the chiefs of the majority. That is the most decisive and significant answer which we can make to the provocation of the enemies of society." "I am ready," replied the Prince, "to follow the advice of Montalembert; what say you, gentlemen?" "The Republic," said Thiers, "is a young maiden. It costs me much to marry her; but if there is no other way of saving the country, I am ready to do so." "I am entirely of an opposite opinion," said the Duke de Broglie; "the union, in one cabinet, of the chiefs of the Legitimist party and the old ministers of Louis Philippe, could afford no guarantee either for union, strength, or durability. It could be fruitful only in strife and discord." The other chiefs were of the same opinion; and accordingly, with many expressions of patriotism, the meeting broke up, leaving the President more than ever confirmed in his opinion that the division of parties in the Assembly was so wide that any fusion of them

¹ Cass. II. 132, was impossible, and a real government could be formed only on a basis independent of them all.¹

The parliamentary chiefs were too strongly impressed, however, by the extreme danger evinced by the Socialist returns in the metropolis not to make some effort to avert it. This could only be done by a modification of the law of election, and the imposing of certain restrictions on the universal suffrage, which, in the metropolis at least, was producing such alarming results. One effect of the Revolution which overturned Louis Philippe had been to fill Paris with a multitude of Italian, Bohemian, Spanish, Belgian, Irish, Polish, Slavonian, and German refugees, who, having ruined their prospects in their own country, all flocked to the French capital as the head-quarters of insurrection throughout the world. Their number amounted, it was supposed, to forty or fifty thousand, and they were alike ready, at a moment's warning, to vote for the most extreme Socialist candidate, or descend into the streets and aid in the formation of barricades. To exclude, by a general law, such dangerous allies from the electoral rights, seemed the first duty of the Legislature, and the matter was accordingly remitted to a committee of eighteen members, embracing, among others, Thiers, Montalembert, Molé, and Leon Faucher. They brought forward a report, recommending that the condition of six months' previous residence, which was the existing law, should be extended to three years;

and that all persons convicted of violating the laws, either by entering secret societies, engaging in revolt against the civil or military authorities, or leading a life of vagrancy, should be excluded from the franchise. This change would, it was foreseen, exclude several hundred thousand persons, a large part of whom were in Paris; and the Liberals, accordingly, made the most vigorous efforts to prevent its being passed into a law. The 18th May, being the day when the report was to be taken into consideration by the Assembly, was even fixed on as the day for a general revolt. But the Government were on their guard. Every day, from the time the question had been mooted, the Assembly was guarded by large bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery; and so well were the precautionary measures taken, under the able direction of General Changarnier, that the Socialists, though the whole secret societies were only awaiting the signal to rise, did not venture to move.

¹ *Moniteur*, May 31, 1850; *Cass.* II. 134, 139; *Lesseppe*, II. 122, 142; *Ann. Hist.* 1850, 97-112.

Great was the impression produced in Paris and over France by this victory.

The funds immediately rose 2 per cent. It was not so much from its actual effects, as from its being regarded as a test of the strength of Government, that it was looked on with so much satisfaction. For the first time since the Revolution of February, the Revolutionists had been set at defiance, and not only overawed in the streets, but defeated in the Legislature. The President was far from sharing these sentiments. He was well aware of the incubus which it would take off the elections in the metropolis; but that advantage, considerable as it was, appeared to be more than counterbalanced by the discontent which any measure abridging the electoral right might excite among the provincial electors, upon whose support his power was entirely founded. The law which had excited so much agitation had been passed by a coalition of all the monarchical and conservative parties in the Legislature. The same union might be directed against his own power; and if so, where would he be if he had lost the support or confidence of the rural electors? So impressed was he with these views, that he exerted all his influence to prevent the bill passing, and yielded at length rather in deference to the opinion of others than in consequence of his own convictions.²

It was not long before events occurred which proved that these anticipations on the part of the President were by no means ill-founded. On the 5th of June a motion was brought forward by the Ministers to augment the President's salary from 600,000 francs (£24,000) a year to 3,000,000 (£120,000). The largest of these sums can not be regarded as extravagant for the chief magistrate of a republic which boasted of a revenue of £60,000,000 a year; the smallest was obviously and scandalously inadequate to support the situation in common decency. No sooner, however, was this

^{26.} Law of the 31st May, on the electoral rights.

^{27.} Effect of this law on public opinion and the President.

^{28.} Hostile spirit evinced in the Assembly in the vote on the Mayor's salary, on the civil list, and on the permanent commission.

proposal broached, than the whole leaders in the Assembly coalesced against it; and although the press in the Departments declared loudly in its favor, it was only by the mediation

of General Changarnier, and under humiliating conditions, that the enlarged salary was voted by a majority of four. The hostility of the parliamentary majority was still more clearly evinced, a few days after, by the

rejection of a proposal on the part of the Government, that the mayors should be appointed by the executive instead of the inhabitants. This change was loudly called for; for as matters at present stood, the mayors in some places were Legitimists, in others Orleanists, and in the great towns nearly all Socialists, so that no united action could by possibility be expected from them. The Legitimists united with the Mountain to throw out this useful measure, and they succeeded. A still more decided proof of hostility was afforded in the appointment of the permanent commission of the Assembly to watch over the President during the recess, which was to extend from the 11th August to the 4th November, and was composed of the lead-

¹ Cass. ii. 147, 158, 161; Les-seps, ii. 131, 185; Moniteur, June 7, 9, 1850.

ers of all the parties now coalesced against the President, embracing, among others, General Changarnier, M. Odillon Barrot, General Lamorcière, M. Molé, and General Creton.¹

Seeing the Assembly thus decided, and formed into a coalition against him, the President's ident resolved to throw himself upon the real supporters of his authority, and appeal to the provinces. On the

12th August, the very day after the Assembly broke up, he set out for Lyons, which he reached on the 14th, and on the day following he was entertained at a public banquet. It was a striking proof at once of his courage and his wisdom that he selected for his first public demonstration a city so recently the theatre of a bloody Socialist revolt. It proved eminently successful. "We are told," said he, "of surprises and usurpations: you attach no faith to such absurd reports. *Coups-d'état* are the dream of those who have no moral support in the nation; but the elected of six millions of men executes the wishes of the people, and has no need to betray them. Patriotism may consist in self-denial as well as in heroism. In presence of a general danger, personal ambition of every kind disappears; but patriotism reveals itself as maternity did on the evidence by which the real mother of an infant was discovered in the story, from her who pretended to be so. It was by the renunciation of her rights to save her child that the real mother was discovered. I shall not forget that sublime lesson. But, on the other hand, should culpable pretensions revive and menace the peace of France, I shall know how to reduce them to impotence by invoking the sovereignty of the people, for I recognize in no one the title of representative of the people more than in myself." These words were received with loud acclamations: the banquet proved a civic ovation. From thence the Prince went to Strasbourg, Rheims, and Cherbourg.

² Ormond, Napoleon III., 140, 143; Cass. ii. 174; Les. ii. 200.

Every where his reception was of the most unanimous and enthusiastic description. His words at Rheims truly described the feeling of the provinces.² "Our country desires

only order, religion, and a sage liberty. Every where I have found that the number of agitators is infinitely small, that of good citizens infinitely great. God grant they may never be divided."

Notwithstanding the clear proof thus evinced of the general feeling of the country, the leaders of parties in the Assembly still clung to the phantom of parliamentary government, as if it could be any thing but a phantom when the

great majority of the constituency was evidently against it. Seeing the President had openly taken his line, the different parties in the Assembly coalesced in the closest manner against him; and preparations were secretly made for an appeal to arms, in the event of his not yielding obedience to the wishes of the Legislature. Advances were made to General Changarnier, both by the Royalist, the Democratic, and the Orleanist leaders; and his important position as commander of the armed force, both in Paris and the Department of the Seine, rendered his concurrence a matter of very great importance. He was at length gained over to the coalition, though he had at first been a warm supporter of Louis Napoleon. The universal homage paid to the President during his tour in the provinces, and especially the cry of "*Vive Napoléon!*" which was frequently heard at the reviews of the troops, awakened his apprehensions, as well as those of the Parliamentary Commission, which formally remonstrated with the President on certain distributions made to the troops after the reviews were over. They were very moderate, being at the cost only of 25 centimes (2½d.) per head; but even this trifling sum seemed dangerous in a country and a state of society where every thing had come to depend on the voice of the military. The knowledge that such a charge had been preferred against the President, which soon got wind, and the vague sense of an approaching crisis in which the military were to play the leading part, caused a large concourse of spectators to assemble to witness a great review, which was to take place at Satory, near Versailles, on the 16th October. The infantry, consisting of three regiments, passed in silence, which struck every one with surprise, as being contrary to what usually took place on such occasions; but the surprise was redoubled when the cavalry, consisting of forty-eight squadrons, defiled past at a quick trot, amidst cries of "*Vive Napoléon! Vive l'Empereur!*" The difference was too marked not to attract attention; and inquiry being made on the spot, Changarnier declared he had given no orders on the subject; but General Neumayer, who commanded one of the divisions, admitted that he had ordered the infantry to be silent under arms. The rules of discipline required that such an act on the part of an inferior officer should not be passed over; but the Prince merely deprived him of the command of his former division, and appointed him general of two others at a distance from Paris.¹

Hitherto General Changarnier was not ostensibly implicated in this affair, although, being the general in command of the troops on the occasion, it was generally suspected that a subordinate officer would not have taken the strong step of interdicting the customary salutation to the President without

30.
Parliamentary coalition against the President.

¹ Cass. ii. 196, 167; Ann. Hist. 1850, 353, 354; ii. 238, 239.

81.
Rapture between the President and General Changarnier.

his concurrence, or the direct orders of the Commission of the Assembly, which was known to be decidedly hostile to him. For twenty days he maintained a studious silence, taking no notice of General Neumayer's dismissal, and it was thought that he was about to play the part of General Monk, and attempt a second restoration. At length he declared himself. On the 2d Nov. 2.

November there appeared an order, signed by him, forbidding the troops under his command to utter cries while under arms. So universally was this understood to be a declaration of war on his part against the President, that the journals in Changarnier's interest immediately announced his dismissal, accompanied by the statement that it was not as yet executed, because no minister could be found bold enough to attach his signature to such an order. The President, however, judged it prudent to dissemble for a while, and to delay the counter-stroke against his powerful lieutenant, until either his own imprudence or some act of the Legislature should more clearly put him in the wrong in public opinion; for as long as republican institutions were in form established, it was impossible to deny that cries from the military pointing to an emperor were improper, if not seditious. The excessive imprudence of the Parliamentary Commission ere long furnished him with such an opportunity. A pretended conspiracy was revealed by some agents of the police to the Commission, professing to have for its object the assassination of General Changarnier and M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, as the chief obstacles to the re-establishment of the Empire. The informer, named Allais, who gave the information, disappeared immediately after doing so, and could not be found, and no evidence corroborating his statement could be obtained; but, nevertheless,

the Commission affected to believe the story, and laid on the table of the Assembly a proposal to have a police appointed and paid by themselves to watch over the safety of the National Assembly.¹

The President now deemed the time come when he might move with advantage. His first step was the dismissal of General Hautpoul, the minister at war, which was done in the most delicate terms, and with every expression of regret. He was succeeded by General Schramm. His next was the message to the Assembly, which opened on 12th November, in which he said: "Whatever changes may lie buried in the womb of time, rest assured that it is never passion, surprise, or violence which decides the fate of a great people. Let us inspire in the people the love of repose, by showing the example of calmness in our own deliberations; let us inspire them with a reverence for what is right, by never transgressing its bounds ourselves; and when this is done, the progress of political morals will compensate the danger of institutions created in days of distrust and uncertainty. The noblest and most worthy object of an elevated mind is not to seek when in power the means by which it is to be perpetuated, but to keep in view continually the means of consolidating, for the advantage of all, the principle of authority and of public morality, which bids defiance alike to the passions of men and the in-

stability of laws." This message produced only a temporary lull of the hostilities between the Assembly and the President; and ere long a proposal was brought forward by M. Creton to repeal all the laws against the return of princes of the exiled families. This was done with the design of rearing up, in the Orleans princes, rivals to the President; but it was abandoned, because the Legitimist deputies refused to concur in the motion.¹

¹ *Moniteur*, Dec. 9, 1850; *Cass. il.* 218, 214; *Ann. Hist.* 1850, 356, 357.

Still Changarnier retained the command of the troops in Paris and the Department of the Seine; and this important military situation naturally caused him to be regarded as the military chief and man of action of the parties coalesced in the Assembly against the President. An event, however, occurred early in January, 1851, which brought him directly in collision with the chief magistrate. On Jan. 2.

^{23.} Commencement of the rupture with the Assembly.

the 2d January, a journal known to be in the interest of the Assembly, reported certain instructions issued to the troops in January, 1849, requiring them to obey no orders but such as emanated from the general-in-chief, and declared null "every requisition, summoning, or order on the part of *every functionary, civil, political, or judiciary*." Louis Napoleon now deemed it indispensable to act, and he did so in the most decided manner. On the day following Jan. 3. he came unexpectedly to the Assembly, and demanded that they should either declare these instructions apocryphal, or censure the general-in-chief, who had republished them of his own authority. The minister at war, General Schramm, taken by surprise, asked for time to consult the Commission of the Assembly; but General Changarnier, with more candor, while denying that the interpretation put on the order was warranted, and asserting that he had never taken into consideration the right of the Commission to command the armed force, admitted that he "had drawn up the orders in order to preserve the unity of command, and in contemplation of a combat." The Assembly, "desirous to accept the homage of the army of Paris, and in order to give it a proof of its confidence, passed to the order of the day." Upon this General Schramm resigned his situation of minister at war, which broke up the cabinet. But Louis Napoleon's resolution was taken, and on the 7th it was generally known that in the afternoon General Changarnier was to be deprived of his military command at Paris.²

January 4.
² *Ann. Hist.* 1851, 3, 4; *Moniteur*, January 8, 1851; *Cass. il.* 216, 219; *Leg. il.* 240, 245.

Upon this bold resolution being known in the Assembly, the most violent storm commenced; but the public funds rose considerably. It was felt that the contest was now openly begun, and that every thing would depend on the command of the garrison of Paris. As in the English civil wars, the strife had begun with a struggle for the command of an armed force. In the first transports of their indignation, the Assembly spoke of ordering the formation of an army of fifty thousand men, and placing them under the orders of General Changarnier. The extreme division of parties in the Assembly rendered it impossible to obtain a majority for any

^{34.} Violent proceedings in the Assembly.

decisive measure, and they contented themselves with proposing a vote of no confidence in the Ministry, which it was known would be carried. Meanwhile the President convened the leading members of the Assembly, on the 8th January, Jan. 8. at the Elysée Bourbon, when he "declared his earnest desire to remain on good terms with the Legislature; offered to take his ministers from the majority; to abandon his enlarged civil lists; in a word, to do every thing they desired, except give up the right which the constitution gave him of dismissing an inferior officer." There was no doubt that this was legally within his power, and accordingly the conference broke up without any result. The Ministry upon this resigned, and the President reformed it with the changes only of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, who was appointed to the ministry of Foreign Affairs; General Regnaud de l'Angely, who was made Minister at War; M. Ducos to the Marine; M. Mapu to Public Works; and Jan. 9. M. Bonjeau to Agriculture and Commerce. On the same day, the military command of Paris was divided, General Perrot being appointed to the command of the national guards of the Department of the Seine, General Baraguay d'Hilliers receiving the command of the regular troops in Paris, and General Carrelot that of the regular troops in the first military division forming the environs of the capital. Thus General Changarnier was superseded without his name being once mentioned. The dismissed General repaired to M. Dupin, the President of the Assembly, and proposed that he should receive an appointment as

¹ *Moniteur*, Jan. 10, 1851; *General of the Army of the Assembly*; but Dupin declined to confer it on him, alleging, with truth, it was beyond his power.¹

"The Assembly has lost its sword," exclaimed the *Gazette de France*, when the dismissal of General Changarnier was made public. The coalition, however, did not lose heart, and preparations were made for a grand parliamentary demonstration against the President. It was brought on, after a tumultuous debate of five days, by a motion of M. Rennold, to the effect that "the Government should be called on to explain why the preceding cabinet has retired and the new ministry been appointed; and when this question is answered, that the Assembly should separate into its bureaux in order to adopt all the measures the public exigencies may require." The debate on this motion, as may well be supposed, ran entirely on the dismissal of Changarnier and the position of the President, antagonistic to the Assembly, and it lasted five days. In the course of it Thiers said, "There are but two powers in the State. If the Assembly yields now, there will be but one power; the form of the Government will be changed. The word will come when he pleases; that is of little moment. Let it come when it may, the EMPIRE IS MADE." The whole parties, Royalists, Orleanists, Republicans, Socialists, coalesced against the President, and the Assembly, amidst the utmost agitation, declared "that the Ministry has not its confidence, and passes to the order of the day," by a majority of 417 to 286.²

² *Moniteur*, Jan. 15, 1851; *Cass. ii.* 240, 248; *Less. ii.* 266, 267; *Nationel*, Jan. 15, 1851.

Upon this defeat the President, to a certain extent, reformed his ministry, but he did so by selecting as the new ministers strangers to the Assembly. In form and appearance, he yielded to the vote of the Assembly, but in reality and substance he did just the reverse, for not one cabinet minister was taken from their benches; that is, they lost the whole object for which they were contending. Sensible of their difficulties, the leaders of the parties which had coalesced, exhausted by the violence of the conflict, and disconcerted by the manner in which the President had eluded the effects of their victory, relapsed into a state of comparative quiescence, and prolonged for eleven months longer the strife, and halved Government between the Chief Magistrate and the Assembly. The latter took a discreditable advantage of their majority by refusing the endowment of 1,800,000 francs (£72,000), instead of the 36,000,000 francs accorded to Charles X., and the 21,000,000 to Louis Philippe. This allowance was the patrimony of the old soldiers, artists, and men of letters, who hung upon the executive, rather than of the President who distributed it; but nevertheless they refused it by a majority of 98, the numbers being 396 to 294. This paltry economizing, and reducing him to his old salary of 600,000 francs (£24,000) a year, only increased his popularity; he sold off part of his horses, and dismissed the most of his establishment; and the indignation excited by this treatment of the first magistrate of the republic was such that large subscriptions were immediately made, even among the workmen of the Faubourg St. Antoine, to indemnify him for what the parsimony of the Assembly had refused. The President only increased his popularity by respectfully declining the proffered bounty. It soon appeared that the majority was held together by a rope of sand; the exasperation of the parties of which it was composed was so great that they could unite on nothing but votes hostile to the common enemy, the President. M. Creton having renewed on the 1st March his motion for the repeal of the laws against the exiles, the Socialists, Orleanists, and Legitimists broke out into vehement and acrimonious declamation against each other; and to such a length did the exasperation on all sides proceed, that M. Berryer, fearful of the majority being openly disunited, with difficulty obtained an adjournment of the question till the 1st September. Meanwhile the President remained calm at his post, and the Assembly did not venture to take the only decisive step legally in their power—that of stopping the supplies, for fear of irritating the army and enabling the President to appeal to the people to deliver him from a factious Parliament, which had rendered all government impossible.¹

Encouraged by this circumstance, and the lull of strife in the Assembly, he resolved cautiously to admit the parliamentary leaders into the Ministry, and with that view he sent for M. Odillon Barrot to form a new cabinet, which might conciliate the Legislature. That orator accepted the difficult mission, but he soon found that it was impossi-

^{86.} Change of Ministry, and exhaustion of parties.

^{Feb. 5.}

^{Feb. 6.}

^{March 1.}

¹ *Moniteur*, March 2, 1851; *Ann. Hist.* 1851, 237; *Cass. ii.* 260, 266; *Less. ii.* 270, 273.

^{57.}

^{New Ministry.}

ble either to reconcile the principles or satisfy the demands of the various and discordant parties of whom the majority in the Assembly was composed, and he was obliged to abandon the undertaking. Left in this manner to his own resources, but desirous of holding out the olive branch to the Legislature, the President, Apr 11 10.

on 10th April, formed a new cabinet, composed entirely, with the exception of General Randon, the war minister, of members of the Assembly, although none of them were to be found among the leaders of the hostile parties. They were all men, however, of respectability and business habits, though without shining parts, such as in ordinary times would have commanded general confidence. But as every one saw that a struggle between the Assembly and the President was impending, and must sooner or later come on, these considerations were generally forgotten, and all eyes were turned to the future, straining 1 Cass. II. 268, 270; An. Hist. 1851, 94, 97; to descry on what question the collision was likely to take place.¹

The revision of the constitution was the first question on which the looked-for tri-
Revision of al of strength took place. This step the Consti- was loudly demanded by all intelli-
tution. gent persons in the kingdom, from

the proof which had been afforded of the impossibility of the public business being conducted, with the executive in a constant state of antagonism with the Legislature, and the latter so split up into irreconcilable parties that no cabinet capable of carrying on the Government could be formed out of the majority. The time was now approaching when this revision might legally be made, as the third and last year of the Legislative Assembly commenced on the 28th May, and from that date it was competent by the constitu-
tion² to introduce changes into it, provided

they were sanctioned by at least three-fourths of the Assembly, consisting of at least five hundred members. Petitions on this subject began to be presented on the 5th of May, and between that day and the 31st June they contained the signatures of 1,128,625 persons, of whom 741,000 demanded the revision of the constitution, and 382,624, in addition, the prolongation of the powers of the President. Three hundred thousand more signatures were presented before the 24th July. So great a demonstration of opinion left no room for doubt that

the revision was anxiously desired by a great majority in the country, July 19, 1851, and accordingly Odillon Barrot expressed himself to that effect.³ The

public press was divided on the subject: the Orleanist journals were hostile to it, as likely to favor the Empire: the Legitimists were rather for it, as likely to advance the cause of Henry V.: the Republican and Socialist concurred, after a good deal of hesitation, in absolutely rejecting it, as likely to injure the dogma of the sovereignty of the people, the great conquest of the Revolution. The Conservatives generally supported it, and M. de Broglie presented a petition, signed by 232 deputies, praying for

it.⁴ But the Socialists boasted that the revision would never pass, because it could only be done by three-fourths of a House of at least five hundred, and they were strong

enough in the Assembly to prevent such a majority ever being obtained.

The President took advantage of a banquet at Lyons on 1st June, 1851, to express

his ideas on this all-important subject. "France," said he, "neither wishes a return to the ancient régime, under what form soever it may be disguised, nor an experi-
Napoleon and Cavaignac on the revision of the Constitution.

ment of perilous and impracticable utopian schemes. It is because I am the most decided adversary of both the one and the other, that the people have such confidence in me. A new phase in our political course is about to commence. From one end of France to the other petitions are pouring in, praying for a revision of the constitution. I confidently expect the manifestations of the country and the decisions of the Assembly, which will be solely for the public good. If France sees that she is denied the right of disposing of herself without its concurrence, she has only to say the word; my courage and energy shall not be wanting. Whatever may be the duties which the country may impose upon me, it will find me ready to execute its will: be assured France is not destined to perish in my hands." On the other hand, General Cavaignac said: "The revision of the constitution would put the Republic in the balance against the Empire. But the Republic should not permit itself to be called in question: every Government which allows its principle to be called in question is lost. The national sovereignty is the fundamental principle which runs through all our institutions, and the Republic is the sole and only representative of that principle."⁵

The question came on for decision on the 20th July. 724 members voted, and consequently the 111th article of the constitution required 543 votes, being three-fourths, to authorize the change. The numbers were 446 for it, and 275 against it: a preponderance, making a majority of 158, great indeed, but not sufficient according to the constitution to authorize an alteration of its fundamental articles. The coalition had, therefore, gained a victory by this decision, and on the day following it was succeeded by a motion, on the part of M. Bazé, one of the questors,* for a vote of censure on the Administration for the part they were alleged to have taken in getting up the petitions. This was carried by a majority of 18, the numbers being 338 to 320; and on the 16th October following, the session was prorogued to the 4th November. It is remarkable that in the minority against the revision of the constitution were to be found the names of M. Thiers and M. Remusat, though there were not probably in all France two men more thoroughly convinced of the ruinous tendency of the existing institutions than those political philosophers.⁶

Vote against the revision of the Constitution, and prorogation of the Assembly.

Oct. 10.

July 21.

Moniteur, July 21, 22, and Oct. 11, 1851; Cass. II. 288, 291; Leas. II. 284, 289.

During the short interval of parliamentary strife the country was in any thing but a state of repose. The secret societies, not only in the

* The "Questors," who became celebrated immediately after, were officers appointed by the Assembly, in imitation of the questors of Rome, to watch in an especial manner over the Legislature and the public weal.

metropolis, but in all the chief towns of France, were in a state of unprecedented activity. Their members were full of hopes for the future. "Yet four months," said their organ, "and the Assembly will have reached the term of its existence. We shall be done with the President, as his re-election is forbidden by law, and victory will remain with the people."¹ The period assigned for the great strife was March, 1852, when the Assembly's term of existence came to an end; and it was thought the vote against the revision of the constitution had secured the victory of the Jacobins on this occasion. The great legislative question on which the elections, it was thought, would hinge, and to which, therefore, all eyes were turned, was the repeal of the law of 31st May regarding the elections. On this subject the President had never changed his opinion: he was decidedly in favor of a repeal of the law, thinking that its removal would do more for him in the rural districts than against him in the metropolitan constituency. His ministers were decidedly of the opposite way of thinking. They deemed it certain that a restoration of the old law would give a majority to the Socialists, and ruin both the Government and France. The opinions of the chief magistrate and his cabinet being thus irreconcilably at variance, nothing remained but an entire change of ministry. They all resigned accordingly, and were succeeded by a ministry entirely new, composed of men of respectability, but for the most part unknown to fame. It contained, however, one name destined to celebrity—GENERAL ST. ARNAUD—who was appointed minister at war. The new cabinet was universally regarded as a declaration of the President in favor of the repeal of the electoral law of 31st May.²

The last session of the Assembly opened on the 4th November; and in his message to it the President said: "A vast conspiracy of demagogues is organized in France and in Europe.

The secret societies have spread their ramifications even in the most distant rural communes. All that the societies have that is insensate, violent, incorrigible, without having agreed either on men or things, have fixed on a rendezvous for 1852, not to construct but to destroy. It is in the zeal of the magistracy, the strength of the administration, and the devotion of the army, that we can alone hope for the salvation of France. Let us then unite our efforts to take away from the Genius of Evil the hope of even a momentary success." Somewhat inconsistently after this gloomy exordium, the message contained a proposal to repeal the law of 31st May, restricting universal suffrage, and excluding only from the right of voting persons having no domicile, or convicted of crimes. It proposed to restrict the domicile required by law to six months instead of three years. By this change it was calculated that nearly three million of inoffensive citizens would be restored to the suffrage, of which by the existing law they stood deprived.³ It was evident that

the President was playing out his last card: he was preparing for an appeal to the nation, and securing beforehand the votes of the restored citizens.

The leaders of the coalesced majority in the Assembly viewed the matter in this light, and they immediately met in Motion of the this move of the President by a Quæstors. counter-move, which, three days Nov. 7. after, was laid on the table of the Assembly by the quæstors, and which was qualified by the designation of "urgent." The motion was to this effect: "The President of the National Assembly is charged with the exterior and interior safety of the Assembly. He is to exercise, in the name of the Assembly, the right conferred on the Legislature by the 32d article of the constitution, to fix the amount of force required for its security, and appoint the chief to command it. It is authorized, with that view, to require the assistance of the armed force, and of all the authorities whom it may deem necessary for its support. These requisitions may be addressed to all officers, superior and inferior, who are all bound immediately to obey them under the pains fixed by law. The President may delegate his powers of requisition to the quæstors, or any of them. This law shall be read as an order of the day to the army, and placarded in all the barracks on the territory of the Republic." This proposal was a flagrant violation of existing law, as it went to take from the President the command of the armed force, expressly conferred upon him, and him alone, by the constitution. It amounted to a declaration of war against him; but gave him the immense advantage, for which he had long been looking, of beginning the contest not only with the affections of the army and of the great majority of the people, but with the legal right on his side.⁴

This proposal came on for discussion on the 16th November, after having been adopted by the committee to which it had been referred, and led to an animated debate on the following day. The agitation in the Assembly was extreme, especially when General St. Arnaud admitted that he had given instructions to take down the decree of 11th May, 1848, directing the soldiers to obey the orders of the Assembly, which had been recently put up by its command. St. Arnaud's language was extremely firm on this occasion. "Passive obedience," said he, "is the vital principle of an army. I have learned so in the school of Marshal Bugeaud. Discipline is essential to its existence: the moment that you destroy it you ruin the safeguard of the nation. The proposal of the quæstors goes to introduce deliberation and a division of power into the ranks; but the army is the servant of the country: it is united in the sense of its duty." These words spread a general conviction that the army would not support the Assembly, and shook the majority. "Do what you please," said the Minister of the Interior, "we are prepared for all eventualities." A gloomy silence now succeeded to the tumultuous cries which had hitherto disturbed the debate: terror froze every heart, and detached crowds from the majority. Many thought the proposal of the quæstors was the signal for a

41. State of parties during the recess: preparations of the President, and change of Ministry.

1 Comptes Rendus de la Montagne, Oct. 10, 1851.

2 *Moniteur*, Oct. 28, 1851; *Ann. Hist.* 1851, 116, 124; *Cass. II.* 291, 302; *Less. II.* 305, 315.

42. Opening of the session. November 4.

3 *Moniteur*, Nov. 5, 1851; *Ann. Hist.* 1851, 127, 131; *Cass. II.* 303, 304; *Less. II.* 316, 325.

4 *Moniteur*, Nov. 8, 1851; *Cass. II.* 304.

41. Rejection of the proposal of the Quæstors. Nov. 17.

parliamentary *coup-d'état*; all saw in it the commencement of a bloody civil war. Under the influence of these feelings the vote was called for. On the vote being taken, 408 voted against the proposal of the quæstors, and only 300 for it. It was observed that Generals Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Changarnier voted with the quæstors, all the other military men in the Assembly, twenty-one in number, against them. M. Roucher brought the decision of the Assembly to the President, who was in the palace of the Elysée, ready, if the vote had been different, to mount on horseback. "It is better as it is," cried he, and the preparations were immediately countermanded.¹

This great debate left the parties in a state of mutual exhaustion, and materially damaged the coalition in the Assembly, which had hitherto been so hostile to the President, by showing that, on a crisis, a large part might be expected to leave it. The narrow escape which the country had made from civil war, and the obvious risk of its soon recurring, had suggested to thoughtful and reasonable men of all parties the necessity of a change in the constitution; and since the Assembly could not muster a majority sufficient to do this legally, the only recourse was a *coup-d'état*. This was evident to all, and all were prepared to act upon it; the only question—and it was a most material one—was, to whose profit the *coup* was to be struck? Meetings of the leaders of parties accordingly took place, to consider what should be done in this emergency. M. Thiers "was of opinion that the President should be re-elected for ten years." "It will be a terrible day for Paris," said he, "when that is proposed; but I feel it is just and indispensable, and I am willing to agree to it." M. Molé and his friends were of opinion that the Assembly should be divided into two Chambers, the President re-elected, and vigorous measures taken against Socialism. A third party, which met at M. Daru's, in the Rue de Lille, on the 15th November, and included M. de Montalembert, were for the division of the Assembly into two Chambers, the re-election of the President, and the passing of these resolutions into a law by a simple majority of the Assembly, not three-fourths, as required by the constitution. Thus all parties were agreed, except the extreme Radicals, that a revision and change of the constitution were indispensable; but as it could not be effected in the present temper of the Assembly without a *coup-d'état*, and they were by no means agreed how or by whom that was to be done, matters seemed inextricable, so far as the civil leaders of parties were concerned.²

But meanwhile a more efficient body than the statesmen or philosophers had taken the matter up, and the fervor of the Revolution was about to terminate in its natural and inevitable end. On the 26th November a meeting of general officers took place at General Magnan's; they were twenty-one in number, including himself. The general-in-chief there briefly recapitulated to the meeting the state of the country, menaced by a furious democracy on one side and an ambitious parliamentary coalition

on the other; and the intention of the President, the people's choice, to appeal to them to deliver the country from the otherwise inextricable difficulty in which it was placed. It needed no eloquence to enforce this appeal; the necessity of the case was felt by all. The recent proposal of the quæstors proved that a similar necessity was acknowledged on the other side. General Reybell was the first who came forward and declared that the generals were determined, one and all, to stand by the President in his effort to save the country. The other officers all followed his example, and mutually shook hands and embraced. When the emotion consequent on such a determination had a little subsided, General Magnan said, "Let us all swear, that, come what may, no one will ever reveal what has passed here to-day." They all took the oath accordingly; and so well was the secret kept that it was for the first time revealed, five years afterward, by Cassagnac, with the consent of the officers present on the occasion.¹

While the generals were thus coalescing to support the President, a conspiracy to overturn him was preparing in the Assembly. It was proposed to denounce the President, and declare his powers terminated; commit him to Vincennes, and subsequently transport or banish him from France. All civil and military officers refusing their support to the Assembly were to be proceeded against according to law, as guilty of treason; and this decree was to be publicly affixed in all the barracks of the Republic. This motion was remitted to a committee of fifteen, consisting of the leaders of the three coalesced parties, by whom it was, with one dissenting voice, agreed to. The motion once carried, the command of the army was to be assumed, and the President lodged in Vincennes. Those who agreed to this scheme were the leaders of the Legitimist, Orleanist, Moderate, and Jacobin parties, and the execution of the plan was fixed for an early day; while in the interim, the most entire secrecy was enjoined on the design.²

But meanwhile the President was not idle. The parliamentary coalition had to deal with a very different man from Charles X. or Louis Philippe, M. de Polignac or M. Thiers. Aware of the contest which was evidently approaching, he had in the utmost secrecy taken all the steps necessary, not only to meet, but to anticipate it. General St. Arnaud, M. de Morny, M. de Maupas, were alone in the secret; but the heads of the military and police were apprised that something was in agitation, and were on the alert. To appearance, however, every thing was going on in its usual course; the Assembly were quietly discussing, on 1st December, the interminable project of the Lyons railroad and the registers of the municipalities. In the evening M. de Morny was in company with General Changarnier at the Opera Comique, and the President was doing the honors in his usual reception-room in the Elysée. His visage was as calm, his manner as conciliatory and affable, as usual. No symptoms of any thing extraordinary were to be seen; and the election of a representative for the Department of the Seine, which took place on the 1st, sufficiently accounted

¹ *Moniteur*, Nov. 18, 1851; the Elysée, ready, if the vote had been different, to mount on horseback. "It is better as it is," cried he, and the preparations were immediately countermanded.¹

^{45.} Views of the leaders of parties at this time.

² *Cass. II.* 874, 894.

^{46.} Military meeting at General Magnan's. Nov. 26.

¹ *Cass. II.* 891, 893.

^{47.}

Conspiracy in the Assembly. Nov. 26.

² *Leg. II.* 851, 852.

^{48.}

Preparations for the *coup-d'état*.

Dec. 1.

for the appearance of several couriers and *estafettes* in the streets. When the company had retired, General St. Arnaud, M. le Comte de Morny, M. de Maupas, the head of the police, and M. de Boville, colonel of the *Etat-major*, retired with the President to a private apartment, where the duties of each were assigned. M. de Morny was appointed Minister of the Interior, and was to sign all the warrants of arrest, and that ordering the dissolution of the Assembly; General St. Arnaud was to direct the whole military operations; and M. de Boville was to undertake the delicate task of getting the proclamation announcing all these changes thrown off at the national printing-office, in concert with M. de St. Georges, the director of that establishment. The whole measures concerted were forthwith carried into execution. The police and military were entirely at the devotion of the President, and executed energetically all the orders which they received. Before two in the morning of the 2d December—the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz—the whole leaders of all the coalesced parties were arrested, the most of them in their beds, and safely lodged in prison. Among them were Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, de Lamoricière, La Flos, and Bedeau; Colonel Charras, M. Thiers, M. Bazé, Lagrange, and Greppe. Along with these parliamentary leaders were arrested, at the same time, the chiefs of the clubs and secret societies, whose names were well known to the Government, and formidable from their influence with the Socialists of Paris. They comprehended the leaders of all the revolts which had taken place since the fall of Louis Philippe. The prisoners were all marched off to prison under the escort of a strong body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, where they were safely lodged by seven; and when the Parisians rose in the morning they were astonished to see the walls every where placarded by a proclamation signed by Louis Napoleon, and De Morny, Minister of the Interior, announcing the dissolution of the Assembly, the re-establishment of universal suffrage, the abolition of the law of 31st May, the convocation of the whole electors for the

¹ *Moniteur*, Dec. 3, 1851; *Ann. Hist.* 1851, 190, 194; *Cass.* ii. 399, 402; *Lett.* ii. 358, 361.

The empire was in reality established on this day; and the appeal of the President to the people was accompanied by a proclamation, in which he said: "If you desire to perpetuate the state of distrust and anxiety which degrades the present and endangers the future, choose another in my place; for I will not condescend to hold a power which is powerless for good—which renders me responsible for acts which I can not prevent, and chains me to the helm when I can not prevent the vessel drifting to destruction. The Assembly, which should be the support of order, has become the centre of factious designs; it is forging the arms of civil war, and striving to subvert the power which I hold directly from the people. It compromises the repose of France; I have dissolved it, and call on the people to judge between it and me. If you trust me, give me power to accomplish

the great mission which I hold of you, which is, to close the era of revolutions, by satisfying the legitimate demands of the people. Persuaded that the instability of power, and the preponderance of a single assembly, are lasting causes of trouble and discord, the bases of a new constitution which I propose to you are: 1. A responsible chief, elected for ten years. 2. A cabinet appointed by him alone. 3. A council of state, consisting of the most eminent men, who are to prepare the laws which are to be introduced, and support them before the legislative body. 4. A legislative body named by universal suffrage, without any scrutiny of the votes. 5. A second Assembly, formed of all the eminent

¹ *Moniteur*, Dec. 3, 1851; *Lett.* ii. 367, 368.

Some of the members of the Assembly who had not been arrested assembled at ten o'clock in the Rue Petits-Augustins, and M. Cremieux was elected president. They were immediately surrounded, and conducted to prison. Later in the day, the Legitimist, Orleanist, and moderate members, to the number of 217, assembled in the mayor's office of the 10th arrondissement, where they flattered themselves they would be supported by the national guard of the district. They were mistaken; it kept aloof; and the place being surrounded by a body of the Chasseurs of Vincennes, the deputies were all conducted in the midst of the troops to the cavalry barracks on the Quai d'Orsay, where they were kept under guard. The High Court of Justice was at the same time invited to suspend its sittings, which was immediately done; and a few deputies having succeeded in making their way into the hall of the Assembly with the President, M. Dupin, they asked him to proclaim the dismissal of the President; but he said, "Gentlemen, the constitution is violated; we are not the strongest. I have the honor to wish you good-morning." He then withdrew, followed by the members, the most reluctant of whom were gently moved on by the military. At noon all was accomplished; the President, accompanied by the minister at war, the commander-in-chief, the commander of the National Guard, and a brilliant staff, rode through Paris, and passed the troops, who were drawn up in all quarters, and were every where received with loud acclamations.²

Hitherto the revolution had been entirely bloodless, and as the telegraph had announced the change of Government to all France, it was hoped that it would continue to be of the same peaceful character. The troops, which consisted of twenty-eight battalions of infantry, ten squadrons of cavalry, nineteen batteries of artillery, and a large body of sappers and miners, in all 85,000 combatants, under tried and experienced generals, devoted to the President, had shown themselves zealous in the cause, and had been so disposed on the night of the 1st and the whole of the 2d as to render any popular rising, or attempt at resistance, out of the question. The Socialists and Jacobins were, however, not discouraged. During the whole of the 3d they were to appearance quiet, but in reality they were

^{49.} The President's proclamation to the people.

² *Moniteur*, Dec. 3, 1851; *Cass.* ii. 404, 407; *Lett.* ii. 369, 371.

^{51.} *Combat* in Paris, Dec. 3.

making preparations for erecting barricades, and commencing a struggle. It broke out on the morning of the 8d, in the Faubourgs St. Antoine, St. Jacques, and St. Marceau; and at daylight several barricades were found to be erected in the most crowded quarters of those populous districts. The secret societies were all in activity, and their members were in great numbers in the streets. The barricades, however, were speedily carried, under a heavy fire, by the columns of General Levassier, supported by the *chasseurs-à-pied* and municipal guards. Great part of the insurgent quarter was occupied before night; but the insurgents still held the Faubourg St. Martin, and the streets of St. Deny, St. Martin, and the adjoining quarters; and a strong body of young men, chiefly belonging to the public press, occupied in strength the houses on either side of the Boulevard Italien, so as to endanger the troops passing. The youths, however, though brave, were no match for the Algerian veterans. The troops advanced along the boulevards, and kept up such a fire on every house from which a shot issued that the passage was soon cleared. They then converged from all quarters on the insurgent districts; the barricades, after being severely battered by cannon, were all carried, and the insurrection was at an end. It had cost the lives of 200 men, however, to the conquerors, and a still larger number to the insurgents. The secret societies stirred up insurrections in several parts of France, which occasioned much local bloodshed and devastation; but they were all speedily suppressed by the military.

¹ *Moniteur*, Dec. 5, 1851; *Ann. Hist.* 1851, 204, 209; *Cass. II.* 426, 428; *Lam. II.* 369, 373. In a few days all was over, and so firmly did the President feel his government established, that he was enabled to release, without any further proceedings, the whole persons arrested on occasion of the *coup-d'état*.¹

It only remained to see how the revolution was to be received by the inhabitants of France when they came to give their votes in the several electoral districts. The result exceeded the most sanguine hopes of the President and his friends. The Presidency for ten years, in effect the imperial crown, with the constitution which he had proposed, was approved by 7,572,329 votes, there being only 646,787 against it. The public funds, which were 91 on the 1st December, rose to 100 by the 8th. By an

² *Moniteur*, Dec. 9, 27, 1851; *Cass. II.* 433. overwhelming majority France closed the convulsions of the Revolution by a military despotism based on universal suffrage.²

With the accession of Prince Louis Napoleon to the imperial throne of France the series of changes immediately flowing from the first Revolution came to an end. With it, accordingly, the author concludes his engagements with the public, and brings to an end the continuous labor of thirty years. Great changes have taken place in the world since the work now concluded was first thought of, during the great review in the Champs Elysées in July, 1814, and he was far either from suspecting then the magnitude to which it was to extend, or the immense changes in human affairs which were to take place before it was concluded. Insensibly his work has

assumed a different character from what was originally either intended or anticipated; and annals, which at first were almost entirely taken up with revolutionary convulsions or military events, have latterly been chiefly occupied with social changes and conclusions from statistical details. Yet are these pacific changes nearly all the direct consequence of the former political or military struggles, and therefore it is that the history would be incomplete if it were not brought down to the restoration of the Napoleon Dynasty. The events which have since occurred have been second to none in European story: the Crimean War and Indian Revolt will forever stand forth among the most memorable episodes in the annals of mankind. But they have no connection, direct or remote, with the French Revolution: they have sprung from causes of discord more ancient than the struggle for freedom; they arose from the hostility of the Asiatics and Europeans, the same now as when Achilles dragged the body of Hector round the walls of Troy, or Godfrey of Bouillon and his victorious crusaders waded ankle-deep in blood to the Holy Sepulchre. But from 1789 to 1852 all the events which occurred sprang from one source: they all belonged, as it were, to one family; and the great war of opinion which commenced with the declamations of Mirabeau in 1789, and the renewal of which was predicted by Mr. Canning in 1825, was only terminated by the Russian intervention in Hungary in 1849, and the accession of Louis Napoleon in 1851. But all these changes, remote as they were, flowed directly from the principles diffused through the world by the first French Revolution; and we are now in a situation, from having witnessed its results, to discern some, at least, of the intentions of Providence in permitting that convulsion.

So far as persons conducting Government are concerned, the innovating party have been victorious in the strife. The Bourbons, after a contest of sixty years, have been finally expelled from the throne of France; the compromise of Louis Philippe has proved as unsuccessful as the forced restoration of the elder branch of the family, and seven millions of Frenchmen have been gratified by having an elective monarch of their choice intrusted with the imperial sceptre. The legitimate order of succession has been changed in Spain, and a revolutionary queen, in defiance of the Treaty of Utrecht, seated on its throne and that of Portugal. Belgium has been handed over from its lawful sovereign to an elective monarch: the King of Piedmont has been driven from the throne, and a constitutional government is now established in that country, as well as Flanders: the Emperor of Austria was forced to resign during the strife, and although the reigning family is unchanged there and in Prussia, yet the form at least of a constitutional government has been established in both countries. In Great Britain, although no dynastic change has taken place, and Queen Victoria still holds the sceptre of a loyal and grateful people, yet it is well known that this is in consequence of alterations having taken place in the real balance of government as great as ever were effected by a revolution; and that the constitution now is a monarchy surrounded by republican institutions

^{53.} Conclusion of the author's work.

^{54.} Results of the strife, so far as the cause of freedom is concerned.

more truly analagous to that of the United States of America than to that which existed in these islands under George III.

If, from the consideration of the dynastic changes or alterations in the frame and form of government in the European States during this period of anxious effort and checkered achievement, we turn to the substantial and lasting acquisitions which have been made by the cause of freedom, or additions to human happiness, during its continuance, we shall have little cause for congratulation. There is no concealing the fact that the result of the struggle in Europe generally has been eminently disastrous to the cause of liberty, and seriously endangered that of independence. France, after seventy years of almost incessant turmoil and frequent bloodshed, has been landed in an elective military despotism twice as costly, supported by a standing army three times as numerous and four times as strong as that which defended the monarchy of Louis XVI. The strength of Russia has been tripled in the strife, and now become such that it taxed the whole military and naval power of France and England to the very uttermost to wrest from her a single fortress on the Euxine. The unity, lust of conquest, military courage, and slavish disposition of the seventy millions who obey the commands of the Czar, are unchanged and seemingly unchangeable; and the European States regard with distant dread, more than any hope of successful resistance, a power of such magnitude, animated by such desires, and whose inhabitants are doubling every seventy years. The shadow of a constitutional government has been established in Spain, but it is the shadow only, stained by the corruption and venality, without any of the vigor or patriotism, which that form of government sometimes develops. The progress of real freedom has been commensurate only with the spread of the Teutonic race, whether in their native seats or the countries to which they have subsequently emigrated; and the main hopes of the friends of freedom in Germany are now founded on the defeat of the Jacobin party, who, by establishing themselves in power, would have destroyed the elements of liberty on the right, as they have done on the left bank of the Rhine. But although we may now hope that Germany has entered on the career of gradual and progressive, and therefore desirable reform, yet there are many symptoms which lead to the conclusion that in the first-born of freedom—England and America—the safe line has been passed, the just equilibrium subverted, and both nations launched in that career which, by vesting uncontrolled power in one only, and that the most dangerous class of society, renders the durable preservation of freedom extremely difficult.

If we limited our survey to the European States only, there would be too much room in these results for melancholy foreboding. But if we extend our views to a wider sphere, and take into consideration the effects of the passions which have so violently convulsed and desolated the ancient monarchies of the Old World, on the extension of the European race and civilization of distant

regions in the New, we shall feel warranted in arriving at very different conclusions. Without presuming to scan the designs of Providence farther than as they may be rendered undeniably manifest by accomplished changes, and disclaiming any attempt to divine the future plans of Omnipotence, it must be evident to all that a mighty system has been going forward during all the complicated events which have been commemorated in this History, and that the effect of that system has been to check the further growth of the human race in their ancient seats, and promote their extension over the desolate parts of the earth. To the European race, and most of all to the Teutonic branch of that family, this great and arduous mission has been intrusted; and the means by which it has been impelled into the discharge of this duty have been the development of the passions consequent on an advanced and luxurious state of society. The whole movement—the greatest which has yet occurred in the annals of the species, for it is nothing less than the transposition of the race of Japhet from their ancient seats to the New World—has been accomplished by the altering effect of the same active desire of men on their social interests with the natural progress of opulence. And it is the magnitude of this change, and the intensity of the feelings by which it has been brought about, which has been the cause at once of the vehemence of the strife in the European States, and the magnitude of the world-wide events which have followed its termination.

That the European race, gifted by nature with an energy, a roving disposition, and a passion for gain beyond any other, was the portion of mankind to whom the mission of spreading into the remote parts of the earth was intrusted, is manifest from what they have already achieved in accomplishing it, and the stationary condition of the inhabitants of the greatest and most ancient Asiatic empires in comparison. No one ever heard, till very recently, of an Indian or Chinese colony settling in distant lands, but the British colonies encircle the earth. But the problem which Providence had to solve in inducing the European race to enter upon the discharge of this duty, was to impregnate them in the advanced stages of society with the *desire to move*, a desire which usually diminishes among men with the increase of the gratifications and comforts which they can command at home. If there is any disposition which, in the ordinary case, increases in the progress of civilization, it is the *inhabitative*; if there are any chords which are daily more and more strengthened in the later stages of society in the breast of man, it is those which “bind him to his native shore.” How, then, is this stationary disposition of mankind, which has a tendency to increase at the very time when its removal to a great extent has become desirable, to be overcome, and the European brought to snap asunder the chains of centuries, and set forth a hardy emigrant, despising comfort, courting hardship, braving danger, into distant lands? This is accomplished by the counteracting influence of still more powerful desires, which spring up with the growth of opulence in a large class of society. And these desires are, the love of power and the love of gain.

56.
What have
been the ad-
ditions made
to the cause
of freedom.

57.
What is nec-
essary to
make an an-
cient nation
emigrate.

58.
Effects of the
European
revolutions
on the civili-
zation of the
world.

I. The love of power is universally felt by such
 59. of mankind as have attained, or are
 The love near attaining, the position in life where
 of power it can be exercised; but it is absolutely
 does this. unknown in the lower ranks of society
 in the first periods of their progress. It begins
 with those classes in the middle ranks which
 have gained a certain degree of independence by
 the acquisition of property, and first appears in
 such strength as to attract notice and influence
 society in boroughs or populous places, where
 numbers inspire confidence, and prosperity of
 condition confers the means of defense. As it is
 the tendency of increasing wealth to increase the
 number of these boroughs and populous places,
 from the augmented demand for the handicraft
 of wares which can only be produced in them,
 the democratic spirit increases rapidly in pros-
 perous countries in the later stages of society,
 and soon becomes recruited by the great major-
 ity of those who, from education and the conse-
 quent acquisition of intellectual strength, have
 come to feel as galling the chains of those who
 rest on brute force or military power. Hence
 the revolutions of France, Germany, Spain, and
 Italy, and the endless convulsions and wars, both
 foreign and domestic, which have arisen from
 them.

The result of these contests, whether they
 59. terminate in the triumph of the peo-
 Which ends in stoppage of increase of the people, and great emigra-
 tion. The triumph of either side
 is immediately followed by grievous disappoint-
 ment and depression of mind, alike in the victo-
 rious and the vanquished in the strife. Inde-
 pendent of the actual waste of life in these strug-
 gles, the destruction of capital, and shock given
 to credit during their continuance, is such that
 the demand for labor is so much reduced as to
 induce for a long course of years a decline, if not
 an absolute stoppage, of the increase of popula-
 tion. In those countries in which the demo-
 cratic spirit is weak in the country and rife only
 in the towns, as France, Italy, and Austria, the
 result of this is a great decline in the rate of in-
 crease in the people. But in those in which the
 democratic spirit is more wide-spread, and ex-
 tends over the rural districts as well as the towns,
 the effect is a vast and most important increase
 of emigration. The ardent republicans, finding
 their hopes all blasted, and their expectations
 disappointed by the result of their efforts at
 home, turn their eyes abroad, and seek in the
 solitude and seclusion of a yet virgin world that
 freedom of which Europe, as they conceive, has
 become unworthy. Decisive proof of this has
 been afforded by the annals of France, Germany,
 and Great Britain since the Revolution of 1848;
 for, in the first country, the shock given to in-
 dustry by that convulsion has been such that the
 quinquennial increase, which, from 1844 to 1849,
 had been 1,250,000 souls, had sunk in the next
 five years to 225,000, with only a very inconsid-
 erable emigration; and in each of the years 1854
 and 1855 the deaths exceeded the births by
 70,000; the impulse given to emigration in the
 second, by the same event, has been so great
 that, within three years after it occurred, it has
 risen from 20,000 to 250,000 a year, and in ten

years immediately following the Revolution of
 1848 it had amounted to 1,200,000 persons; and
 the emigrants from the third had swelled to the
 enormous amount of 368,000 in 1852, and the
 average for ten years immediately following 1846
 has been 266,000 annually.

II. While such is the effect of the ferment in
 men's minds, which arises in old
 and highly civilized states in the
 later stages of their progress, from
 the spread of opulence and the ex-
 tension of information among the
 people, another change, not less decisive in its
 influence on the progress of population, takes
 place from that very increase of wealth. Money,
 from being plentiful, becomes cheap; in other
 words, every article of commerce, the price of
 which is measured in money, becomes dear.
 The consumers of commodities, and all persons
 depending on fixed money payments, whether
 from the public funds, bonds, annuities, or other
 fixed obligations, seeing this, and comparing the
 price of articles especially of rude produce in their
 own country with what it is in the younger and
 poorer neighboring ones, naturally feel dissatis-
 faction, and are inspired with a strong aversion
 to those protective duties which prevent them
 from obtaining these articles of consumption as
 cheap as their neighbors. The common com-
 plaint, so often heard in Britain during the last
 half century, that every thing is so dear here
 compared to what it is abroad, and the numbers
 of persons, especially with limited incomes, who
 go abroad to obtain the benefit of low prices,
 proves how strongly this growing inconvenience,
 the necessary result of an extended commerce and
 great realized wealth, has been felt during that
 period in the centre of the British dominions.

During the growth of a great and prosperous
 empire, this evil is felt, and often
 sorely, by all the consumers who live
 on fixed money incomes; and never
 was more so than by that class in
 Great Britain during the war. But for long
 their complaints are powerless to obtain redress;
 they submit and suffer in silence from the effect
 of evils of the origin of which they are ignorant,
 as they would do to the inclemency of the weath-
 er or any other visitation of Providence. But
 after a time they are no longer doomed to this
 state of hopeless submission. They become so
 powerful from the addition which a long period
 of prosperity makes to their numbers and influ-
 ence, that they at first equal, and at last come
 to exceed in political power, all other classes put
 together. From the moment that this change
 takes place the protective system is endangered,
 and at last, probably after a severe struggle, it is
 overthrown. Free trade is first demanded for
 the productions of the soil, as it is in those that
 the improvements of machinery and application
 of capital can do least to counteract the rise of
 prices incident to a state of long-continued op-
 ulence; but when once introduced, it does not
 stop there; it is loudly demanded, and, in the
 circumstances, with justice, for all other branches
 of industry, whether in manufactures, shipping,
 colonies, or commerce. Thus the encourage-
 ment of wealth, and the demand for labor, is
 rapidly transferred from the old and rich to the
 young and poor states; their agriculture comes
 to displace that of their ancient rival; their ship-

ping conducts the greater part of its trade; their manufactures, at least of the ruder kinds, come to supplant its fabrics. From the moment that the protective system is abandoned, and free trade introduced in an old state, a check is given to domestic industry, and an increase to foreign, which at first retards, and at length comes to stop altogether, the growth of its population. As a nation, it at first becomes stationary, and at length declines. Accordingly, all the empires of whom history makes mention which once were great and powerful, the Roman, the Spanish, the Turkish, have perished, not from the excess, but the want of population, and a decline in the number of their inhabitants has been observed as the first symptom of national decay.

III. Two other circumstances come in the national progress of opulence to contribute powerfully to expel the human race from their ancient seats, and disperse them over the desolate parts of the earth. These are the monetary measures, into which the love of gain impels the wealthy and influential capitalists, and the progressively increasing dependence of manufacturers on the foreign instead of the home market. On the first point an ample commentary has already been made; and this history has been written to little purpose if it is not apparent that, in an ancient, opulent, and commercial nation, the monetary measures which the holders of realized wealth, for their own sake, are prompted to pursue, is the source of such unbounded industrial distress and frequent recurrence of monetary and commercial crises, as perhaps more than any other cause impels the industrious part of the nation into distant lands. The second cause is hardly less influential in conducing to the same result; for the manufacturer for the export sale has no interest in common with his fellow-countrymen as the one for the home market has, inasmuch as he is not benefited by their prosperity, but depends on that of foreign countries. On the contrary, his interest is decidedly adverse; for it is for his benefit that the laboring classes around him should be as indigent, and their wages in consequence as low, as possible. Then that class comes to support all measures tending to depress, to their own profit, the wages of labor. In the progress of a nation, and some time after its maturity, the amiable after-dinner sentiment, that the interest of all classes is identical, is strictly true; after its maturity, it changes into the sad reality that they are adverse to each other.

Thus it distinctly appears that there is a provision made by nature in the progress of society, first, for the increase of population, the augmentation of wealth, and the growth of national greatness, and after a time, for their retardation and ultimate decline. This is effected without any violation of the laws of nature, but by their continued operation; by the two ruling principles of mankind in all ages, the desire for power, and the desire for gain, producing effects directly opposite in different stages of society, from the progressive vesting of the ruling power in the State in different hands, in consequence of the growth of a class interest-

ed in low prices, that is, the discouragement of domestic industry, from the effect of the very wealth which has grown up under the opposite system of protection. This cause of retardation is strongly co-operated with by the discontent which invariably attends all democratic movements, whether successful or unsuccessful. Thus the growth of an empire which has reached its maturity is inevitably arrested, partly by the diminution of the rural population, the true cradle of the species, and the influx of men into great towns, its graves, and partly from the general migration of its inhabitants to distant lands, where they are to begin the same circle of "valor, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decline," which has torn them up from their native seats, and sent them into distant lands to be instruments in the hands of Providence in the great and prophesied work of "replenishing the earth and subduing it." The dangers of a redundant population, so forcibly portrayed by Mr. Malthus in the beginning of the century, were far from unreal or imaginary, as the instances of China, Hindostan, and Ireland have clearly demonstrated. But they never can be felt to any extent where the natural progress of society has not been set aside by human injustice or iniquity, because, long before they can have arisen, or population has approached the limits of subsistence, the retarding causes must have come into operation from the very circumstances which had induced the former increase.

In effecting this great change, the increase of wealth in the higher classes of society, and the extrication of the democratic passion in the lower, are the great agents; and it is their combined operation which has rendered the period embraced in this History so prolific of great and memorable events. The aged monarchies of Europe were making the transition from the growing to the stationary or declining state; and out of their suffering loins were springing up new nations in the Transatlantic and Australian wilds. Vast revolutions have ensued from this violent convulsion; the cause of freedom seems ruined in France by the destruction of hereditary descent, and any intermediate class between the throne and the peasant, which has caused Asiatic to succeed European civilization in that great country; the Imperial Guards have been at Moscow, the Cossacks at Paris; but none of these changes have left behind them any lasting effects. But the "mighty maze was not without a plan." During these alternate victories and defeats, and from the consequences with which they were naturally attended, the designs of Providence have been gradually put in execution; the principles which were to move the European race to the western and southern hemisphere were silently gathering strength and increasing in power, and during the last ten years four millions of Europeans have been transported to the New Worlds, and the annual migration has now come, on an average, to be five hundred thousand.

Observe in this view how marvelously the great physical changes of the period have conspired with the moral agencies in bringing about this stupendous result. Steam navigation has arisen, and been brought almost to perfection, dur-

ing the period when these moral influences were so strongly impelling civilized man into the wilderness of nature. By the effects of this great discovery the Atlantic has been bridged, the great rivers of the Old and New Worlds opened to European enterprise and energy, and ample means furnished to the ardent and discontented denizens of Europe to leave their ancient dwellings, cross over into a new hemisphere, and ascend the mighty rivers by which it is penetrated. The application of steam to traveling by land, and the construction of railways, has, at the same time, opened innumerable feeders to these great highways of civilization, and brought the means of rapid and cheap conveyance almost to every man's door. The electric telegraph, by rendering almost instantaneous the transmission of intelligence, not only by land, but through the bosom of the deep, has sensibly increased the influence of the moral causes which were so strongly impelling man from his native seats, and gave force to the exciting causes which were agitating society. Finally, the gold discoveries, first in California, and next in Australia, presented a magnet of universal attraction to large numbers of men in all countries, and not only drew them in great numbers to the places where it was thought, and often with truth, wealth was to be had merely for the taking, but stimulated industry and adventure by increasing prices over every part of the world. When we recollect that these great physical causes of change came into operation immediately after the Irish famine had in a manner loosened a whole nation from its moorings, and the failure of the European Revolution in 1848 had spread political discontent, the great moral instigator to emigration, far and wide through European society, it is not presumptuous to say that the great designs of the Almighty in the whole have been made manifest even to the most finite of His creatures.

The real friends of freedom, therefore, must not be discouraged because the efforts to attain it have so generally and rapidly terminated in disaster, and that to such an extent that it is doubtful whether, in an equal time, any other cause ever produced such an amount of social disorganization or private misery. These disasters and repeated failures have arisen, not from any inadequacy of the democratic spirit to produce the effects for which it was really intended, but from expectations being formed of its consequences utterly at variance with what it ever had or ever can produce. The great moving power of the moral world, it is, like its counterpart in the material, capable of bringing about lasting beneficial results on society only when it is duly coerced and kept under firm management. The explosion of a boiler does not more certainly scatter ruin and desolation around, or more quickly stop the onward way of the vessel it was impelling, than the triumph of democracy ruins the society, and in the end stops the advance, of the nation in which it takes place. The government of the few by the many—that is, of superior by inferior civilization, of property by numbers, knowledge by ignorance, forethought by improvidence—is such an inversion of the

natural order of society as can not fail, after a brief period of suffering, in terminating in its only result, military despotism. During the struggle for supremacy, it never fails, by calling into action the energies of a whole nation, to make great changes, and often do great things; and the final cause of its development is very apparent from the vast progress of society which it occasions, and transposition of mankind which it effects. But it is a means, not an end; it never was intended to be, and never can be, the lasting state of society; and when it has done its work, and caused the swarm to hive off, it quickly gives way, and is succeeded by the stillness of military despotism.

The great and universal error which in every age has caused the strife for freedom to terminate in this disastrous result, is an overestimate of the average capacity of human nature. It is the enormous inequality in power, and the immense mass of mediocrity with which the world is overspread, which causes the universal failure. It is easy to see why it is so. Society could not exist without it. If all were philosophers or orators, who would be the hewers of wood and drawers of water? There is not in any stratum of society, from the highest to the lowest, one man in twenty who is or ever can be made possessed of the information requisite to form for himself a correct judgment on public affairs; there is not one in a hundred capable of thinking otherwise than as he is taught by the few who are interested in leading or misleading him. No amount of education, no change of religion or political institutions, can make the least change in these proportions; on the contrary, they often make them more alarming, by augmenting the profit to be made or the power acquired by impelling the multitude in the wrong direction. Sometimes it is toward republicanism, sometimes toward despotism; never toward the right system, which is the government of a *real* aristocracy; that is, of the best in morals, intellect, capacity, and intelligence. But nothing terminates their sway so quickly as the government of the multitude, because they are in general led by the worst. Thence the extreme difficulty of preserving freedom for any length of time in any state, and the impossibility of inducing the majority of men so far to do violence to their *amour propre* as to acknowledge the general fallacy which is at the root of the difficulty.

Akin to this, and arising from the same cause—the pride of intellect—is the great error of nations in their intercourse with each other, which has, especially in modern times, and in the most civilized nations, been so prolific a source of public disaster and private suffering. This is the opinion that all nations are adapted for the same religious and political institutions, and that the only way to put them on the high-road to felicity is to force those of the most advanced nations upon them. No such erroneous and disastrous opinion ever was propagated among men. The religious wars of the sixteenth century were the result of the application of this error to matters of faith. The still more sanguinary contests of

65.
Co-operating
effect of steam
navigation,
railroads, the
electric tele-
graph, and
gold discover-
ies.

so strongly impelling civilized man into the wilderness of nature. By the effects of this great discovery the Atlantic has been bridged, the great rivers of the Old and New Worlds opened to European enter-prise and energy, and ample means furnished to the ardent and discon-

The great and universal error which in every age has caused the strife for free-

dom to terminate in this disastrous result, is an overestimate of the average capacity of human nature. It is the enormous inequality in power, and the immense mass of mediocrity with which the world is overspread, which causes the universal failure. It is easy to see why it is so. Society could not exist without it. If all were philosophers or orators, who would be the hewers of wood and drawers of water? There is not in any stratum of society, from the highest to the lowest, one man in twenty who is or ever can be made possessed of the information requisite to form for himself a correct judgment on public affairs; there is not one in a hundred capable of thinking otherwise than as he is taught by the few who are interested in leading or misleading him. No amount of education, no change of religion or political institutions, can make the least change in these proportions; on the contrary, they often make them more alarming, by augmenting the profit to be made or the power acquired by impelling the multitude in the wrong direction. Sometimes it is toward republicanism, sometimes toward despotism; never toward the right system, which is the government of a *real* aristocracy; that is, of the best in morals, intellect, capacity, and intelligence. But nothing terminates their sway so quickly as the government of the multitude, because they are in general led by the worst. Thence the extreme difficulty of preserving freedom for any length of time in any state, and the impossibility of inducing the majority of men so far to do violence to their *amour propre* as to acknowledge the general fallacy which is at the root of the difficulty.

67.
This arises
from an over-
estimate of
the average
capacity of hu-
man nature.

Akin to this, and arising from the same cause—the pride of intellect—is the great

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68.
Correspond-
ing error in the
estimate of the
capacity of na-
tions for Free-
dom or true
Religion.

the French Revolution, and the diplomatic efforts at propagandism which have followed it on the part both of the French and the British, have resulted from the second. Both have terminated generally in defeat or disaster, and it is not difficult to say to which these multiplied failures have been most owing. Such is the variety in the minds and inclinations of men, arising from difference in the character of race, physical circumstances, and degrees of civilization, that nothing, in general, is so destructive, both to individual happiness and social progress, as to endeavor to force the same faiths or political institutions upon them. Religious belief and forms of government, generally speaking, are not so much a cause as an effect. Men embrace that faith and establish those political institutions which are best adapted to their circumstances and the social stage in which they are placed. The Gospel itself is no exception to this; on the contrary, it is its strongest confirmation. It was not delivered to man in the days of Moses, but in those of Cæsar. To attempt to force Christianity

upon the Asiatics in their present state of civilization, is the same mistake as it would be to endeavor to force the Koran upon Europeans; and it would be not less an error to try to establish free institutions among the serfs of Russia, than to ingraft slavery on the freemen of England. Make men fitter for advanced institutions by elevating their position in the social scale, or improving their moral character, and they will of themselves embrace the religion and political government adapted for an advanced stage of civilization. Till this is done, it is worse than useless to attempt to make any violent change upon them. This work will not have been written in vain if it at all aids in the establishment of these great truths, and teaches that all attempts are vain to improve the condition of men, either by religion or political change, without first elevating their moral character, and thus leave progress to be effected by the silent amelioration of time and morals, without the aid either of the sword of proselytism or the armies of propagandism.

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